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PREFACE

We have pleasure in presenting the *Proceedings of the First International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies*, which met at the University of Malaya in April 1966.

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To all those associated with these grants, and to those who have collaborated in the production of these volumes, we are, indeed, grateful.

THE BOARD OF EDITORS

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PART I

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LITERARY THEORY

INTRODUCTION

THE SECTION ON LITERARY THEORY justified some of the objectives of the Conference Seminar in that the papers which were submitted were in fields new to Tamil Literary Criticism and brought to the study of literature elements intrinsic to an inter-disciplinary approach. Of the three sessions into which the different papers were classified, the one on Literary Criticism emphasized the importance of the *Tolkaapiyam* as a source for study even in contemporary criticism.

The beginnings of an examination of Tamil Literature from an anthropological and sociological point of view were very evident in the papers included in the session devoted to Literature and Society. Folk poetry, the notion of myth and the place of dreams, opened new modes of approach and added new perspectives in the study of group poetry and its expression in various genre.

New trends were also noticeable in the examination of twentieth century literature and of living authors.

The papers taken together seemed to cover wide and disparate fields. It was felt during the discussions, that future conferences should invite papers in certain specific areas of literary studies, and examine all possible aspects of those specific areas.

TOLKAPPIYAR'S LITERARY THEORY

T. P. MEENAKSHISUNDARAN

A. GENERAL THEORY

TOLKAPPIYAM

Tolkāppiyam at least in parts is the earliest work in Tamil. It is a book on phonology, grammar and poetics. Therefore it implies the prior existence of Tamil literature. There is a distinction made therein between literary language and colloquial or non-literary language — ceyyuḷ and vaḻakku[1] thus implying certain literary conventions not only in grammatical forms but also in literary form and subject matter. However, from the point of view of vocabulary, ordinary words, literary words, dialect words and foreign words may all come into the literary composition.[2] Though *Tolkāppiyam,* as stated may be earlier than the Caṅkam works, it seems to contemplate the same kind of literature.

AKAM AND PURAM

The most important aspect of this literature is the distinction betwen what is called akam and puṟam the exterior or the outer and the interior or the inner. I prefer to call them the poetry of the phenomenon and the poetry of the noumenon. The inner core of truth of human life is akam or Love. There is a rule that in akam poetry no names are to be mentioned.[3] Akam is therefore describing an ideal or perfect human being whether man of women but here the poetry is not describing any type. It represents the autobiography of the individual from the fundamental universal point of view. But this gives its core of love which may be equated with a soul which is revealed through the varying personalities within the background necessarily of the multifarious aspects of Nature and History which after all form the various points of view or perspectives revealing the inner core. Each poem, as I have stated elsewhere, is "a chink in the wall of its individuality giving the glimpse of the whole universe. It is a beautiful dew drop reflecting the whole of

[1] TOLKAPPIYAR, *Tholkappiyam,* The South India Saiva Siddhanta Works Publishing Society, Madras, 1943, Sutra 510, 880.
[2] Ibid., 880.
[3] Ibid., 1000.

the heavens and the earth from the individual point of view, its coign of vantage."[4]

There are various implications of this ideal love tried to be explained in Nakkīrar's commentary on *Iṟaiyaṉār Akapporuḷ*.[5] There were controversies on this as time went on, especially between the vedic scholars and the later day moralists on the one hand and the Tamil poets believing in the old theory of Love.[6] The idealized love, it has to be said, made it easier for Tirumūlar to identify Love with God; "aṉpe sivam."[7] This led to the mystic poetry of the Nāyaṉmārs and Āḻvārs singing in the old Akapporul style.

The phenomenon is there only as an exposition of the noumenon. It is only when love attains this ideal level that it becomes akam; for, other love stories remain only puṟam. As against this, puṟam or the poetry of the phenomenon shows the experience of the varying individuals in this world, an experience which can be often dated as belonging to the historical persons. This however is not to mean that this poetry is not universal; only it raises itself to that universal level by emphasizing the phenomenon.

Ultimately akam and puṟam are as the inner palm of the hand and its back.[8] Akam poetry deals with this love from the point of view of pre-marital love or post-marital love kaḷavu and kaṟpu. Puṟam deals with not only the various aspects of war then practised but also with the phenomenal victory of human life, with the greatness of men who come to be sung by poets and also with the evanascence of life inspiring man to do great acts and make himself eternal in the memory of men during the short span of his life.

ANTHOLOGY

There is one thing peculiar about this poetry; the poems consist of dramatic monologues. Tholkāppiyar enumerates certain illustrative contexts in the various aspects of akam and puram poetry where the character could speak and reveal a dramatic moment.[9] Therefore there is in that age no narrative poetry or epic but only a series of dramatic monologues. This is one of the important aspects of the literary theory of *Tolkāppiyam*.

[4] T. P. MEENAKSHISUNDARAM, *The theory of poetry in Tolkappiyam*, collected papers, Annamalainagar, 1961, p. 63.

[5] IRAIYANAR, *Iraiyanar Akapporul Urai*, Pavanthar Wazhakam, Madras, 1939, p. 12.

[6] S. RAJAM (ed.) *Paripatal*, Murray & Co., Madras, 1957, verse 9:12.

[7] TIRUMULAR, *Tirumantiram;* Tiruppanantal Sri Kasi Mutt, Tiruppanantal, 1956, verse 270.

[8] NACCINARKKINIYAR, *Commentary on Tolkappiyam — Porulatikaram*, Pavanthar Kazhakam, Madras, sutra 59.

[9] TOLKAPPIYAR, *Tolkappiyam*, Sutras 982-988m 1004-1006, 1009, 1013, 1014, 1018, 1021, 1022, 1025, 1027, 1031, 1036-1037. The South India Saiva Siddhanta Works Publishing Society, Madras, 1943.

Dandin who came to live in Tamil Nad at the end of the seventh Century realized the importance of this literary theory about poetic anthologies and therefore spoke only of two kinds of poetry, the poetry of anthologies and the poetry of continuous narration or epic. As I have stated elsewhere, "Many a gem of purest ray serene may be hidden in the sea of experience, and many are the hidden ways of the subtle artists, working on these valuable gems. Many like the epic poets are great in weaving beautiful patterns, immortalized in the pearl necklace of a queen or in the diamond diadem of a king — the varying dispositions of the many faceted gems satisfying the varying tastes and vanities of the rich. Some like the Caṅkam poets are great in carving out glistening and living forms of the Divine Dance [Ratna Sabhapati] or the Female Beauty, in each individual gem, infusing and vivifying the dead stone, with their life breath and mystical vision, making it, in short, the Absolute. How can this Absolute be reduced to the relative in a pattern?"[10]

Anthological literature suggests in a unique way the group poetry as I have suggested elsewhere — "Cankam poetry is unique as group poetry par excellence. It has a personality of its own representing the group mind and the group personality of the Cankam age. Taken as a whole, it satisfies all the requirements of great poetry, enumerated above. The folk songs and proverbs of an age, with their authors unknown, form a unity, as the very expression of the national personality and the language. Cankam poetry, though too cultured to be called folk song, consciously creates this universal personality and that is why it has been classified as a separate group in Tamil literature — the really great national poetry, not in the sense of national popularity but in the sense of being the voice of the nation in its origin. These remind us of the towering gopuram of Tanjore expressing the aspiring spiritual height of the Cō̠la age, though it is not the handiwork of any one sculptor but the work of a group of artists, each giving expression in rock to a vision of his own. It is therefore necessary to realize the importance of this conception of Cankam literature as a Tokai or anthology or group poetry which lies at the very root of the theory of Caṅkam poetry."

POETIC QUINTESSENCE

What is called vaṉappu mentioned as the last of the organs of a literary composition in the list given by Tolkāppiyar contemplates some narrative poetry or literature. But they are not as elaborately discussed as the contexts or dramatic moments of anthologies. There, amongst these vaṉappus, is tol which describes an old story. As contrasted with it, is viruntu which describes a new story. There is also the literature composed in the ordinary dialect of the comman man. There is again

[10] T. P. MEENAKSHISUNDARAM, *The theory of poetry in Tolkappiyam*, collected papers, Annamalinagar, 1961, p. 63.

the literature consisting of a commingling of verse and prose. The other kinds do not contemplate any continuous narrative.[11] Vaṉappu comes at the end of the list almost either as a concession to a latter age where narrative poetry has developed or as a vague remembrance of a forgotten tradition of an earlier age. In any case the cryptic explanation given for these vaṉappus, vaguely suggesting narrative poetry against the elaboration of the dramatic moments of the anthologies, seems to suggest the prevailing poetic theory of the age related mainly to the anthologies rather than to narrative poems.

Another aspect of this literature is the attempt by the poet to capture the poetic quintessence of the dramatic moment in the form of living phrases and poetic metaphors and similes which become the life of the verse. These phrases are, as it were, the keys with which the inner treasure of poetry has to be locked. These therefore have become the names of such verses and often the immortal names of the poets themselves. Even when this idea is elaborated as a Neṭuntokai and *Pattu-p-pāṭṭu*, the dramatic and poetic compression is not forgotten.

This necessitates a great and important place being given to suggestion. Apart from ordinary figures of speech mainly consisting of various kinds of metaphors and similes there is uḷḷuṟai uvamam which is an implied metaphor.[12] Here nature is described; and from that, one has to understand the implications; for instance, the buffalo treading on lotus and feeding on tiny flowers implies the extra marital relationship of the hero who leaves the heroine to suffer thereby. That age thought it was against the culture of the heroine and others to state this charge openly. There may be further implications within implications, thus giving rise to various strata of meaning, naturally to be understood only by the real critics or sahradayas. Apart from the figures of speech, there were also other kinds of suggestions not only of the meaning but also of emotions and ideals. iṟaicci is a general name given to this suggestion.[13] The whole theory of suggestion as conceived and developed by the Cankam poets, require a detailed research.

The emphasis Tolkāppiyar lays on poetic sentiments or Rasa or what is called meyppāṭu should also be understood. He speaks of eight rasas, nakai or hāsya, uvakai or happiness which is something more extensive than sringāra; suffering or soka; vira or heroism physical, moral, intellectual and spiritual, iḷivaral or jugupsa or a kind of shuddering at meanness; knodha or anger (bhaya or fear) and adbhuta or wonder.[14] Tolkāppiyar further elaborates the various emotions which play an important part in the various dramatic moments of Akam poetry.[15]

[11] TOLKAPPIYAR, *Tolkappiyam*, sutras 1259, 1493, 1495. The South India Saiva Siddhanta Works Publishing Society, Madras, 1943.

[12] Ibid., 992-994, 1244.

[13] Ibid., 1175-1177.

[14] Ibid., 1197.

[15] Ibid., 1207-1214.

There is a separate chapter on this rasa or meyppāṭu in Tolkāppiyar thus showing the importance of these poetic sentiments intended to be suggested by a description of the appropriate time and place of the story, which are in turn made alive by a graphic description of Nature including the plants and the animals on the one hand, and the human society on the other and finally by that story made clear through the behaviour and speeches of the hero and the heroine amidst their followers and relatives. The implications of this theory of meyppāṭu has also to be worked out in detail by further research.

CONVENTIONS

Naturally, for understanding such dramatic monologues, it is necessary to be familiar with the conventions of such poetry. For interpreting such a verse, it is necessary, as emphasized by Tolkāppiyar to know who the speaker is, to whom it is spoken, its dramatic context in akam or puram; the time implied therein as a looking back or as a looking forward and the various strata of meaning and rich suggestion because such poetry believing as it does in compression should have recourse to an elaborate theory of suggestion and meyppatu or rasa or poetic sentiment.[16] There is also the poetic convention about interpreting long drawn sentences, its peculiar linkages and ellipses.

B. THEORY IMPLIED IN VERSIFICATION

ENUMERATION OF ORGANS

I may pass on to quote from my essay on the theory of poetry in *Tolkāppiyam*,[17] an organic theory of poetry where the sounds and the meanings together form one united whole. The ceyyul iyal or the chapter on literary composition in *Tolkāppiyam* starts by enumerating the various constituents of a verse as its organs where we find enumerated both the aspects of form and matter, not only the poetic form but also the phonological and morphological form. (1 The alphabetical sounds or phonemes (Eḻuttu); (2) their duration (Māttirai); (3) their knitting together into syllables (Acai); (4) the various permutations and combinations of these syllables as feet (cir); (5) the varied integrations of these feet into lines (ati); (6) the caesura — the coincidence with the metrical and grammatical pause (yāppu); (7) the lexical tradition (marapu); (8) the basic poetic intonations or fundamental poetic tunes so to say (tūkku); (9) the innumerable garland-like patterns of the metrical weldings such as assonance and rhyme (totai); (10) *the import or the purport of the verse, controlling and vivifying all these parts, so as to make them expressive of the self same purport* (Nōkku); (11) the basic

[16] Ibid., 1441 etc., 1445 etc., 1452 etc., 1457 etc., 1460, 1462 etc.
[17] T. P. MEENAKSHISUNDARAM, *The theory of poetry in Tolkappiyam,* collected papers, Annamalainagar, 1961, pp. 55, 56.

verse patterns as so many permanent and natural sound configurations of the idiom of the language (pā); (12) the length or dimensions of the verses (aḷavu); (13) [here comes subject matter] the harking back to the ideal behaviour patterns of an ennobling humanity (tiṉai); (14) their varying main currents of activity (kaikōḷ); (15) the speaker (kūṟṟul); whose expression is the poem; (16) the person to whom the poem is spoken (kēṭpōr); (17) the place (kaḷam) and (18) the time of the poem (kālam); (19) the resulting effect of purpose of the verse (payaṉ); (20) the sentiment or emotion bubbling forth therein; (21) [here comes to poetic syntax] the elliptical construction or the yearning after completion of the sense, at every stage of its progress (eccam); (22) the context making the meaning (muṉṉam); (23) the underlying universality (poruḷ); (24) the ford in the poetic current where the particularity enters into the flow of poetry or the particularity of the poetic aspect of the verse (turai); (25) the great linkings or the retrospective and prospective constructions (māṭṭu); (26) the colour of the rhythm of the verse (vaṇṇam); and (27) the eight-fold poetical facades (vaṉappu) or kinds of poetry of poetic composition.[18]

THEIR SIGNIFICANCE

At first this may sound a confused conglomeration but a careful analysis and understanding will reveal the great organic theory of poetry as conceived by Tolkappiyar. Some of the constituents of the verse, like the letters or phonemes, their duration, the syllables, the feet, the garland-like weldings, the lines and intonations are elaborations of our phonetic experiences, whilst the resulting sound configurations, the rhythms, the dimensions, and the poetic tunes are prosodic elaborations of such an experience. All these hypnotize the reader, by their basic poetic music, and make him move and heave with the poem. He stands enchanted and hypnotized believing in the subject matter and becoming one with it, carried away by the multitudinous concatenation of canorous sounds of varying durations, modified by breaths; frictions, trills, liquids, hard and soft explosions, enriched by oral and nasal resonances, and divided into happy collections of significant and natural syllabic pulsations, which by their flow, by their permutations and combinations form into various waves of feet, which in their turn move with the poetic mood, by their very force of movement fastening themselves into varying patterns of wreaths or eddies of differing directions and angles of assonance and rhyme; the multifarious dispositions of these lines, giving rise, on this poetic march to varied and variegated poetic tunes, resulting in basic configurations of different rhythms of many a hue and many a facade.

Here arises what Eliot has called the auditory imagination. The other organs of the verse like the meaning made clear by the context,

[18] TOLKAPPIYAR, *Tolkappiyam,* sutra 1259, The South India Saiva Siddhanta Works Publishing Society, Madras, 1943.

the elaborate ramifications by allusions and suggestions glowing into life, by sweet remembrances as described at length by Prof. Richards, the lexical traditions of words and their significance, the elliptical construction or the yearning for the predicate after every pause in the continuous flow of the sense making the whole a continuity, and the retrospective and prospective constructions as looking backward and forward to bring about a well known organized unity, are but ordinary grammatical themes. There are the various ways in which the reader's understanding of a poem and his usual grasp of the meaning are utilized for swaying his mind hither and thither, his mind, thereby heaving up with the crest of the poetic wave and ebbing away with its trough, and his hypnotized intellect, resaoning with the music and meaning of the poem, and thereby, becoming one with the theme.

The remaining constituents of the verse are its speaker, the persons addressed, the time and place, the effect, the sentiment, the generality, the particularity and the universality of the poem,[19] the last head reminding us of Jung's "archetypes and the unconscious racial and individual memories". These are all that one is accustomed to to consider under the head of meaning and subject matter. These form the poetic theme in its concrete and specific reality, vivified by its glowing emotion, appealing to every heart by its universality or archetype, becoming of momentous value, as the expression of a fundamental mode of intrinsically ennobling human behaviour; its value carrying with itself the imprimatur of personal experience. The value of a work of art, as Read suggests, consists not merely in the progressive organization of impulses for freedom and fullness of life according to Richards, but also of the open recognition of amoral sanction which is, in the old phraseology, revealed to the artist. The eight-fold facades and the import of the parts are attempts at telescoping these various strata of poetry, viz. the sound, the music, the significance, its sweep and development, the emotion and the final experience. Everything, thus, appears to be of great importance in the final make up of the poetic personality of the verse, reflecting the personality of the poet.

A STUDY OF RASA — THOLKĀPPIYAR AND BHARATA

P. THIRUGNANASAMBANDHAN

A study of *Tholkāppiyam* and early Tamil literature coupled with the strong and persistent tradition about the classification of Tamil Literature into Iyal (Poetry), Isai (Music) and Nātakam (Drama) would point to the existence of several works in Tamil belonging to these branches over two thousand years ago. But unfortunately several of the works of music, dance and drama are irretrievably lost in the course of centuries. *Paripādal* refers to this trio and 'Therimān Tamizh Mummait tennam poruppan'. In fact we find that *Silappadhikaram* records a picture of a highly developed civilization abounding in references to theatre, music, dance, poetry, architecture etc. Adiyarkku-nallar, a commentator on *Silappadhikaram* refers to a number of works on dance, music etc. In his preface to the commentary he refers to a Tamil work on Dramaturgy called *Bharatam*. We find in *Manimekalai* reference to the 'Nātakam' in 'Pādal sāl ciṟappin Bharatattōngiya nātakam.' I do not find any reason why we should not take the work 'Nātakam' in this and similar references as Nātaka Vazhakkinum, Ulakiyal Vazhakkinum (*Thol. Akat.* 56) to mean the full fledged drama as understood in Sanskrit and not the mere dance drama as interpreted by Adiyārkkunallār. Pērāsiriyar commenting on *Thol. Cey.* 91 refers to this three-fold classification as done by Akattiyar which again according to R. Raghava Aiyangar points to the prior existence of a well developed and sophisticated literature of a cultured society.[1] Prof. Indu Shekhar has made a fresh approach to a study of the problem of the origin of Sanskrit drama and holds the view that 'one of the main roots of the Indian drama lies in the glorious tradition which is supported by the early Tamil literature preserved in Sangam traditions.[2] "We find references there to the patronage of 'Pānar', 'Kūttar', 'Porunar' and 'Viraliyar', musicians, dancers, actors and actresses. He arrives at this conclusion on a consideration of the following facts among other things — 'In view of the scanty references to dance and drama in the Vedic literature and of the fact that Dravidian population in the south has from the very beginning well developed traditions in dance, music and acting, we may suppose that the non-Aryan

[1] R. RAGHAVA AIYANGAR, *Tamil Varalaru*, p. 194.
[2] INDU SHEKKAR, *Sanskrit Drama, its origin and decline*, p. 31.

influence on the development of these arts must have been considerable.[3] Ancient Tamil literature abounds in references to religious, semi-religious and secular dances, and dramatic performances out of which 'Kūttu' is one of the ancient and popular forms of entertainment; Siva, the Dravidian God is associated with dancing."[4]

In spite of the great contribution made by the Dravidians to the Acts we find paucity of works in Tamil even in the post-Sangam period. This according to me, can be partly accounted for by the zeal of the learned people all over India, Tamil Nad not excluding, to record the achievements of people in every branch of Art or Science through the medium of Sanskrit which played the role of an all-India medium among the learned for communicating and propagating their ideas. We may remember how the great philosophers of the south like Sankara and Ramanuja who wanted to gain a wider clientele wrote their works in Sanskrit while others who wanted to appeal to the masses in their own region like Ālwārs and Nāyanmārs in the south wrote in their regional language. It would not therefore be unreasonable to hold that several of the works in Sanskrit on music, dance, drama, medicine, architecture etc. are based to an appreciable extent on the achievements of the Dravidians. In fact several scholars in the East and West have acknowledged the great role which the Dravidians have played in the making of the composite culture that we have had for over 2000 years. As Prof. Indu Shekhar remarks, 'In the domains of Art, literature, religion, customs, and philosophy the Dravidian traits become more noticeable.[5] Regarding drama, Sunitikumar Chatterjee would go to the extent of saying that South India has its characteristic dramatic traditions which are not found elsewhere.

What has been stated above may be found relevant when we consider *Tholkāppiyam* and Bharata's *Nātyasāstra*. It may be noted that there is a large measure of agreement between Bharata and Tholkāppiyar in regard to some at least of the concepts of Sthayibhavas (sentiments) and vyabhicaribhavas (transitory feelings). A comparative study of these two may at best suggest that they are heir to a common heritage. If we are to apportion the contribution of the Aryans and Dravidians to the conception of Rasa, which includes in its scheme Bhāvas also, the contribution of the latter appears to be by no means small. To those who argue that Tholkāppiyar is indebted to Bharata in his treatment of Meippādu, I may venture to point out that Bharata is by no means the first exponent of Rasa. Rajasekhara in his Kavyamimamsa refers to Nandikesvara as the original exponent of Rasa theory which Bharata perhaps utilized in his treatment of Rasa. Bharata himself cites several verses in chapters VI and VII of his *Nātyasāstra* relating to some anonymous

[3] Ibid. p. 11.
[4] Ibid. p. 93.
[5] Ibid.

work on Rasa. Prof. Indu Shekhar makes a conjecture that 'Bharatas' might as well have been a clan of Dravidians and that is perhaps the reason why their profession of acting was looked down upon by the priestly class of Aryans. 'Orthodox opinion', says P. V. Kane 'stiffened against actors and dancers and singers in the times of Dharmasutras and early smrtis.'[6]

That a common tradition was being evolved in the centuries long before the dawn of the Christian era is evident from a study of the language and literature of Sanskrit and Tamil which may be taken as the most ancient representatives of the Aryan and Dravidian groups of languages in India. As S. K. Chatterjee has remarked, 'The fundamental principles of Indian civilization are based on harmony of contrasts, crystallized in the synthesis of a unity in diversity.'[7]

Though it may be conceded that Tholkāppiyar deals with the Meippādus as they find expression in the Tamil classics of his period which are more in conformity with real life, it cannot be stated with any degree of certainty that Tholkāppiyar was not conversant with the nature of Rasa as dealt with in works on dramaturgy. As K. V. Jagannathan remarks it is likely that there were other works bearing on drama in Tholkāppiyar's time.

Chronology is a weak link in the history of India. One may not err very much in placing Tholkāppiyar about the beginning of the Christian era. In fact R. Raghava Aiyangar and Dr. P. S. S. Sastri ascribe 2nd century B.C. as the date of Tholkāppiyar. Bharata is placed in the 2nd century A.D. by Sri Manomohan Ghosh and in the 4th century A.D. by Dr. P. V. Kane, though there are others who would take him even before Christ. Suffice it to note that Tholkāppiyar represents a tradition and Bharata another tradition as evidenced by such expression as 'enba' used by the former and 'Pūrvācāryāh' by the latter in their works so far as Rasa or Meippādu is concerned. When Tholkāppiyar refers to 'Eṇṇānku porul' in the opening sutra of *Meippāṭṭiyal* he is referring to the eight meippādus, each being related to four elements which are described by Pērāsiriyar as 'Porul' (the object of experience), (2) Poṛiyunarvu (sensation), (3) Kuṛippu (psychic affection), and (4) Viṛal or Sattuvam (organic change). These four occur in the order of sequence in which they are mentioned and culminate in the meippādu. All the four stages form one integral experience. They are analysed into their constituent elements only for a proper understanding of the process.

According to the dramaturgists, however, who go deeper into the analysis of cognition and feeling, they can be reduced to two stages, the first two mentioned above being taken as one unitary experience where we find the cognitive aspect of mental state and the last two contain the

[6] P. V. KANE, *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, p. 22.

[7] S. K. CHATTERJEE, *Indian Synthesis; Racial and cultural Inter-mixture in India in Indo-Asian culture*, 4, p. 331.

two sides of the effective aspect of mental state. The first two stages occur to every one and the last two occur only in men of finer sensibility and taste, 'sahṛdaya' as he is called. Tholkāppiyar is said to cite here the views of dramaturgists in the line 'Kaṇṇiya puṛane nānānkenba'.

In this connection it would be interesting to recall the observations of Hamilton — 'In distinguishing the cognitions, feelings and conations, it is not to be supposed that these phenomena are possible, independent of each other. In every modification of mind, 'knowledge', 'feeling' and 'will' go to constitute the mental state; and it is only by a scientific abstraction that we are able to analyse the state into elements, which are never really existent but in mutual combination.'[8]

'Suvai' as interpreted by Pērāsiriyar is the psychic affection in a person when he comes into contact with something or someone external to him. 'Suvai' therefore involves the subjective and objective elements. This is the interpretation he puts on the line in Seyirriyam, a work on Nataka 'Iruvakai nilattin iyalvatu suvaiye'. He thereby denies the interpretation put by dramaturgists or kūttanūlar who mean by 'Irunilam' the two loci, viz. the person who has the psychic affection and the witness thereof. These two in a drama are the actors and the audience and in a poem the character and the readers. Hence the 'Suvai' spoken here is different from the 'Rasa' as interpreted by the Idealist school of Abhinavagupta according to which Rasa whether Singāra or Karuna stands for a certain transcendental aesthetic experience blissful in nature like the one which is supposed to be experienced at the time of the realization of Brahman. This is called the 'Alaukika Rasa' as distinct from the real experience of the characters called 'laukika rasa, or 'Suvai'. 'There are certain permanent and dominant propensities (Sthāyibhāvas) in the minds of all theatre going people or readers of poetry which are ordinarily dormant but when appropriate stimuli such as dialogues, songs, acting and music in case of drama and mere words in the case of a poem are employed, they are roused and evolve a pleasurable state in the mind of the spectator or reader.[9]

The above view that all emotions love or fear pathos or disgust yield pleasure to the reader is challenged by the Realist school of Rāmacandra and Gunacandra, the authors of *Nāṭyadarpana,* who say that the end of all poetry is not to please and that pathos (Karuna), ferocity (Raudra), loathsomeness (Bibhatsa) and fearfulness (Bhayānaka) are the sources of pain and not of pleasure.

It is no wonder that modern psychologists do not accept the mystic explanation of the idealist on Rasa experience. Rakesh Gupta reflects the view of the modern psychologists when he says, 'whatever joys or sorrows, whatever pleasures or pains have been experienced by the millions of readers and spectators of Kālidāsa and Shakespeare were purely worldly

[8] S. C. SEN, cited in the *Text book of Psychology,* p. 93.
[9] P. V. KANE, *History of Sanskrit Poetics,* p. 361.

in character.'[10] The rhetoricians from Tholkāppiyar and Bharata had only a limited objective before them and were not concerned with any perfect system of psychology concerning man. They knew that representation of drama appealed only to two senses, the eye and the ear. 'Krīdaniyakam icchāmah drśyam śravyam ca yad bhavet (*N.S.I.*1) It may be of interest to note that Tholkāppiyar expresses the same in the last sutra of Meippāttiyal 'Kaṉṉinum ceviyinum tinnid-in-uṉarum uṉarvudaiyārkkallatu teriyin Nannayapporuḷkōl eṉṉarunkuraitte.' (Su 27.)

It may be noted that not all the Vyabhicāri Bhavas of Bharata or the thirty-two meippādus of Tholkāppiyar are pure psychical states. Some of them are psychical and some physical, no doubt associated with some psychical state. So it will not be quite appropriate to call all the Rasas and Bhavas and meippādus either as emotion or sentiment or feeling in the strict sense of the term.

It may also be noted that Tholkāppiyar has not dealt with Rasas experienced by us when we witness a drama or read a poem — an aspect dealt at length by the mediaeval Sanskrit rhetoricians. He is concerned with the expression of feelings portrayed in poetry which at least in the case of his contemporaneous Tamil poetry may be taken to be very near what is obtained in actual life. He has used the word meippādu which literally refers to physical expressions of certain psychic states — what may be termed anubhāvas in Sanskrit — to suggest certain feelings like Accam, Uvakai etc. which are really psychic states and to express physical states themselves like 'Vāzhttal, Ararrutal' etc. which are caused by certain psychic affections. The Indian rhetoricians have jumbled primary and secondary emotions and the psychic and physical aspects of emotion in drawing a list of Ehāvas or meippādus. But this is not to underrate what they have achieved two thousand years ago and judged by their contemporary standards their contributions to poetics must be deemed marvellous.

Tholkāppiyar chose the term '*Meippāḍu*' which primarily denotes certain physical expressions, to connote what may be called Sthāyibhāvas and Saneaubhāvas that are the antecedent complements of such physical expressions; whereas Bharata chose the term *bhāva* which primarily denotes a psychic state but also connotes the physical state that accompanies it. This is evident when we examine the nature of the thirty-three vyabhicāribhāvas.

Tholkāppiyar does not make any express distinction between the eight meippādus referred to in sutra 3 and the thirty-two meippādus in sutra 12. They correspond roughly to the eight sthāyibhāvas and thirty-three vyabhicāribhāvas of Bharata. A distinction is drawn between these two by Bharata; the former exists permanently in every human mind

[10] RAKESH GUPTA, *Psychological studies in Rasa.*

in the form of 'vāsanā' or latent impressions. They are evoked and developed by adequate causes and in proper circumstances. When they are withdrawan they get back to their dormant conditions. Vyabhicāribhāvas on the contrary exist only so long as the exciting causes are there. When they are withdrawn those bhāvas cease to exist and leave no trace behind. This distinction made by Abhinavagupta cannot be rigorously maintained. The implication of a 'Samskāra' or mental impression is that a person is susceptible to that bhāva when placed in appropriate circumstances. If that be so we can speak of samskaras of all bhāvas, whether sthāyi or vyabhicāri. How can we say that a man is susceptible to sorrow (Soka — a sthāyibhāva) alone and not to joy (harśa) avyabhicāribhāva? Tholkāppiyar happily has made no such distinction between the first group of eight meippādus and the second group of thirty-two meippādus both being called by the same term unlike Bharata who uses two different terms, Sthāyi and Vyabhicāri. Sanskrit rhetoricians like Rudrata and Jagannatha have found the untenability of maintaining the label 'Sthāyi' and 'Vyabhicāri' on certain bhāvas alone and conceded that what is 'sthāyi' may be treated as 'Vyabhicāri' and vice versa according to the fuller or less full treatment given to any bhāva by a poet. It cannot be maintained that one (sthāyi) is permanent and the other (vyabhicāri) transitory. One can 'envy' (a vyabhicāribhāva) as long as one can 'wonder' (a sthāyibhāva).

Iḷampūraṇar quoting Seyirriyam says that Meippādu is an expression in physical form of fear etc. which possess the mind. As Thiruvalluvar would put it 'the face shall express the anger that is generated in the mind as clearly as a crystal that reflects the thing in proximity with it' (*Kural* 706). The whole section 'Kuṛippaṛital' in *Thirukkural* is relevant in this context. This refers to the twin aspects of emotion. 'Emotion is mental experience and physical change taken together.'[11]

Eight meippādus are listed by Tholkāppiyar in sutra 3. He proceeds to give for every meippādu four contributing factors which cause the particular emotion. But certainly we cannot limit the number of such factors to four only. They are meseems to be taken only as illustrative and not exhaustive. Indian mind has a fascination for number. For instance Pāṇini has divided each adhyāya of his *Astādhyāyi* into four pādas. Every 'padikam' of the Saiva hymnist has a definite number. It is intended only as an aid to memory and affords convenience for study. Pērāsiriyar also is carried away by this numerical factor and equates the thirty-two meippādus listed under sutra 12 with the eight meippādus given by Tholkāppiyar multiplied by various sets of four 'Eḷḷal, Iḷamai etc. under each emotion 'Nakai'. There is no justification to hold that there are thirty-two emotions under 'Nakai' etc. The subdivisions have no distinctive feature as an emotion as the thirty-two under sutra 12

[11] Ibid. p. 109.

where each has a distinct character of its own. 'Nakai' may be taken to correspond with 'hasya' in Sanskrit. 'Eḷḷal' (derision) etc. are also common to Sanskrit. It is to be noted that Bharata's list of emotions begins with Sṛngāra or erotics for the obvious reason that this is a dominant and primary emotion closely related to the parental instinct. Tholkāppiyar gives the first place to 'Nakai' closely followed by 'Azhukai'. Shall we take that the Tamils by the large lived a robust life full of mirth and glee and took on their stride any calamity or setback and led a life of equanimity? There is something in common between 'Azhukai' and 'Soka', 'Iḷivaral' and 'jugupsa', 'Marutkai' and 'vismaya', 'accam' and 'bhaya', 'perumidam' and 'utsāha', 'Vekuḷi' and 'krodha', and 'uvakai' and 'Rati'. It is however significant that in regard to the last Tholkāppiyar's concept is wider comprising in its fold a sense of joy and fulfilment arising not only from the companionship of man and woman in which restricted sense Bharata uses the term 'Rati', but also enjoyment arising out of the possession of wealth, imparting of knowledge and sports. This indeed covers a wider range of life but Bharata's emotions on conjugal life alone can be explained as that being the one source of supreme joy available for man on earth and one capable of universal application.

'Perumidam' arising from 'learning, fearlessness in war, and generosity correspond to vaisaradya, saurya and tyāga types of vīra mentioned by Bharata. 'Fame' is not mentioned by Bharata under 'Vīra', the corresponding emotion.

The number of 'meippādus' mentioned by Tholkāppiyar in sutra 3 agrees with the number found in the authentic text of Bharata. In both we find no mention of 'sānta' or 'samanilai'. There is some justification for its omission as it denotes more or less a passive state which cannot be so effectively and successfully handled by a poet or actor as any of the other Rasas which involve some stirring up of feelings. Defining emotion R. S. Woodworth says, 'It is a stirred up state of feeling. It is a disturbed muscular and glandular activity." But later rhetoricians who wanted to give a place to śānta in the scheme of Rasas sought the authority of Bharata and interpolated in his work at the end of chapter VI a few verses dealing with 'śānta' in an incoherent and imperfect manner. Bharata specifically states earlier in that chapter 'These eight Rasas were proclaimed by the Supreme 'Siva' (Ch. V. v. 16). Kālidāsa also attributes only eight Rasas to Bharata.[12]

Śānta is referred to for the first time by Rudrata (9 cent. A.D.) as a Rasa and admitted by later veterans like Ānandavardhana (9 cent. A.D.) and Abhimavagupta (10 cent. A.D.) It may be noted that Dandin, the author of Kāvyadarśa and a native of Kanchi as well as the Tamil rhetorician bearing the same name hold the number of Rasas to be only

[12] *Vikramorvasiyam.*

eight and the latter's list begins with 'vīra' another dominant emotion dealt with in Tamil classics. But we find the author of Seyirriyam, a work on dramaturgy accepting nine rasas including śānta. It must evidently be a later work. Curiously enough Pērāsiriyar refers to a school of rhetoricians who would include 'Śānta (Samanilai) and omit raudra (Uruttiram or Vekuḷi). This is implied in the statement cited by him 'Uruttiram tannodu onpatākum'. Among Sanskrit rhetoricians opinion is divided only in regard to the inclusion of 'śānta and there is none who would dispense with 'Raudra'. Perhaps Buddhist writers who preach non-violence and emphasize renunciation or tuṟavu' thought that 'Raudra' should be eschewed in any form of poetry or drama and sought to include 'śānta' instead maintaining the number of Rasas to be only eight as held by Tholkāppiyar and Bharata.

If we examine the 32 meippādus listed by Tholkāppiyar in sutra 12 here again we find some agreement between Tholkāppiyar and Bharata. The following pairs may more or less be considered analogous, Inbural and Harsa, Naduvunilai, and Nirveda, Nāṇutal and Vrida, Tuñchal and Nidrā, Kanavu and Svapna, Verutal and Trasa, Māṭimai and Alasya, Karutal and Smṛti, Āraychi and vitarka, Kaiyaṟu and jadata, munital and ugrata, Porāmai and Mātsarya. Utaimai, tanmai, varaital, Kaimmikal, Nalitak etc. however have no parallel in Bharata's vyabhicaribhavas.

Whether it be the 32 meippādus or 33 vyabhicāribhāvas, in either we find included certain meippādus or bhāvas which cannot be considered as feelings proper but only certain physical states or behaviour that accompany certain feelings. Rakesh Gupta analysing the Vyabhicāribhāvas observes that only 14 out of the 33 bhavas like harsa, cinta etc. are real mental affections, while 4 like tarka, unmāda etc. are unemotional, 5 like vibodha, alasatā etc. are only feelings of organic sensations and 10 like smṛti, nidrā etc. are not feelings at all. Though we cannot and should not expect a grammarian or rhetorician who wrote a work 2000 years ago to classify meippādus or bhāvas on a scientific and purely psychological basis, it would be profitable for any modern critic to make a psychological study of the meippādus.

What Tholkāppiyar says about 'Uripporuḷ', 'karupporuḷ', 'nimittam', 'kuṟippu', 'viral' etc. approach very nearly what are called by Bharata as 'ālambana vibhāva', 'uddipana Vibhāva', 'Anubhāva', 'vyabhicāri bhāva', 'sāttvikabhāva' etc.

S. Sōmasundara Bhārati takes the word 'meippādu' to mean certain external indicators of certain mental states that arise in a man or woman in his real life and that are portrayed in Tamil poems. When he states that the meippādus have no relation to the 'anubhāvas' dealt with in Sanskrit work on rhetorics it appears to be not very convincing.

'Emotional experience' says MacDougall, 'is essentially a subjective phenomenon.' But without bodily changes one can never be able to

know the emotions experienced by the other. 'The contents of an emotion are two-fold, (1) Psychic affection and (2) Organic changes. The latter again consists of visceral and glandular or internal changes on the one hand and of bodily or external changes on the other.[13] This view is held by modern psychologists like Woodworth and Ribot. Viewed in this light we may not be far wrong in equating meippāḍu with emotion, the meippāḍu which primarily denotes organic changes but which nevertheless suggests the underlying psychic affection also.

To sum up:

(1) The contribution of Dravidians to the study of emotions in dramas and poems is positive and sizable.

(2) Tholkāppiyar and Bharata have had before them a long tradition about the meippāḍus or Rasas which had several things in common like the non-inclusion of 'śānta' and yet bear the stamp of individuality.

(3) Tholkāppiyar does not deal with the mystic transcendental aesthetic pleasure but only with the joys and sorrows of the world.

(4) Though the classification of meippādus or rasas and bhāvas by Tholkāppiyar and Bharata may not be strictly psychological and scientifically oriented, they present at such an early age a fairly clear analysis of the different aspects of mind, their related determinants and ensuants and attendant feelings.

(5) Tholkāppiyar understands by meippādu, the integrated psychophysical activity as a study of the names of different meippādus would indicate and he does not make any explicit distinction between what are called 'Sthāyi' and 'Vyabhicāri' bhāvas as done by Bharata, perhaps justifiably.

[13] RAKESH GUPTA, *Psychological studies in Rasa,* p. 119.

THE PLACE OF *TOLKAPPIYAM* IN ANCIENT TAMIL LITERATURE

REV. FR. H. S. DAVID

1. THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE TAMIL LANGUAGE IS TRACED HERE

A. A STUDY OF THE "VINAI ECCA" SUFFIXES

Up to a decade or so ago, the growth of the Tamil language did not receive sufficient attention. Even now, too many Tamil pandits and even a few scholars tend to focus their attention on the *Naṉṉūl,* which is undoubtedly the best mediaeval Tamil grammer; but it was composed as late as A.D. 1205. Any usage, which this does not sanction, has been put down to poetic licence, even in the most ancient classics. But one cannot say what licence is, unless one is acquainted with the rules of the time when that poetry was composed. These are found to be very different from those obtaining in 1205.

Thus *Tol. Col.* 228 lists the ancient participles, especially the adverbial ones, called viṉai eccam, which were in use at and before its own time: ceyyū, ceypu, ceytu eṉa, ceyyiyar, ceyyiya, ceya, ceytu, ceyiṉ in the positive, ceyaṟku or ceyaṟka in the negative. The last three of the positive are familiar to us at the present day, though one employs "ceyya" for the older "ceya" now. We are struck at the paucity of the modern forms as compared with the ancient ones: eight in the positive in the above list. At least one more should be added thereto, this is widespread in the ancient classics and employed by *Tol.* (=*Tolkāppiyam*) too: ii. e.g. iṟīi (for the modern irutti), *AN.* 98:9-17; 336:7 etc., utīi (=having put on clothes), *PN* 393:18; *Muruk.* 184, 204, 230; uṟīi (=urutti, Commentary) *Tol. Porul* 79:26; 147:9. orīi (=oruvi, Commentary) *Tol. Col.* 401a; *Por.* 308, 539; *Kṟt.* 203:5. keḻīi (=porunti, Commentary), *Tol. Por.* 115:8; 196:6; *Paḷ.* 257, etc. koḷīi (=kotuttu, Commentary), *Tol. Por.* 659:4; *Kṟt.* 343:4; *AN.* 173:9; *Poruna.* 78. taḻīi (=taḻuvi), *Por.* III:29; 147:18; 151:7, 9, 173:I; *Kṟt.* 29:7 etc. niṟīi (=nirutti), *Por.* 196:9. pukīi (=pukku), *Por.* 79:30. I omit many other instances of these forms for the sake of brevity, the soul of wit. Adding this form ceyīi to the above-mentioned eight, we get nine for the positive viṉai eccam in the time of *Tol.* Some of these, like ceyyu, have parallel forms

in Telugu and other sister languages. Thus they hark back to Proto-Dravidian times. Already in his own time Cēṉāvaraiyar, one of the commentators on the *Tolkāppiyam,* remarks their obsolessence in the case of ceypu, ceytu eṉa, ceyyu, ceyyiyar and ceyyiya. *Naṉṉūl* 343 adds four mediaeval forms to the above, namely ceyvāṉ, ceypan, ceypakku, ceyya. The last appears already in *Nal.* frequently, e.g. at 250b: tarumamum takkārkkē ceyyā = having performed charity.

The ancient Tamil poets seem to have experimented with several affixes for fashioning the "viṉai eccam". At times one affix became so important that it swept away an earlier one. At other times the **two** were heaped together on the verbal root. This seems to be the origin of such formatives as "kupu" and "kuvu", which occur already in *Krt.* and *Tol. Por* I to cite just a few instances:

> katu-kupu (=katuntu, having gone swiftly), *Kṟt.* 356:2;
> maṟu-kupu (=ulaintu, having dried up). *Kṟt.* 356:3;
> uykuvu, Kṟt. 11:3. poykuvu, ib. 26:5; ākuvu, 104:5;
> varu-kuvu, *Tol. Por.* 342:I.

Adding these two to the nine above, we get 11 positive forms. It is to be noted that the *Naṉṉūl* neither employs in its own diction **nor embodies in its sutras** the last three forms: ceyii, ceykupu, ceykuvu. This shows how Tamil changed in more than a thousand years.

B. VERBAL ROOTS EXAMINED

Let us now examine, not the verbal affixes, as we have so far done, but a verbal root: *cāl.* This is peculiarly ancient. It comes down from Proto-Dravidian times, as Tel. cālu or tsālu = sufficiency, tsālunu = it is enough, tsāluta = to suffice, Kanarese sāl, Malayalam cāl and such other words testify. In ancient Tamil, as in modern Telugu, it was a full-blooded verb; but somewhere between the age of *Tolkappiyam* and that of *Naṉṉūl* the verbal forms fell into desuetude in Tamil, where it became an "uriccol", and adjective or adverb. This will become clear to the impartial scholar who compares *Naṉṉūl* 456:

> cāla uṟutava naṉi kūr kaḻi **mikal,**

(the six words starting with "cāla" denote "abundance"), with *Tol. Col.* 299:

> urutava nani-y-ena varūum mūṉrum **mikuti** ceyyum panuḷ eṉpa.

The meaning given, "mikal" in the one case, "mikuti" in the other, is identical for the two sets of words. But whereas *Tol. Col.* gives us only three (cāla is emphatically not one of these), *Naṉ.* expands the set to six. The identical order of the three words that figure in both lists is striking: it shows that the author of *Naṉ.* had *Tol. Col.* before him and expanded

that list of *Tol Col.* to suit his own times. Here again we note a significant difference between *Tol.* and *Naṉ.*

C. ICIN EXAMINED

At *Tol. Col.* 116b and *Tol. Por.* 413:4 we come across an archaic form of that peculiar type of verbal noun called in Tamil grammars "viṉaiyāl aṇaiyum peyar", namely "uṇarnticiṉōr" = "those who have thoroughly understood". This brings us to the vexed question as to the origin, function and analogies of the particle that is wedged in between the verbal base "uṇarnt" — and the nominal affix -"or", namely "iciṉ". I am persuaded that it has a similar origin to such words as the following, which are all taken from the ancient classics or from Tol.:

(a) paḻ-icci (=vāḻtti, having praised), *Maturaik.* 694.
(b) paḻ-icciya (=paraviya, past peyar eccam), *AN.* 115:9.
(c) paḻ-iccu (verbal noun): paravum paḻiccum vaḻuttiṉ poruḷa, *Tol. Col.* 382.
(d) ārāy-cci (verbal noun), *Tol. Por.* 260:7.
(e) ikaḻ-cci (verbal noun), *Tol. Por.* 115:2; *Kur.* 539a.
(f) cūḻ-cci (verbal noun), *Tol. Por.* 260:4; *AN.* 52:II.
(g) tavir-cci (verbal noun), *Tol. Por.* 185:2.
(h) nikaḻ-cci (verbal noun), *Tol. Por.* 635:2; 647:2.
(i) pukaḻ-cci (verbal noun), *Tol. Por.* 82:2.
(j) pukaṟci (verbal noun), *Tol. Por.* 146:56.
(k) vāḻ-cci (verbal noun), *Tol. Por.* C81. 80e, 98a; *Patiṟṟ.* 56:7.

These Old Tamil forms approach most closely the past verbal participles of the Telugu third conjugation. Confer Arden's *Telugu Grammar,* 284-292. Thus rakṣ-iñci, peñ-ci, mār-ci are the "viṉai eccam" of the corresponding verbs: rakṣ-iñcu etc. We cannot pursue this matter here further.

As regards the function of the particle "ciṉ" or "iciṉ", let us listen to what Tamil grammars, especially *Tol.,* have said on his matter:

El. 333

maṉṉum ciṉṉum āṉum iṉum
piṉṉum muṉṉum viṉaiyeñcu kiḷaviyum
aṉṉa iyala eṉmaṉār pulavar.

Col. 274

miyā ika mō mati ikum ciṉ eṉṉum
ā vayiṉ āṟum muṉṉilai acaiccol.

The second sutra, that from *Tol. Col.,* is of cardinal importance for our purpose. It states explicitly that the particles it mentions are distinctive of **the second person:** muṉṉilai, in the second line. We shall see presently that the classics used them with all the three persons. What is

still more disconcerting, if interesting in another view, is that *Tol.* itself, in all its three sections, *Eḻ.*, *Col.* and *Por.*, violates the rule enunciated in *Tol. Col.* 274. Thus *Tol. Eḻ.* 102:7 uses iṯ with the 1st. pers. The significant word is the last in the seventh line.

El. 102,
line 6: ahtu ivaṉ nuvalātu eḻuntu puṟatticaikkum
line 7: mey teri vaḷiyicai aḷavu nuvanṟiciṉe.

The Commentator renders the last line thus: poruḷ teriyum kāṟṟiṉatu tuṇivirkē yan māttirai kūṟiṉēṉ = I have declared... *Tol. Eḻ.* 295 (e) uses "iciṉ" with the 3rd pers. and in the plural:

cevvitu eṉpa ciṟanticiṉōre = colvar ciṟantōr, Com.

Tol. Col. 116b and 158b do the same, violating the rule in *Tol. Col.*:

(1) ūḷa-v-eṉa moḻipa uṇaarnticiṉōrē = colluvar uṇarntōr, Com.
(2) ay-iranṭu eṉpa aṟinticiṉōrē = colluvar aṟintōr, Com.

Tol. Por. 315:3; 413:4; 525:12 do likewise:

(1) nērum niraiyum eṉriciṉ peyarē = eṉrām, Com.
(2) oṉpahtu eṉpa uṇarnticiṉōrē = uṇarntōr, Com.
(3) āṅkaṉam moḻipa aṟinticiṉōrē = collupa avaṟṟai uṇarnta āciriyar, Com. This needs further investigation.

Naṉṉūl 441b speaks of this particle as "cin":

ciṉ kurai ōrum pōlum... acai moḻi.

But under *Naṉ.* 145. the Kaṇṭikaiyurai Commentary has a scholium, which includes iciṉ in these words: iciṉ eṉpatu iṟantakala iṭainilai". This late Commentary, and not any early work, is cited by the *Madras Lexicon,* at page 272, as meaning 1. As meaning 2, it cites the Com. of Nacc. on *Col.* 296, which both Nacc. and the *Madras Lexicon* number as 298. It distinguishes the second meaning from the first. The first is a tense suffix showing the past. The second is **a poetical expletive, acainilai.** On page 1466, *The Madras Lexicon* describes "ciṉ" as **an expletive,** generally used in **poetry,** or **acaiccol,** i.e. the meaning 2 above. Then he cites **a line** from Tol. Col. 277 as an instance: kāppum pūṇticiṉ. From the previous analogy, this must be *Tol. Col.* 275 or 276, as the numbering is different as explained above. But in none of these, Col. 275, 276 or 277, is there even a hint of **this line,** nor is it cited in the Com. of Nacc. under these sutras. But Nacc. under 275 cites a parallel line from *Naṟṟ.* 61:10 kaṇṇum paṭumō eṉṟiciṉ yānē. Here it is employed with the 1st pers. sing. This word is so employed at *Kṟt.* 217:7; *Naṟṟ.* 55:12 too.

Now we come to the solution of this puzzle. *Tol. Col.* 275 seems

to answer this difficulty: for it makes two significant exceptions to the general rule enunciated in the previous sutra:

avarṟul
i rumuñ *ciṉṉum ēnaiy itaṭṭum*
takunilaiy uṭaiya eṉmaṉār pulavar.

It is true that some commentators distinguish between "ciṉ" here and "iciṉ", which is the object of our investigation. But a comparison of all the citations under *Col.* 274 and 275 of *Tol.* and under *Naṉ.* 145 and 441 will show any unbiassed reader that this distinction is merely nominal, not real. Still *Col.* 275 seems to be an afterthought of the author of *Tol.* One hesitates to call it an interpolation.

Now let us study the wide incidence of this ancient particle which practically disappears in works later than the fourth century A.D.

SUBSECTION I

ICIN, EMPLOYED WITH THE FIRST PERSON, OF COL. 274-5

1. cleavu ayarnticiṉ — āl yāṉē, *Naṟṟ.* 149:9; *An.* 147:10.
2. aṟinticiṉē, *Kṟt.* 247:4; *Naṟṟ.* 278:6 = I have known.
3. paiy ānticiṉe, *Naṟṟ.* 114:4 = yāṉ añcāninṟēn, Com.
4. āynticiṉ *Kṟt.* 262:5.
5. āṉṟiciṉ, *PN.* 151:7; 164:8; *Kuṟiñcip.* 34.
6. uvanticiṉ, *Kṟt.* 351:I.
7. pētu uṟṟicin, *AN.* 135:6 = yāṉ mayankiyuḻēṉ.
8. eṉṟiciṉ, *Krt.* 217:7; *Naṟṟ.* 55:12; 61:10.
9. yāṉ kaṇṭiciṉ, *Naṟṟ.* 128:5; 177:4; *PN.* 22:36; *Narr.* 195:4.
10. kētticiṉ, *Naṟṟ.* 115:II; *PN.* 150:24 = kēḷaniṉṟēṉ, Com.
11. kūrnticiṉ, *Krt.* 216:4.
12. cūḻnticiṉ, *Krt.* II:8; *AN.* 16:13.
13. teḻinticiṉ, yāṉē, *Aink.* 466:5.
14. nuvaṉticiṉ, *Tol. El.* 102:7, which I have cited above.
15. paṭarnticiṉē, *PN.* 164:8.
16. maruṇticiṉē, *AN.* 384:8 = maruṭci uṟṟēṉ, Com.
17. maṟanticiṉ, *AN,* 38:18.
18. (kāṇku) vanticiṉ, *Narr.* 50:8; *Patiṟṟ.* 15:15; 16:9; 41:16; 54:I; 61:14; 64:15; 82:11; 90:55; *PN.* 17:33; 125:4; 369:22; 371:20; 373:34; 391:14.
19. valitticiṉ yāṉē, *AN.* 303:20 = tuṇintulēṉ, Com. This is a remarkable use of the ancient Tamil verb "val" = to be strong, akin to Latin "validus".

SUBSECTION II

ICIN, EMPLOYED WITH THE SECOND PERSON, OF COL. 274

1. aṟṟiciṉ, *Paripa.* 8:79 = āṟṟuvāyāka, Com.
2. ānriciṉ, *Naṟṟ.* 128:6; 286:2; 332:5; *AN.* 69:4; 237:8; 267:3.

3. uraitticiṉ, *Kṟt.* 63:4; 302:I; *Naṟṟ.* 103:I; 176:4; *AN.* 191:13; 200:14; 314:14; *PN.* 167:12 = speak thou.
4. eṉṟiciṉ, *Naṟṟ.* 99:5; *AN.* 375:2 = say thou.
5. kaṇṭicin, *Kṟt.* 112:5; 220:7; 240:5; 249:5; 359:I; *Naṟṟ.* 35:8; 202:8; *AN.* 99:1; 369:1; *Aink.* 105:4 = see thou.
6. kāṇṭicin, *AN.* 164:11; 376:13 = kāṇpāyāka = mayest thou see!
7. kēṭṭiciṉ, *Kṟt.* 30:1; *AN.* 138:1; *Naṟṟ.* 78:7; *Aink.* 59:1; ***Maturaik.*** 208 = hear thou.
8. cūḻnticiṉ, *AN.* 77:4 = āyntukoṇṭaṉai = thou didst consider.
9. terinticiṉ, *AN.* 281:1 = ārāyntu kāṇpāyāka.
10. naṭatticiṉ, *PN.* 255:6 = walk (thou).
11. nuvaṉṟicin, *Naṟṟ.* 200:5 = kūṟippōvāyāka.
12. nōṟṟiciṉ, *PN.* 202:16 = endure (thou).
13. pūṇṭiciṉ, *AN.* 7:5 = thou hast bedecked thyself with.
14. māṟṟiciṉ, *Col.* 296 (298) Nacc. cil, "kātaṉaṉmā nī māṟṟiciṉē".
15. vaṭitticiṉ, *PN.* 180:13 = vaṭippāy āka.
16. vanticiṉ, *Krt.* 367:3 = having come. See below, for the whole line.
17. vanticiṉ, *Aiṅk.* 175:3 = come (thou).

A very important feature of our ancient Tamil can be recognized on a careful scrutiny of the words instanced above. The **same** form is employed for very **different** functions. Thus -iciṉ is the particle utilized to form five separate parts of a verb:

(a) the viṉai eccam, as at (16) *Kuṟuntokai* 367:3; which I cite here fully:

uvakkāṉ tōḻi avvanticiṉē = tōḻi ankē vantu (=having come), pārppāyāka = O female companion! come and see (this);

(b) the pres. perfect, as at (13) *AN.* 7:5 pūṇticiṉ;
(c) the past ense, as at (8) *AN.* 77:4 cūḻnticiṉ;
(d) the optative mood as at (2) āṉṟiciṉ, (15) vaṭitticiṉ, (1) arricin, (6) kanticin, (9) terinticin and (11) unvanricin;
(e) the imperative, always singular, in the remaining nine cases.

The difference, however, between (d) and (e) above is rather thin, I must confess, and depends for the most part on the commentaries to the text: bar this, the context alone, in the written text, decides the mood and tense in each instance.

There are a few incidences of -iciṉ, where it involves two cases simultaneously. They are all "viṉaiyāl aṉaiyum peyar": composite nouns formed from finite verbs. Thus at *Kṟt.* 127:6 ni akaṉṟiciṉōrkkē = **she** from whom **thou** hast separated **theyself.**

This brings us to the subject matter of SUBSECTION III

ICIN EMPLOYED WITH THE THIRD PERSON, COL. 275

1. akanṟ-iciṉ-ōr, *Kṟt.* 127:6; *AN.* 311:14.
2. aṭaint-iciṉ-ōr, *Kṟt.* 266:6;
3. aṟinticin-ōr, *Kṟt.* 18:3; 267:8; *Col.* 158b, *Por.* 525:12. Note its occurrence twice in *Tolkappiyam* itself.
4. aṉṟiciṉ, *PN.* 289:7.
5. āṇṭiciṉōr, *PN.* 357:3.
6. iṟanticiṉ-ōr (nominal form = ceṉṟavar), *Naṟṟ.* 302:10.
7. iṟanticinōl (nominal form or finite vb. = ceṉṟāl) *AN.* 306:15.
8. utaṟṟiciṉōr (nominal form), *Patirr.* 72:16.
9. uṉarnticiṉōr, *PN.* 365:II; *Tol. Col.* 116b, *Por.* 413:4.
10. uyarnticiṉōr, nominal form, *PN.* 214:6.
11. uṟainticiṉōr, *AN.* 200:5.
12. eṉṟiciṉ, *Aiṅk.* 73:4; 74:I; *Tol. Col.* 295; *Tol. Por.* 315:3.
13. eṉṟiciṉōṉē, *Naṟṟ.* 300:6.
14. kaṇṭiciṉōr, *Aink.* 85:5.
15. ciṟanticiṉōr, *Naṟṟ.* 337:2; *Tol. El.* 295e, cited above.
16. cenricin, *Naṟṟ.* 394:6.
17. ceṉṟicinor, *Naṟṟ.* 314:12; *AN.* 34:15.
18. nayanticiṉōr, *AN.* 103:15, *Perumpān.* 425.
19. paṭaitticiṉōr, *PN.* 18:23.
20. payanticiṉōr, *PN.* 137:15.
21. pirinticiṉōr, *Krt.* 35:5; 94:5; 350:8; *Naṟṟ.* 124:12; *AN.* 183:15; 197:18.
22. pirinticiṉōl, nominal form, *Kṟt.* 336:6.
23. pukaḻnticiṉōn, finite verb (=pukaḻntaṉaṉ, Com.), *AN.* 210:10.
24. puṉarnticiṉōr, *AN.* 367:16.
25. peṟṟiciṉ, *PN.* 11:9; 13:18 (lines 9, 13 and 18 of the same poem).
26. peṟṟiciṉōr, *PN.* 125:20.
27. pōṉṟiciṉ, *Naṟṟ.* 240:10; *Aink.* 74:1.
28. maṟanticiṉōr, *Naṟṟ.* 118:5.
29. maṟutticiṉōr, *Patiṟṟ.* 45:22.
30. maṟṟiciṉ, *PN.* 272:3.
31. māynticiṉōr, *PN.* 27:6.
32. miḻirnticiṉ, *PN.* 139:13 (= piṟaḻntāl, Com.).
33. munticiṉōr, *Patiṟṟ.* 69:17.
34. vaḷarnticiṉ, *Aiṅk.* 44:2.

No lexicon, no vocabulary, no grammar nor any other printed book lists such words together; hence while my lists here are copious enough they are by no means exhaustive. The abundance of such words, with "iciṉ" wedged in, must accordingly strike any reader very forcibly indeed. Let him contrast this with their complete absence in the later literature of the next millennium.

2. THE PECULIAR DICTION OF THE *TOLKAPPIYAM*

A careful comparison of the themes discussed and of the diction employed by *El. Col.* and *Por.*, the component parts of *Tol.* with those of the classics, will demonstrate a few facts worthy of notice:

1. The first part of *Tol.*, the *Eluttu*, is anterior to all the classics that we now posses.
2. The *Kuṟuntokai* Anthology is closest in time to this part of *Tol.* But it still remains a fact that the *Eḻ.* has several sutras anterior to the *Kṟt.*, as I shall show in § 3 below.
3. The skeleton "nightaṇṭu" (an antique form of dictionary) that is incorporated into *Tol. Col.*, as its eighth section, is very remarkable. It is entitled "uri iyal". It sets out to give the meanings of the difficult words found in our ancient classics and in some instances in *Tol.* itself, in terminology that becomes current only four or five centuries later. This makes us suspect that *Tol. Col.* is a composite work, which has increased in size by means of accretions round an earlier core, just as the Psalms of David have done in the Hebrew tongue, and the Epics like the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyana* in Sanskrit.
4. There is admittedly a certain uniformity of treatment through *Tol.* and a peculiarity of diction that separates it from the classics. But on closer analysis this uniformity does not preclude a manifold diversity, and the peculiarity of diction is found to be shared by sutras from other grammars. Thus where the classics have the final ending of a verse in āṉ or āṉē, *Tol.* has the ending āṉa. But under *Eḻ.* 140, Nacc. cites another grammar, which has this identical ending:

   uṭampaṭu meyyē yakāra vakāram
   uyirmutaṉ moḻi varūuṅ kālaiyāṉa.

The classics rarely employ "eṉā" in the sense of modern Tamil eṉṟu, whereas "eṉā" occurs frequently in *Tol.*, especially in *Por.* But it occurs likewise four times in a grammatical verse of eleven lines, which Pērāciriyar cites under *Tol. Por.* 312 in his diffuse commentary. Even the characteristic phrase of *Tolkāppiyam*, "eṉmaṉār pulavar", is found in the identical position of sutras and in the identical sense in a sutra from another source, which Nacc. has saved from oblivion and cites under *Por.* 92:

āyamum tōḻiyum aruḷi naṉku aṟiya
māya ppuṇarcci eṉmaṉar pulavar.

This peculiar diction belongs not so much to *Tol.* as to grammatical schools. As these had a greater opportunity to study the more ancient literary forms available to them and to steep their minds in that archaic

diction than the poets of love or war, the former have preserved this archaic diction better than the latter. Thus *Tol.* employs his characteristic ending "āṉa" 38 times in *El.*, 19 times in *Col.* and 49 times in *Por.*, 106 times in all. Parallel to this in the classics is "-āṉē", which occurs at *Kṟt.* 36:6; 42:4; 183:7; 184:7; 259:8, 262:3, 312:3; *AN.* 257:21 puḷḷai eṉkiṉ malai vayiṉ-āṉē; but the pada text here reads instead malai vayiṉāṉa, as in *Tol.*

In both cases, the final "a" or "ē" is added for emphasis. The penultimate particle -"āṉ", according to *Nan.* 297, would be an Instrumental Suffix; but in the earlier Tamil of the *Kṟt.* it functions as a Locative Suffix. Thus at *Krt.* 31:1 viḻaviṉ-āṉ and at *Kṟt.* 31:2 tuṉaṅkaiy āṉ, the Com. renders each -"āṉ" as kaṉiṉ that place. Likewise at *Tol. Por.* 187c kālaiyāṉ, the Com. renders it as kālattiṉ kaṉ = at the time. "Kaṉ", is one of the 3 specific suffixes of the Locative Case according to *Naṉ.*, namely il, iṭam, kaṉ.

3. THREE CRUCIAL SUTRAS FROM TOL. EL. EXAMINED

We now come to that part of my dissertation which is most important **in the fields of literary history and of grammatical criticism.**

I here allude to **the three sutras** in *Tolkāppiyam's* "Eluttu", which are most significant for our purpose, namely *Eḻ.* 62, 64, 6.5

SUBSECTION I

Eḻuttu 62, which concerns us most here:

> cakarak kiḷaviyum avaṟṟ-ōr aṟṟē
> a ai au eṉum mūṉṟ-alaṅ kaṭaiye.

Its meaning: The letter "c" is of the same nature as the above-mentioned ones (k, t, n, p, m); but, as the initial consonant of a word, it **cannot** be followed by these three vowels: **"a", "ai"** and **"au".**

This sūtra, along with *Eḻ.* 64 and 65, is of the utmost assistance in our task of fixing the date of *Tol. Eḻ.* in relation to the most ancient Tamil classics now extant. On the other hand, the early mediaeval Tamil grammars, like the *Vīracōḻiyam, Nēminātam* and *Naṉṉūl,* make no such distinction, as *Tol. Eḻ.* 62 does, between the letter "c" and the other five letters mentioned at *Tol. Eḻ.* 61. It seems likely therefore that *Tol. Eḻ.* is dealing here with a peculiar feature in the Tamil of its own time. This rules out "ca" as an inital syllable of Tamil words. But a cursory glance through the pages of any Tamil dictionary will show you hundreds of such words. True enough; but such words are later and mostly of foreign origin. In what are called the "Sangham" works, especially in the *mēlkanakku,* which are the earlier onces, we find just a few of them, and we note **a progressive increase in such words** as we pass from the

earliest classical works, like the *Kuruntokai,* to later ones, like the *Paripātal.* The remaining six of the *Eight Anthologies* and the *Ten Idylls* take up a position as regards the frequency of this incidence in exact proportion to the date of their composition. In the lesser classics, the *kīlkkaṇakku,* which are also later, the frequency gathers momentum, as it does likewise in the mediaeval epics and religious hymns of Saivite and Vaisnavite mystics.

Here we are obliged to investigate the incidence of such words as are ruled out by *Tol. El.* 62 in works of several epochs. We shall start with the 18 greater classics. To read them alone from cover to cover is a work of considerable magnitude; to hunt there for these words, with the help of unsatisfactory indexes, is such a difficult task that I do not claim to give a complete exhaustive list of the words in question but an adequate one, sufficient to give the reader an undistorted image of the state of such words.

A. THE WORDS WITH "CA" AS THE INITIAL SYLLABLE OF OLD TAM. WORDS

1. cakatam = a cart, *Krt.* 165:3; *Narr.* 4:9; *AN.* 136:5; *PN.* 102:2; *Perumpan.* 50; *Paripa.* 10:17; *Nal.* 2d; *Cilap.* I:80; 26:136; (cakatu), *Civ.* 36:3b.
2. cankam = a large number, *Paripa.* 2:13; *Civ.* 139b.
3. canku = a large number, *Civ.* 493b.
4. catai = tangled hair, *PN.* I:13; 43:4; 166:1; 251:7; 252:2; *Kalit.* 150:9; *Paripa.* 9:5; II:2; *Mani.* 17:27; *Cilap.* Patikam 40:26; 225; *Civ.* 32c, 14.31a.
5. canpakam = a flowering tree, *Paripa.* 12:77; *Civ.* 68d, 314c, 1013d, 1081a, 1253a, 1608c, 1650b, 1918a, 2349d.
6. canpu = a species of sedge grass, elephant grass, *Perumpan.* 220; *Maturaik* 172; *Mptu.* 454. In all these instances the alternate reading is "kanpu". In an earlier work, the *PN.,* only "kanpu" occurs e.g. 334:1 kamaru palanak kanpin anna. It is evident that just as "Kaesar", in the early Latin pronunciation and in the Greek inscriptions, tended to be pronounced "Caesar" in later Latin and ultimately "Cēsar", almost like "Sēsar", so "kanpu" in the earliest Tamil, a word **does not violate** *Tol. El.* 62, become in later Tamil "caṇpu", which **does.** A still later form of this word is "caṇpaṅkōrai", which occurs occasionally in Nacc.'s Commentary on the *Kalit.* and on the *Pattuppāṭṭu* or the *Ten Idylls.*
7. catukkam = a piazza or public square, a junction of four roads, *Narr.* 319:5; *Muruk.* 225; *Cīv.* 112b; *Maṇi.* 1:55; 7:78; 20:55; 29:22; *Cilap.* 5:134; 14:213.
8. catukku = catukkam above (No. 7). *Patirr.* Patikam 9, line 13.
9. canti = a junction of streets, *Muruk.* 225; *Cilap.* 10:19; 6:61.

10. cantu[1] = a junction of many roads, a joint *Mptu* 393.
11. cantu[2] = sandal, "Sirium myrtifolium", either the tree, wood, or the unctious preparation of the wood, held in high estimation as perfume. This is generally termed "cāntu" in *Kṟt.* and such early works: but in the later poems "cantu" occurs more frequently, as at *AN.* 102:3; *Cilap.* 8:9. A still later equivalent is **cantanam** = Sk. candana.
12. cantam = sandal etc. as in No. 11 above, at *AN.* 340:16
    vaṭavar tanta vān kēḻ cantam.
13. camam = a battle (Com. pōr) *AN.* 25:19; 220:4; 188:5
    arum camattu etirnta perum Cey ātavar;
    PN. 14:4; 72:8; 275:9; 284:5; 309:2; 365:5.
    Patiṟṟ 30:41; 34:10; 40:10; 41:19; 43:9; 52:7; 70:3; 71:20; 76:1.
    Paripa. 19:42; 21:2; 22:1; *Muruk.* 99, *Maturaik.* 593, *Cilap.* 10:247; *Mani.* 8:59.
14. camaḻ = be put to shame, worsted or pained, *Paripa.* 20:36; *Civ.* 1000d, *Nālati* 72d, 316c.
15. caman = a level, equity, impartiality, as at *Kur.* 118a: caman ceytu cir tukkum kol pol.
16. camai = to take an embryo into the womb and bring it to maturity, *Paripa.* 5:38-40. Note the relative frequency of such words in this book.
17. calam[1] = water, *Paripa.* 9:6; 10:90.
18. calam[2] = deceit, *Paripa.* 6:57; *Nal.* 188c, d, calavar, ibidem = deceivers.
19. calam[3] = malice, contrariety, long-standing anger, *Maturaik.* 112; *Paripa.* 15:58; *Kur.* 660a, 956a.
20. camayam = opportunity, season, *Mani.* I:60.
21. calancalam = a specific conch, *Civ.* 184c, 231d, 317d, 1673b, 2103b, 2475a.
22. cavattu = to tear up, to destroy, *AN.* 375:14; *Patirr.* 84:7; *Perumpan.* 217; *Civ.* 1734d.
23. canam = people, *Paripa.* 10:59; *Civ.* 116d, 828b, 1841d.

Kindly note that, among the 18 greater classics, *Krt.* comes nearest to observe the regulation enunciated at *Tol. El.* 62; exceptionally, it is **almost devoid** of such words: it has only one word with "ca-" as initial and that **only once.** (Cf. No. 1 above: cakatam, at *Krt.* 165:3.) On the other hand, the *Paripa.*, which on other counts is considered by research scholars the latest of the 8 anthologies, has eleven such words, occurring **fifteen times** in all. In size or length the Krt. of 401 short poems, which are all (except 307 and 391 which are of nine lines each) between 4 and 8 lines in length (hence its name "kurum" = short), is not very different from the extant collection of the 22 long *Paripatal* hymns. Still there is

this great difference of 1 to 15 occurrences between the earliest and the latest of the Eight Anthologies, in the earliest **once** and in the latest **15 times.** We can then visualize a period of time slightly anterior to the *Krt.* when there was no such word, exactly as *Tol. El.* 62 states. Let the reader see the diagram at the end of this article.

B. Most of these words seem to be **loan words from Sanskrit.** With No. 1 compare Sk. sakata and sakati f. a cart, waggon *RV.* X 146, 3.

With No. 2 of Sk. sankha = a high number, *M. Bh.*
With No. 3 of Sk. sankhu = a high number, ten billions, *M. Bh.*
With No. 4 of Sk. jata f = tangled hair *Par. Gr.* II. 6; *Mn.* VI, 6.
With No. 5 of Sk. campaka = a flowering tree, *M. Bh.; Rama.*
With No. 7 of Sk. catuska = a quadrangle, *Pancat.* etc.
With No. 9 of Sk. samdhi = a junction, literally **"putting together.**
With No. 12 of Sk. candana, idem, *Nir.* XI, 5; *M. Bh; Rama.*
With No. 13 of Sk. samana = conflict, *RV.* 73, 3 & 5 etc. *Naigh.* II, 17.
With No. 15 of Sk. sama = level, *RV.* etc.
With No. 17 of Sk. jala n. *Naigh.* I, 12; *Yajn.* 1:17; *M. Bh.*
With No. 18 of Sk. shala n. deceit, fraud, *Mn.; M. Bh.* etc.
With No. 20 of Sk. samaya, M. opportunity, *M. Bh.; Kav.*
With No. 23 of Sk. jana, M. MV h. VIII, 709, *Ramā.* VI, 101, 2.

Thus 14 out of these 23 words have Sanskritic origins. The increase in the incidence of the "ca"- initial in L.C. and E.M. Tamil words is therefore to some extent, an aspect of the progressive use of loan words from Sk. in Tamil.

C. **To illustrate the increase in the number of Tamil words with the "ca"-** initial from the time of the Krt., which was roughly the two centuries on both sides of Christ's birth, to that of **the *Tiruvācakam* of the E.M.** periods A.D. 600-900, one has just to contrast the solitary instance in the *Krt.* with the several instances given in the reliable index on the latter by G. U. Pope, on pages 34 and 35. I give only the words, without the references:

cakam, cakalam, caṅkam, caṅku, caṅkamam, caṅkaraṉ, caccaiyaṉ, caṭai, caṭṭam, caṭṭu, caṉṭam, caturpaṭa, caturar, caturaṉ, caturapperumāṉ, caturmukaṉ, catti, cantaṉam, cantu, cantiraṉ, camayam, camayavāti; cayam[1] (=victory), cavacaya (=hurrah!); cayam[2] (destruction); caraṭu, caraṇam, caraṇ, caratam, cari; calam[1] (=water); calam[2] (=malice) calantaraṉ, cali, calippu, cavalai, caḻakku; 37 in all.

This is a phenomenal growth, from 1 to 37, in the short space of a thousand years.

D. Tol. El 62 bans likewise **the "cai" initial** for Tamil words: but the *Tiruvācakam* has "caivaṉ" at 2:85, 4:113 and 40:35, i.e. three times.

E. The literary evidence as well as comparative Dravidian philology seem to indicate **shortening of the vowel in the first or radical** syllable, cā>ca, as a partial cause of the growth indicated above. This feature is evident in Telugu too. Arden's *Grammar,* at section 818, gives the earlier or grammatical forms, such as cāvan = to die, cāvūdu; while the later forms of modern spoken Telugu, have the radical syllable shortened into such words as caccu, cacci, castunna, caccina, caccinānu, caccinādu, caccipoyinādu. In the same manner, in Tamil cāti (=a clay vessel, as at *Tol. Eḻ.* 170d; *PN.* 297:6, 319:3; *Perumpan.* 280) seems to have contracted into caṭi = a clay vessel, used in cooking food, *El.* 62, Nacc; *Col.* 452 Cen. The reader will note that the latter (and later) form is found only in the mediaeval **commentaries** on *Tol.,* **not in** *Tol.* **itself.**

SUBSECTION II

Let us now pass on to *Tol. Eḻ.* 64:

ā e ō
eṉṉum mūvuyir ñakāratt — uriya.

"The letter *ñ,* as initial of a word, can be followed by only three vowels, *ā, e* and *o*". Like *Eḻ.* 62, this is a very important sūtra. It differs greatly from the parallel statements in mediaeval grammars, like the *Vīrac,* and *Nāṉ. Vīrac, Eḻ.* canti. 7b states: "ña nāṉku", i.e. *ñ* is followed by four of the vowels. Its Com. specifies these four as *ā, a e,* and *o.* Likewise, *Naṉ.* 105 states: *a ā e.* ovvōtu ākum ñammutal.

Thus between the composition of *Tol. Eḻ.* and that of the two mediaeval grammars, there had come into use Tam. words with *ña* as their initial syllable (*Naṉ.* 105) as well as with *ca* (*Naṉ.* 102).

This grammatical feature is completely corroborated and borne out by the literary evidence of the earliest classical texts. The Krt. has **only one instance** of the *"ña"* initial, namely namali (=a dog), at 179:2, just as it has only one instance of the *"ca"* initial. As we pass along to the later texts, both the number of such words and their incidence increase *pari passu* (i.e. at the same rate). In late mediaeval and modern Tamil, seven of the vowels are associated with *ñ,* e.g. ñi in ñimir = a sound, as of bees; in ñēya = a certain type of plant, ñai — in ñaiya = to ridicule. This increase is exactly parallel to that associated with the *"ca"* initial under *Tol. Eḻ.* 62 above. I subjoin here a list of words, in the earliest,

and a bit later, classics, which have *ña* or *ñi* as their initial syllable, **in opposition to** *El̲.* 64 or *Tol*:

1. *ñamali* = a hunting dog, *Kr̲t*, 179:2; *AN.* 122:9; 388:14; *PN.* 74:3; *Perumpān.* 112, 132, 299; *Paṭṭinap.* 140, *Kur̲iñcip.* 131.
2. Namann̲ = the god of death, Yama, *PN.* 6:9:
   "teri kōl ñamann̲ pōlai", *Paripā.* 3:21; 5:61.
3. ñaral = to sound loud like ankl̲ets, *Patir̲r̲.* 30:6; *Maruk.* 120.
4. ñayam = advantage, profit, in Atticūti:
   "ñayam pata urai" = speak profitably.
5. ñiṇam = fat (sub.), *PN.* 117:14.
6. ñimir̲u[1] = the honey bee, at *PN.* 93:12; Cīv. 48c.
7. ñimir̲u[2] = a beetle "vari ñimir̲a", *AN.* 59:9; 78:3; 102:10 "ari ñimir̲u", *Patir̲r̲.* 12:12; 50:18; *Kalit.* 127:3.

The last two words seem to be instances of *metathesis.* Just as the Sanskritic and North Indian month of "Vaiśākhi" (confer the Pāli Buddhist "vesakh") has become in Tamil and South India "vaikaci", so the more ancient miñiru, found at *PN.* 22:6; *Patirr.* 60:4; 89:3; *Kalit.* 33:23; *Paripā.* 8:23; *Cīv.* 892d, 1769d etc., has become nimiru. In fact, at *AN.* 78:3 and *PN.* 93:12 "vari minir̲u arkkum vay p̲uku katattu" and "vari nimiru . . ." are the alternate readings, found with miniru ñimiru respectively. There is sufficient ground to conclude that miñiru, in both senses, is the earlier word, and this word does not run counter to *Tol. El̲.* 64. Hence there are just five words in the earliest Tamil literature that do so, and these are to be found in its middle and later strata for the most part. In its earliest stratum, to which the *Krt.* poems correspond, such words are very rare indeed. Did we possess still earlier poems, now lost, they would most probably have had no such words whatsoever. This would seem to show that *Tol. El̲.* is distinctly anterior by one century or two to the extant Tamil literary poems. See section 4 below.

SUBSECTION III

This contention will be strengthened by the study of *Tol. El̲.* 65: "āvōṭu allatu yakaram mutal ātu" = "y can be the initial of a word, only when it is followed by ā". A phonetic tendency among the classical Tamil speakers rigidly excluded the "ya", "ca"- and "ña" initials, while welcoming the longer syllables, "yā", "cā" and "ñā", as initials. Even today, while the Sinhalese pronounce the name of persons as "Jayakodi", the Tamils of Ceylon utter the same name as "Jeyakoḍi"; likewise "jayam" as "jeyam" or "ceyam" etc. In the same way, when literary or colloquial usage does shorten the initial vowel "yā", this never becomes "ya"- but always "e"-. Thus yāṅku, yāvan, yāṅkaṉam, yāṅkaṉ,

yātu, yāvatu, yāvaṇ, yāvaḷ, yāvar are respectively shortened into eṅku, evaṇ, enkaṉam, eṅkaṉ, etu, evvatu (*Kuṟ*. 426a), evaṉ, evaḷ, evar. Note also that the early classical yāṅṅaṉam is shortened into eṅṅaṉam, *Kuṟ*. 2·51b. Then again, while nām (=we, at *Kuṟ*. 119·5a, *Nāl*. 12·32a, 181c, 23·5a, 390c etc.) is shortened in the oblique cases into "nam", as in "nammai" (*Nāl*. 376b), nammāl (*Nāl*. 301a), nammoṭu" (*Nāl*. 372a), namakku (*Kur*. 1195a, 1231a, *Nal*. 55d), nammiṉum (*Kur*. 1277a) or even simple "nam", as at *Kuṟ*. 1258a, *Nāl*. 394c, we never find the earlier form of the same pronoun "yām" shortened into such words as "yammai", or the singular "yān" into "Yaṉṉai", though "tān" becomes taṉṉai". Scholars have deduced the process of evolution in the case of "yam" as Yam > ñām (as in Mal.) > nam. Hence we get "nammai" etc. in the oblique cases. This is one device to avoid the "ya"- initial. Another device is to adopt a prothetic glide, generally i, e.g. yantram in Sk. becomes iyantiram in Tamil. Likewise iyantiri, iyaman, iyamakam, iyamaṉ, iyavaṉaṉ. Even as late as *Tiruvacakam* the Tamilian ear had not yet grown accustomed to "ya"- in the initial position. In early classical times this was tolerated in the case of one word alone "yavaṉar" = the Greeks, or rather the Ionians, which later become "Jōṇiar" or Cōṉakar". Yavaṉar occurs at *PN*. 56: 18; *Patiṟṟ*. Patikam 2, line 8; *Neṭunal*. 101; *Perumpān*. 316; *Mullaip*. 61; *Cilap*. 5: 10; 14: 67; 28: 141; 29, 25, I. This last work employs another word with the "ya"- initial: yacōtaiyar, from the Sk. Yaśōdā, the wife of the cowherd, Nanda. The *Cīv*. and still later commentary have a few more words with the "ya"- initial, e.g. yamatūtar, yamatūt, yamaṉ, yavatattaṉ, yavanacceppu, yavanappelai, yamakam, yakki tevatal etc. In a few centuries more, the "ya"- initial became established in such loan words, as the abovementioned ones, mostly from Sk. At the opposite pole to this is the *Kṟt*. This anthology conforms perfectly to *Eḻ*. 65 by avoiding the initials "ya"-, "yū"-, "yō"- etc. Slightly later texts, however, introduce such words in a gradual stream:

1. yūpam[1] = a high sacrificial pillar, "vēlvi ttūn" at *PN*. 400: 19.
2. yūpam[2] = the headless trunk of a corpse, at *PN*. 15: 21; 224: 8; *Patiṟṟ*. 67: 10; *Maturaik*. 27. This is a loan word from the Sk. yūpa m. *RV*., *R*. etc.
3. yūkam = a black monkey, at *Muruk*. 302. Thus in the 18 greater classics the only exceptions to *Eḻ*. 65 are the few incidences of "yavaṉar", "yūyam" and "yūkam". On the other hand, in mediaeval Tamil works, such as the *Tiruvācakam*, and *Cilap*. we meet such words as these quite frequently indeed: yōkam[1] (*Tv*. 37: 14) = abstract contemplation, bliss, from Sk. yuj = to join (in this case with God).
   yōkam[2] = a treatise; a remedy, *Cīv*.
   yōku[1] = separation (*Tv*. 12: 36); yōku[2] = a remedy, *Civ*.

yōṉi = womb, *Tv.* 4:12; yōcaṉai, *Cilap.* 25:15.
yōki = the contemplating ascetic, (fr. Sk. yōgin) at *Tv.* 46:6.

In the gradual evolutionary process, the eḻuttu *c, ñ, y,* all of which have a palatal quality, came to be associated with more and more of the vowels. The mediaeval grammars allow for this increase. Thus *VC. Eḷ.* Canti. 7b has the brief statement yavvāṟu. Its commentary explains this and sanctions ya-, yā, yu- yū, yō- and yau as initials. *Nēminatam, Eḷ.* 7c restricts such initials to three: yā, yū-, yō-. Thus yāṉai. yukam and yōki are allowed. *Naṉṉūl* holds the same view as *VC.* and states at 104:

> a ā u ū ō au yammutal. The commentary instances yavaṉar, yānai, yukam, yūki, yōki, yauvanam. This shows that the *Tolkāppiyam* **stands unique** in these three restrictive sūtras and refers to a literature **more than a thousand** years anterior to these mediaeval grammars and to their literature. I shall clarify this in the following section.

4. THE CONCLUSION

A. WORDS THAT VIOLATE THE RULES IN EL. 62, 64 AND 65

A sketch to clarify this.

STAGE 1	STAGE 2	STAGE 3
No occurrence of such words whatsoever: *Tol. El. circa* 400 B.C.	Very few occurrences of such words *Krt.* 200 B.C. to A.D. 200 Most of *Naṟṟ., AN.* and *PN.*	A few occurrences: *Pattupattu* except *Muruk.* Later poems of *Naṟṟ., AN.* and *PN.*

STAGE 4	STAGE 5	STAGE 6
Still more occurrences: *Muruk.* and *Paripā.*	Occurrences on a still large scale: *Cilap., Mani., Civ.* etc. *Tv.* E.M. literature.	Widespread occurrences Late Mediaeval and still later literature.

B. Scholars should, like the philosopher De Cartes, test everything, before acceptance. Thus mere popular belief is insufficient to state that the *Tolkāppiyam* is very ancient. Accordingly I have tested it with the aid of the oldest classics we possess, the mediaeval grammars proving to be the foil to this sharp blade. After this minute examination, we are obliged to admit that this grammar, at least the *Eḻuttu* portion thereof, precedes the extant classics by a century or two. Now, in *TC.* vol. IV, no. 1, pp. 90 to 98, I have shown that some of the "Earliest Tamil Poems Extant" go back to 324 B.C. For instance, *AN.* 265 and *Krt.* 75 mention the Nanda kings, of

North India, who preceded Chandragupta Maurya, as the poet's contemporaries. The relevant lines of the two poems are worth citing here, but the full argument would lose its force, if too briefly summarized here.

AN. 265,
line 4. pal pukal̲ nir̲ainta velpōr nantar
line 5. cīr miku pāṭalik kul̲īik kaṅkai
line 6. nīr mutar̲ karanta nitiyam koliē?
Krt. 75,
line 3. ven̲kōṭṭiyān̲ai cōn̲ai paṭiyum
line 4. pon̲ mali pāṭali perīiyar.
Also *AN.* 251:5
nantan̲ (or nantar) ver̲ukkai eytin̲um.

In these three poems the abundance of the Nandas' wealth is pictured as so great that nothing larger than it can be imagined. Further, the city of Pāṭali is mentioned as a well-known town, contemporary with these poets. Undoubtedly they refer to Pāṭaliputra, the capital of the Nanda kings and of the later Maurya Emperors. Readers of Indian history know very well that the latter especially Chandragupta and Asoka, eclipsed the former in wealth, power and dominion. If the Tamil poets who composed these poems had lived at the time of the Mauryas or later, they would most certainly have mentioned them and not the feebler Nandas as the "upama" (or the high point of comparison) for abundant wealth and regal splendour. Undoubtedly these poems and these composed by these three poets and found elsewhere in the first four (*Krt., AN, PN. and Narr.*) of the *Eight Anthologies* are anterior to the accession of Chandragupta Maurya in 321 B.C. The *Tolkāppiyam* accordingly must be ascribed to about 400 B.C., if not earlier, at least as regards its *Eluttu* section. From the nature of the case its name, when the work was composed, could not have been "tol-kāppiyam" or "the ancient kavya", i.e. "the old epic". It was only several centuries later that this grammatical treatise could be considered an "old" poem or a "tol-kāppiyam". We do not possess any clue to its name, when it was originally composed; but it certainly was not *"Tolkāppiyam"*. None the less this remains a most convenient term for designating this work today.

Nan. (=Nannul) - Pavananti: *Nannul,* Kantiku Urai, ARUMUGA NAVALAR and G. SUBHRAMANIAM, 18th edn., Madras, Sarvadari Year.
Tol. Col. - - - *Tolkappiyam, Collatikaram, Mulamum Cenavaraiyar uraiyum,* PONNAIYA N., Tirumakal Press, Chunnakam, 1938.
AN. - - - - *Akananuru,* Saiva Siddhanta Press, Madras, 1944.
PN. - - - - *Purananuru,* DR. U. V. SAMINATHAIYAR, Jothi Press, Madras, 1950.

Muruk. - - -	- *Tiru Murukarruppatai in Pattuppattu,* DR. U. V. S. AIYAR, Dravida Press, Madras, 1889.
Tol. Por. - - -	- *Tolkappiyam, Porulatikaram,* part I, with Naccinarkkiniyar's Comm. 1948.
	Tolkappiyam, Porulatikaram, part II, with Peraciriyar's Comm. 1943.
	The rest, the same as *Tol. Col.* above.
Krt. - - -	- *Kuruntokai,* DR. U. V. SAMINATHAIYAR, Kabir Press, Madras, 1947.
Pal. - - -	- *Palamoli Nanuru,* M. IRASAMANIKKAMPILLAI, S. S. Press, Madras, 1948.
Poruna. - - -	- *Porunararruppatai,* P. V. SOMASUNDARANAR, Tirunelveli, Nov. 1965, Saiva Siddhanta Press, 1st edn.
Tel. - - -	- Telugu.
Maturaik. - - -	- *Maturaikkanci,* P. K. SOMASUNDARANAR, S. S. Press, Tirunelveli, Sept. 1956.
Kur. - - -	- Tiruvalluvar, *the Sacred Kural,* G. U. POPE, Allen & Co. London, 1886.
Patirr. - - -	- *Patirruppattu,* DR. U. V. SAMINATHAIYAR, Liparettar Press, Madras, 1949.
Ard. Tel. Gr. -	- *Grammer of Telugu,* REV. A. H. ARDEN, Diocesan Press Vepery, Madras, 1927.
Tol. El. - - -	- *Tolkappiyam, Eluttatikaram,* with Naccinarkkiniyar's Commentary, Saiva Siddhanta Press, Tirunelveli, 1944.
Com. (Comm.) -	- Commentary.
Nacc. - - -	- Naccinarkkiniyar, A Commentator on the *Tolkappiyam.*
Narr. - - -	- *Narrinai Nanura,* A. NARAYANASAMI AIYAR, S. S. Press, Madras, 1952.
Pers. - - -	- Person.
Sing. - - -	- Singular.
Murincip. - - -	- *Kurincippattu,* P. V. SOMASUNDARANAR, Saiva Siddhanta Press, Madras, 1956.
Aink. - - -	- *Ainkurunuru,* T. SADASIVA AIYAR, Saivapragasa Press, Jaffna, 1943.
Paripa. - - -	- *Paripatal,* DR. U. V. SAMINATHAIYAR, Kabir Press, Madras, 3rd edn., 1948.
cit. - - -	- Citation or quotation from a source book.
Perumpan. - -	- *Perumpanarruppatai,* P. V. SOMASUNDARANAR, S. S. Press, Madras, 1955.
Nal. - - -	- *The Naladiyar,* G. U. POPE, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1893.
Cilap. - - -	- *Cilappatikaram,* V. P. P. M. K. V. CHETTIYAR, S. S. Press, Madras, 1956.
Civ. - - -	- *Civakacintamani,* DR. U. V. SAMINATHAIYAR, Kabir Press, Madras, 1949.
Kalit. - - -	- *Kalittokai,* V. P. P. M. K. V. CHETTIYAR, Saiva Siddhanta Press, Madras, 1949.
Mani. - - -	- *Manimekalai,* V. P. P. M. K. V. CHETTIYAR, Saiva Siddhanta Press, Madras, 1951.
Mptu. - - -	- Malaipatukatam, P. V. SOMASUNDARANAR, S. S. Press, Madras, 1956.
M. Bh. - - -	- *Maha Bharata,* in Sanskrit, any edn. that is reliable.
RV. - - -	- *Rig Veda, or Rgveda Samhita* in Sk. any edn. which is reliable.
Par. Gr. - - -	- Paraskara's *Gryhaya-sutra,* in Sk. any edn. which is reliable.
Mn. - - -	- *Manava Dharma Sastra,* Cox and Baylis Press, London, 1825.
Rama. - - -	- *Ramayana* in Sanskrit, any approved text.

Pancat. - - -	*Pancatantra* in Sanskrit, any approved text.
Nir. - - - -	Yaska: *Nirukta* in Sanskrit.
Naigh. - - -	*Naighantuka,* commented on by Yaska in Sk.
Yajn. - - - -	*Yajnavalkya* a work in Sanskrit.
Kav. - - - -	*Kavya* Literature in Sanskrit.
L.C. - - - -	Late Classical (referring to the so-called Sangham works).
E.M. - - - -	Early Mediaeval, A.D. 600-1000.
Sk. - - - -	Sanskrit.
Cen. - - - -	Cenavaraiyar, a Commentator on the Tolkappiyam.
Ib. or ibid. - - -	Ibidem, in the same work or source-book.
Virac. or *VC.* - -	Buddhamitra, P., *Viraccoliyam,* ed. by S. V. DAMODARAMPILLAI, Madras, 1895.
Canti. - - - -	*Cantippatalam.*
Pattinap. - - -	*Pattinappalai,* P. V. SOMASUNDARANAR, S. S. Press, Tirunelveli, 1956.
Atticuti. - - -	AUVAIYAR: *Atticuti,* Panditamitra Press, 1905.
Sb. - - - -	Substantive, noun.
Mal. - - - -	Malayalam.
Kan. - - - -	Kannada or Kanarese.
Netunal. - - -	*Netunalvatai,* P. V. SOMASUNDARANAR, Saiva Siddhanta Press, Madras, 1956.
Mullaip. - - -	*Mullaippattu,* P. V. SOMASUNDARANAR, Saiva Siddhanta Press, Madras, 1956.
R. - - - -	*Ramayana* in Sanskrit, any edn.
Tv. or *Tiruvac.* - -	*Tiruvacakam* by MANIKKAVACAKAR, Sri Padmanabha Press, 1907.
TC. - - - -	*Tamil Culture,* Journal of the Academy of Tamil Culture, Madras.
Neminatam - -	Panditar K. Neminatam, with comm. by Govindarasamudaliyar, The Saiva Siddhanta Press, Tirunelveli, 1945.

SOME PROBLEMS IN THE STUDY OF *TOLKAPPIYAM* IN RELATION TO SANGAM POETRY

V. Chelvanayakam

It is impossible to overestimate the importance of a critical study of *Tolkappiyam,* the *Eight Anthologies* and *Pattuppattu* of the Sangam period for students of the early history of Tamil literature It is equally important that these works should be placed in their chronological order before one could think of working out the growth of the early literary traditions of Tamil literature. Though many scholars have attempted to write the history of the literature of this period, none has so far attempted to trace the development of Tamil literature and literary traditions in the early period. Development implies continuity which is an important factor in history, whether it is political or literary. Therefore, to trace the continuity of literary traditions, one must first place the sources of history in their chronological order. So long as this is not done, any attempt to trace the development of the early literary traditions will not be of much value to the students of Tamil literature. Since Tolkappiyar, in the chapters on Eluttu and Col, analysed the language of his time both written and spoken, it will not be wrong to assume that in the chapter on Porul too he would have attempted in a similar way to record the literary tradition of his days. If the chapter on Porul gives the current literary tradition of the period in which it was written, the literary developments of the early period of Tamil literature cannot be traced historically so long as the date or period of *Poruladikaram* is not fixed. Many a scholar who attempted to write the history of early Tamil literature has failed to appreciate this.

Attempts have been made by scholars during the last fifty years to assess the dates of *Tolkappiyam* and the *Sangam Anthologies.* Those who worked on the date of *Tolkappiyam* have arrived at dates that cover a period of a thousand years ranging from the 5th Century B.C. to the 5th Century A.D. Some assign it to a period before the Sangam period while others place it after that period; but all agree that it did not belong to the Sangam period itself, an important factor that should be taken into consideration in fixing its date. On account of this disparity in the

dates assigned to this work, fixing the period of *Tolkappiyam* has remained to this day an insoluble problem. This wide variation of a thousand years in the date of this important work has been occasioned by the dependence of some scholars on the fictitious narrative given in *Iraiyanar Akapporul Urai* and even by the sentimental desire of some others to give the work an early date. Such conjectures are of little value to a historian who must rely on the data available in the work itself which are more acceptable for purposes of historical analysis. The proper dating of *Tolkappiyam* will be of immense help in the assigning of dates to the *Sangam Anthologies* which definitely belong to different periods though there are scholars who still believe that they all belong to one period, and so long as these works are not placed in their chronological order, the development of early Tamil literature cannot be traced historically. The following remarks are offered as a contribution to the solution of the problem of tracing the literary history of the early Tamils.

The scholars who worked on the date of *Tolkappiyam* were guided to a great extent by the traditional account of the three Sangams given in the commentary on *Iraiyanar Akapporul* written after the 8th Century A.D., according to which Tolkappiyar lived before the days of Kapilar and the other luminaries of the third Sangam. A galaxy of poets, about 50 in number, including Kapilar, Paranar and Nakkirar lived during the time of the famous Pandyan king, Neduncheliyan, which is more or less established by historical evidence as the 2nd Century A.D. Therefore it is believed that Tolkappiyar lived long before the 2nd Century A.D. The literary tradition of the period of Kapilar and Paranar could be worked out fairly accurately with the help of the poems that were written during their time. Anyone with a fair knowledge of the poems of this period will not fail to note that during their time there were fixed conventions and traditions both in Akam and Puram poetry, and that these were based on the life of the people of the time. The country was divided into five natural regions and the life of the people who lived in these five regions was conditioned by the natural environment in which they lived. By a close study of the poems, especially *Perumpanarruppadai, Mathuraikkanchi* and the short poems in *Narrinai* and *Kuruntokai* which belong to this period, we can form a clear picture of the social background of the life of the people and the literary tradition based on this way of life. When we compare the life pictured in *Kalittokai* with the life of the people who lived during the time of Kapilar and Paranar, we will not fail to realize that the society portrayed in *Kalittokai* was much more organized and developed, and that the literary tradition had changed considerably after the days of Kapilar and Paranar. The dramatic nature of some of the poems in *Kalittokai,* the metrical forms employed, the structure of the language, the nature of the similes and metaphors employed, the thoughts presented and other elements all indicate

that there was a gradual development of the literary tradition from the time of Kapilar and Paranar to the time of *Kalittokai*. When we say that *Kalittokai* belongs to a later period, it does not mean that all the poems in it belong to a later period. Some poems — not many — of an earlier period have also been collected into it. If the dates of the various poems could be determined accurately, we would be able to trace the development of Kali and other metrical forms of the period.

When we compare the poems of the time of Kapilar and Paranar and most of the poems in *Kalittokai* which belong to a later period, we can see two distinct stages in the development of the literary tradition of the early Tamils. Of course the poetic conventions which were current during the time of Kapilar and Paranar were not the only or the earliest in the literature of the Tamils. With the help of a few poems in the *Akam Anthologies* which were written before the time of Kapilar and Paranar, we could imagine how the tradition and the conventions had originated and developed in Tamil.

The Akattinaiyiyal, Kalaviyal and Karpiyal of *Tolkappiyam:* "Poruladikaram" clearly give the convention of Akam or love poetry that was current during the time of the author. From the material that is given in the iyals or parts mentioned above, we are able to know the nature of the society and culture of the time. Many examples could be taken from these to show that this work could not have been written either during or before the time of Kapilar and Paranar unless one is prepared to believe that politically and socially there was a decline in the early period of Tamil history. If we accept the position that the author has recorded the literary tradition of his time, then it cannot be placed before the time of Kapilar and Paranar, for there is enough evidence in the work to show continuity and development in tradition from the time of Kapilar and Paranar to the days of Tolkappiyar. One or two examples would suffice, perhaps, to substantiate this point of view.

The subject of love, which was the subject matter of Akam poetry in the 1st or 2nd Century A.D., was divided into five themes according to the life of the people who lived in the five natural regions of the country. The Palai region which was unproductive and arid was occupied by warriors called Maravars whose main occupation for livelihood was war and plunder. Since they had to leave their homes for short periods in search of plunder, pirivu or the theme of the temporary separation of lovers for short periods, during the season when travellers passed through this region, was assigned to poems of Palai. Therefore the word Palai which denoted a region came to be used to connote the theme of separation which was nomal to the people who lived in this region. With the march of civilization came a time when these warriors had to desert this region and settle down in the fertile hilly tracts, for economic and other reasons, accepting the hospitability of the inhabitants and rulers for the services rendered by them as guardians of the border

states. When they settled down in the Kurinji region (hill country) the war-Goddess Korravai, whom they worshipped in the Palai region, became the mother of Murugan, the God of the hill country. The Palai or separation in love for short periods which belonged to the people of the Palai region then became an additional theme for the people of the hill country, and separation in the Palai region became separation of men in Kurinji through the Palai region in search of wealth. This aspect of the literary tradition was beginning to be felt during the time of Kapilar and Paranar, though the Maravar of the Palai region had not completely deserted the region then.

In *Tolkappiyam* we find a complete change in respect of this theme of separation in love. The author does not even like to denote this by the word Palai, though he used it in "Purattinaiyiyal" to denote the arid regions of the land. Since the Palai region was left unoccupied, Tolkappiyar does not like to denote the theme of separation by the word Palai and calls it naduvunilai tinai, a term that appears only in his "Akattinaiyiyal" and not in any other early work. Further, in the earlier periods, separation was necessitated by economic reasons, whereas in the period of Tolkappiyar it has become a necessity in the higher rungs of society for cultural and political reasons. Separation for short periods of a few days in the earlier periods becomes separation for long periods to a maximum of three years. A period of three years was necessary for scholars to go to distant lands in search of knowledge.

The five themes of love which originated with settlements in the five natural regions become seven during the time of Tolkappiyar by the addition of Kaikkilai and Peruntinai which did not exist during the time of Kapilar and Paranar. The course of love called Kaikkilai and Peruntinai, which received literary sanction during the time of Tolkappiyar, did not exist in society during the earlier periods. The Aryan influence both in society and in literature must have been responsible for the introduction of these two additional themes during the time of Tolkappiyar. Thus it is clear that the old order was changing and a new order was emerging in society with the march of time and that Tolkappiyar merely recorded in his "Poruladikaram" what was current in the literature of his time. While the literature of the days of Kapilar and Paranar centred on the life of the common people, Tolkappiyar describes a tradition in which the melor — the elite — have secured a place of prominence in Akam poetry. Society by that time was not merely influenced but definitely conditioned by Aryan culture and thought and it was far more advanced then than it was in the days of Kapilar and Paranar. That the Maravars left the Palai region and settled down in the Kurinji region (the hilly tracts) is made quite clear in "Purattinai iyal" in which the author describes the martial activities of the people of the five regions. Korravainilai and Tudinilai which belong to the warriors of Palai are given as parts of the martial activities of the

Kurinji people and the sutram on Vakaitinai, which should describe the martial activities of the warriors of Palai, has been made use of to describe success in the various walks of life of the different castes that lived in the country. Thus it is evident that tradition in life and literature had changed considerably between the time of Kapilar and Paranar and that of Tolkappiyar.

When we consider the metrical forms employed in the days of Kapilar and Paranar and in the days of Tolkappiyar, we cannot but come to the conclusion that more organized and developed forms were employed in poetry during the time of Tolkappiyar than during the days of Kapilar and Paranar. Akaval and Venba, the two basic rhythms used in early Tamil poetry, are considered to be the sources of all the other metrical forms employed in Tamil poetry. Of these two basic rhythms, Akaval was widely used in the days of Kapilar and Paranar and no other rhythm was used except Vanchi, which developed from Akaval and which was handled to some extent by Kapilar and his contemporaries. In the "Ceyyuliyal", Tolkappiyar gives the various intricate and rich forms of Kali and Paripadal from which most of the metrical forms of the later periods developed. It would have taken more than one or two centuries for the various forms of Kali to develop from Venba which did not even exist during the time of Kapilar and Paranar. Tolkappiyar, in one of the sutrams in Akattinai iyal, states clearly that Kali and Paripadal are the two kinds of rhythm that are specially suited to love poetry. If this sutram and the tradition of employing these rhythms in love poetry existed before the time of Kapilar and Paranar, certainly these poets and their contemporaries would not have made use of the Akaval rhythm in its simplest form in love poetry, discarding the more suitable forms of Kali and Paripadal.

If we accept the fact that there was continuity and growth in the literary tradition of the early Tamils, and if we accept the position that Tolkappiyar has recorded the tradition of his time which was a continuation of what was before him, then we cannot but conclude that "Poruladikaram" of *Tolkappiyam* records a later stage in the growth of the literary tradition of the early Tamils than that of the period of Kapilar and Paranar. It would have taken one or two centuries for the Kali rhythm, which originated from Venba, to develop from its simplest form of Kalivenba to the most intricate form of Kochchakam, passing through numerous intermediary stages. Since all these stages of development are indicated in "Poruladikaram", it may not be wrong to assume that "Poruladikaram" must have been written at least a century or two after the days of Kapilar and Paranar. But there are some difficulties in the way of accepting this position.

Govindarajulu in his works on Kapilar and Paranar has attempted to show that the first two chapters — "Eluttatikaram" and "Colladikaram" — of *Tolkappiyam* belonged to a period earlier than that of

Kapilar and Paranar. By analysing the grammatical forms of some of the words that occur in their poems, he shows that they did not conform to the rules enunciated in those chapters. He has also selected a few similes from the poems and shown that the particles of simile used in them too did not conform to the rules given in the "Uvamaiyiyal" of the "Poruladikaram" and that the rhythms of certain lines did not conform to one of the rules given in the "Ceyyuliyal". These are facts that will have to be taken into consideration in fixing the period of *Tolkappiyam* in relation to Sangam poetry. When one reads without prejudice what Govindarajulu says on the relative dates of *Tolkappiyam* and Sangam poetry, one will be tempted to accept the view that *Tolkappiyam* as a whole preceded the period of Kapilar and Paranar. But if the literary conventions, traditions, metrical forms, life and culture of the people, which formed the subject matter for poetry and various other matters mentioned in "Poruladikaram", are to be taken into consideration in fixing the date or period of *Tolkappiyam,* then it will not be possible to place "Poruladikaram" before the poems of Kapilar and the other poets of the Sangam Age.

The idea that the first two chapters of this great work belonged to a period earlier than that of Kapilar and Paranar and the idea that "Poruladikaram" belonged to a period after that of Kapilar and Paranar cannot be reconciled unless it is presumed that the first two chapters were written by one author and the third by another at a later date and that the three were put together for convenience at a still later period. This presumption can be established only when the language structure of the first two chapters on the one hand and that of the third chapter on Porul on the other are analysed fully in accordance with the principles of linguistics and proved to belong to different periods. Further, there appears to be a system and an organization in the treatment of the subject matter in the first two chapters whereas a similar organization is lacking in the third chapter on Porul especially in the parts dealing with Akattinai or the theme of love. This too creates a genuine doubt as to whether one person was the author of all the three chapters. The entire blame for the lack of proper organization in the first part, "Akattinaiiyal", cannot be put on the author himself, since some of the sutrams at the beginning of this part appear to have been lost long before the work reached the hands of the commentators and some of the sutrams in the earlier portion of this part do not appear to have been placed in the order in which they were placed by the author. The displacement of these must have taken place by the mishandling of the ola leaves by someone at a later period. I do not wish to comment on this aspect of the problem in this short paper lest it should make it unnecessarily long. It may be remarked here that the commentators do not seem to be aware of this and have assumed that the sutrams were in the order

in which they were placed by the author. Thus they have created further problems. In interpreting these sutrams one commentator contradicts and criticizes another to such an extent that these commentaries, which were intended to help students, have now become more an impediment than a help. Interpreting these sutrams in relation to the tradition of the time, fixing the date of the "Poruladikaram" and arranging the poems in the *Sangam Anthologies* in their chronological order are indispensable for tracing historically the growth of early literary tradition and rhythm.

LITERARY THEORIES IN EARLY TAMIL — *EṬṬUTTOKAI*

M. VARADARAJAN

0. INTRODUCTION

0.1 The eight anthologies called *Eṭṭuttokai* form part of early Tamil literature known as Sangam literature written eighteen centuries ago. They consist of two thouasnd, three hundred and seventy-one poems varying from small stanzas of three lines in *Aiṅkuṟunūṟu* to stanzas of forty lines in *Puṟanāṉūṟu*. There are four hundred and seventy poets known either by their proper names or by causal names called from their works. The authors are unidentified in the case of a hundred stanzas. The poets belonged to different parts of Tamilnad and to different professions. Some of them were very popular like Kapilar, Nakkirar and Avvaiyar and some others are rarely remembered by their names. Yet a general harmony prevails throughout these eight anthologies. The tone and temper of the age is reflected in all their poems with a singular likeness. They were moulded according to certain literary conventions or traditions that prevailed in the Sangam age. Yet they reveal the individual genius of the poets who sang them.

0.2 The convention of the later days that poetry should deal with the four aspects of life, viz aṟam (virtue), poruḷ, (wealth and politics), iṉpam (love and pleasure) and vīṭu (salvation), was not prevalent,[1] in those early days. The poets sang either of Akam or Puṟam. Akam dealt with ideal love and Puṟam with the rest, viz. war, munificence, etc.

0.3 Of the eight anthologies five are on Akam, two on Puṟam, and one on both. Six of them are in 'akaval' metre which is a kind of blank verse, interspersed with alliterations and rhymes. The poems on Akam as well as Puṟam theme are written in this metre and its regulated and subtle music adds to the poetic beauty. This metre is a simple but wonderful instrument which causes no impediment to the freedom of expression of the poet. In has been found to be an appropriate and natural medium for the expression of the valuable experience of the poets.

The other two anthologies that are not written in 'akaval' metre are *Kalittokai* and *Paripāṭal*. The poems of *Kalittokai* are in Kali metre

[1] *Nannul*, 10.

which is well known for its dramatic and lyrical qualities and which, according to Tolkāppiyaṉār,[2] is well suited to express the emotions of the lovers. There is repetition of certain lines and phrases and this, added to the haunting music of the metre, is very appealing.

Paripāṭal is a metre full of rhythm and music and the anthology known by this name consists of songs composed in this metre. There are religious poems as well as those on love-themes. The love-theme is worked against the background of bathing festivities. These songs were sung in different tunes as is evident from the notes on the music at the end of these. The names of the musicians who set tunes to these songs are also mentioned therein.

1. 'AKAM' POETRY

1.1 In the poems on Akam, the aspects of love of a hero and a heroine are depicted. The story of love is never conceived as a continuous whole. A particular moment of love is captured and described in each poem as the speech of the hero or the lady-companion or somebody else. There are one thousand, eight hundred and fifty poems of this type in five anthologies, viz. *Akanāṉūṟu, Naṟṟiṇai, Kuṟuntokai, Aiṅkuṟunūṟu* and *Kalittokai.* One may expect a sort of monotonous repetition in these hundreds of poems on more or less the same aspects of ideal love. This is what one finds in all the Indian arts, sculpture or iconograhy or music. But when looked at carefully, the individual genius of the poet is revealed through his contribution. He gives something which is already familiar to the readers, something which assures them of a continuity of the past art, but he gives it with his fine colourings distinguished by his own rich experience and imagination. And thus instead of monotony we feel a surprise that so many variations of the same theme should be possible.

The first attempt to arrange all the contexts of such love poetry into a series of continuous succession of speeches giving as it were the story of two lovers is found several centuries later in the 'kovai' species.[3]

1.2 Love was dealt with in five 'tiṇais', each pertaining to a particular region with its own suitable season and appropriate hour of the day and its flora and fauna and characteristic environment. The aspect of love is called the uripporuḷ or the subject matter of the 'tiṇai; the region, the season and the hour are called the 'mutal poruḷ' or the basic material; the objects of environment are denoted as 'karupporuḷ'. Kuṟiñci-tiṇai or the clandestine union of the lovers is characteristic of the mountainous region; mullai-tiṇai or the life at home spent in expectation of the return

[2] *Tolkappiyam, Porulatikaram,* 53.

[3] 'Kovai' is one of the ninety-six kinds of literary works. It consists of 400 verses in a particular metre, each dealing with an aspect of love, and all knit together in such a manner, that the whole appears to be a story of a lover and his sweetheart depicted with continuity.

of the hero is set with the background of the forest region; maruta-tiṇai or the sulky life has the agricultural tract as its background; neytal-tiṇai or the life of despair is characteristic of the sea coast; pālai-tiṇai or the life of desolation in separation is depicted in arid tract. Literary tradition in Tamil has closely associated the sloping hills and the winding streams with the adventures of the lover coming to his sweetheart at midnight, the early winter and the mullai blossoms of the forests with the patient waiting of the wife for her husband's return from the battlefield, the fertile paddy fields and the roaming buffaloes with the careless life of the hero in the company of a harlot, the backwaters and the seashore with the heart-rending despair of the heroine and finally the waterless arid tract of the withered trees and emaciated beasts and birds with the separation of the hero from the heroine in pursuit of wealth in a far off country.

1.3 Tolkāppiyaṉār clarifies the relative importance of these three components of tiṇai.[4] According to him karupporuḷ is more important than mutalporuḷ, and uripporuḷ is more important than the other two. In other words, the aspect of love is the most important part, the objects of environment come next and the region, the season and the hour are less important. There are a few poems in the anthologies which have no mutalporuḷ but only the other two, a few poems have neither karupporuḷ nor mutalporuḷ but only uripporuḷ or the aspect of love.

1.4 The poems on the theme of love are all in the form of dramatic monologues. The hero, the heroine or the lady-companion seems to appear on the stage and express his or her feelings and thoughts. Appropriate natural scenery forms the background. The poet has no place on this poetic stage. He cannot express his own ideas or feelings unless through the actors, the hero, the heroine and others in the drama of love. What have been expressed, have to be taken as the feelings and thoughts of the characters imagined and created by him. The poet merges himself in the characters he creates and does not, as in subjective poetry or in ordinary narrative, describe or relate in his own person and from the outside. The dramatic element commonly appears more or less prominently in the shape of dialogue. There might have been some autobiographical material incorporated by the poet in such poems, but it is not always easy to distinguish those elements. These are dramatic lyrics, and in spirit and method subjective poems; but the subjective element pertains, not to the poet himself, but to some imagined characters into whose feelings and thoughts he gives vicarious expression.

1.5 But there is this great difference between the early eight anthologies and the later works as regards the men and the women dealt with in them. In the mediaeval epics and other literary works, the common man and woman never attained the status of hero and heroine, whereas in

[4] *Tolkappiyam, Porulatikaram,* 3.

the poems on love the ordinary man and women either in the mountainous region or in other regions are depicted as the hero and the heroine.

1.6 Tolkappiyanar has explained the literary conventions of his age and stated that he based his observations on the usages honoured by the practice of the great poets (patalut-payinravai natunkalai).[5] He has clearly noted in a 'nurpa' that in the poems on Akam, the name of the hero or the heroine, should never be mentioned. In the poems on love found in *Ettuttokai,* there is not a single stanza wherein the hero or the heroine is mentioned by name. The hero is mentioned in these poems simply as the man of the mountain, the man of the town, the person of the sea coast, etc. So also the heroine is referred to as the woman of the hill tribes, the girl of the peasants, the daughter of the fisherman, etc. The poets never wanted the readers to identify the hero and the heroine with historical persons. As Professor T. P. Meenakshisundaranar puts it, Akam poetry "expresses not something to be dated with reference to any particular person",[6] and the aspect of love depicted in it is intended to be universal and common to all times. "The majority of the world's great lyrics", says Hudson,[7] "owe their place in literature very largely to the fact that they embody what is typically human rather than what is merely individual and particular." Every reader finds in the love-lyrics of the early Tamil anthologies the expression of such experiences and feelings in which he himself is fully able to share. Thus, by prohibiting the mention of the names of the hero and the heroine in these lyrics the literary tradition in Tamil has preserved Akam poetry pure and enabled it to give outward forms to the inner feelings not of the individual but of the ideal man and woman.

1.7 Nature is used to enrich the suggestive nature of poetry and this kind of suggestions through some description of Nature is called 'iraicci'. When the hero has been meeting his sweetheart at night during his premarital relationship, the lady-companion desires to impress on him the necessity of hastening the marriage and asks him to come and meet her during daytime. She specifies a place for the meeting of the lovers during daytime and describes it as the place where the honeycombs hang, the trees are full of ripe fruits and the creepers have blossoms in abundance. She expects the hero to understand from this description that a number of people will frequent the spot attracted by the honey, the ripe fruits and the fragrant flowers and thus indirectly forbids him from coming at daytime as well as at night and urges him to marry and avoid

[5] Ibid.

[6] T. P. MEENAKSHISUNDARAM, *A History of Tamil Literature,* Annamalai University, Annamalainagar, 1965, p. 26.

[7] W. H. HUDSON, *An Introduction to the Study of Literature,* 2nd edn., London, 1946, p. 97.

such clandestine meetings.[8] Similarly when he frequently comes at day-time, she requests him to come during nights and describes the front-yard of the house as adorned by the punnai trees with fragrant blossoms and the palmyra trees with the nests of anril birds. The suggestion herein is that at night the anril birds are so close to the house that they keep the heroine awake throughout the night by their heart-rending cries;[9] here is also the indirect urge on him to marry early and settle himself in an inseparable life.

1.8 In some kinds of descriptions especially in love songs of marutatinai, Nature is used in allegories called 'ullurai uvaman' or 'the implied simile'. All the objects of Nature and their activities stand for the hero, the heroine and others and their activities in the drama of love. The latter are not at all mentioned but only suggested through the former. It is simile incognito which leaves it to the reader to discover it. The commentator Peraciriyar explains it as a type resorted to make the literary expressions more beautiful and apt.[10]

An otter enters a lotus tank, scatters the vallai creepers, seizes the valai fish amidst them, feeds upon them and returns in the early morning to its rattan bush. The heroine describes this in order to blame her husband on his return from a harlot's house. She suggests to him that she is aware of his infidelity, of his loose morals, of pleasing the harlot's parents and relatives and of returning home at dawn for a formal stay. Here the otter stands for the hero, the 'valai' fish for the harlot, the 'vallai' creepers for her parents and the 'rattan bush' for his own house.

In such descriptions, the speaker hesitates to express certain things openly but desires to dwell on minutely in a wordy caricature of a familiar incident in Nature and through it more effectively conveys to the listener all the feelings and thoughts.

1.9 The anthologies are abounding in apostrophes. The hero or the heroine addresses the sea, the moon, the wind, the crow, the crab, a tree or a creeper and expresses the grief of the heart or requests one of them to sympathize with him or her.

The heroine addresses the sea and enquires of it as to why it cries aloud even at midnight and who caused such suffering.[12] She also asks it whether it cries aloud in sympathy with the misery of those pining in separation just like herself or whether it has been forsaken by anybody as in her own case.[13] She blames the north wind as merciless and unsympathetic.[14] "Oh, chill north wind! we never meant any harm to you. Please do not cause further suffering to this forsaken and miserable soul

[8] *Akananuru*, 18.
[9] Ibid. 360.
[10] *Tolkappiyam*, *Porulatikaram*, 30.
[11] *Akananuru*, 6.
[12] *Kuruntokai*, 163.
[13] *Kalittokai*, 129.
[14] *Akananuru*, 243.

of mine."[15] She remarks that it mercilessly blows at midnight to afflict her in her loneliness without any pity for her utter despair and bids it blow through the country where the hero is so as to remind him of her and make him return.[16] The hero in the distant country feels the effects of the north wind but only thinks of his sweetheart suffering lonely in the distant village and requests it not to blow through her village and cause her more distress.[17]

2. 'PURAM' POETRY

2.1 There are some 'arruppatai' or guide-songs in the two anthologies, *Purananuru* and *Patirruppattu.* In these, the bard, either a musician or dancer or actor (panaṉ, viṟali or kuttaṉ) who has received gifts from a generous patron guides another bard suffering from poverty and directs him to the same patron for help. Descriptions of the way to the city of the patron and praises of his endearing qualities abound in such guide-songs. In *Purananuru,* there are seven poems as guide-songs of the musicians, four of the women dancers, and three of the literary artists. *Patirruppattu* contains one guide-song of the musician and five of the women dancers. All of them are in accordance with the exposition of Tolkāppiyaṉār regarding the form of such songs.[18]

22. The elegies in *Purananuru* are frankly personal and are high tributes to the dead patrons and friends. A few of them extended to be poems of some philosophical significance. They are the outpourings of the emotions of the poets who were so much attached to the patrons. In these elegies we do not find such similitude of a shephered mourning for a companion as we have in the pastoral elegies in western literature.[19] These elegies in Tamil are genuine and spontaneous. There is no artificiality in them. They express intimate and personal grief. They cannot be charged of artificiality as in Milton's *Lycidas.* Like Tennyson's *In Memoriam,* the ancient Tamil elegy speaks in its own character and calls things by real instead of allegorical names. We need not penetrate a disguise to feel the poet's personal grief. The ancient Tamil elegies are entirely free from any conventional bucolic machinery.

2.3 There is one peculiarity to be noted in these anthologies. Whenever the poets wanted to express their gratitude to their royal patrons, or

[15] *Narrinai,* 196.
[16] *Akananuru,* 163.
[17] *Kuruntokai,* 235.
[18] *Tolkappiyam, Porulatikaram,* 18.
[19] WALTER W. GREG, in his *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama* (p. 134), writes on Milton's *Lycidas*: The poem, in common with the whole class of allegorical pastorals, is undoubtedly open to the charge of artificiality, since, in truth, the pastoral garb can never illustrate, but only distort and obscure subjects drawn from other orders of civilization. ... The dissatisfaction felt by many with *Lycidas* was noticed by Dr. Johnson when he wrote: "It is not to be considered the effusion of real passion, for passion runs not after remote allusions and obscure opinions ... When there is leisure for fiction there is little grief."

their admiration of the generosity and valour of some chieftains, they did so through their compositions on 'Puram' theme, the theme intended for these. Besides this, they also made use of their poems on Akam to introduce the glory of their patrons by way of comparison or by mentioning their mountains or forests as background for the drama of love depicted in such poems.

The scandal about the association of the hero with a harlot is said to be more widespread than the joyous uproar of the army of the Pandiya king when it defeated and chased the armies of the two enemy kings in the battle at Kutal.[20] In an apostrophe to the north wind, the lady companion says that the wind which now during the separation of the lover causes so much distress to the heroine will disappear when the lover returns home. Therein she mentions that the north wind will then run away like the nine chieftains who were defeated in a single day by the great Cola king, Karikalan and who ran away leaving all their nine umbrellas in the battlefield at Vakai.[21] In another stanza the lady companion consoles the distressed heroine that there is no room for any suffering and assures her that the hero will never desert her to seek wealth even if it amounts to possession of the Elil hills of Konkaṉa Nannan.[22]

Some of these poems have long and elaborate descriptions of the achievements of partons and give the impression that though they are on Akam theme, the aim of the peot was only to praise the achievements of their patrons and that the theme of love served as a formula or means to serve this purpose. But it is not always so. As Dr. K. K. Pillai observes,[23] "it had become almost a convention with the poets of that age to portray the feelings or reactions of lovers by instituting comparisons with prominent political occurrences. The wide popularity which they had attained provided the temptation for the poets to import them into their comparisons so as to make the descriptions impressive and realistic."

The commentators of *Tolkappiyam* interpret 'nurpa' No. 155 in "Porulatikaram" so as to admit and explain such introduction of the glory and attainments of the partons in poems on the theme of love.

2.4 The ancient poets were well known for their self-respect and dignity and they felt it very delicate to approach a chieftain and directly ask him for a gift. But they found it agreeable to please them by singing the glory of his ancesstors or his own achievements or praising the beauty or fertility of his mountains and forests, and thus indirectly indicate to him their request for his gift. They found this a useful device to serve their purpose as direct asking did not suit their sense of honour. This is evident from the poem of Mocikiraṉar in *Puṟanāṉūṟu,* wherein he

[20] *Akananuru,* 116.
[21] Ibid. 125.
[22] *Narrinai,* 391.
[23] *Journal of the Madras University, Humanities,* vol. XXX, no. 2, January, 1959.

such clandestine meetings.[8] Similarly when he frequently comes at daytime, she requests him to come during nights and describes the frontyard of the house as adorned by the punnai trees with fragrant blossoms and the palmyra trees with the nests of anril birds. The suggestion herein is that at night the anril birds are so close to the house that they keep the heroine awake throughout the night by their heart-rending cries;[9] here is also the indirect urge on him to marry early and settle himself in an inseparable life.

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[9] Ibid. 360.
[10] *Tolkappiyam, Porulatikaram,* 30.
[11] *Akananuru,* 6.
[12] *Kuruntokai,* 163.
[13] *Kalittokai,* 129.
[14] *Akananuru,* 243.

pure fur, short legs and long ears) — the complete picture of the animal is impresively drawn. Such simple and direct words have a suggestive magical power. There is no room for exaggeration in such artistic descriptions, which are rather interpretations of the poets' experience. They have such an intensity of feeling and imagination that their descriptions do not deteriorate into exaggeration.

A Japanese painter once confessed that he had to concentrate on the bamboo for many years and still a certain technique for the rendering of the tips of bamboo leaves eluded him.[29] Word-painting is no less difficult. Many of the ancient Tamil poets have mastered this word-painting. They frequently use simple adjectives that convey with force their deep thought and experience regarding the pictures they depict.

3.3 In the descriptions of the beauty of the heroine, we find only one or two aspects of beauty artistically touched.

> வெறுத்த ஏஎர் வேய்புரை பணைத் தோள்[30]
> (the lady abounding in beauty and with bamboo-like shoulders.)
> கவரிதழ் அன்ன காண்பின் செவ்வாய்
> அந்தீங் கிளவி ஆயிழை மடந்தை[31]
> (the lady of pleasant red lips resembling the petals of 'kavir' and of sweet words, wearing fine jewels.)

Even in the descriptions which extended to more than six lines and which form part of the monologues of the hero, we find that he restricts himself to two or three aspects of the physical beauty of his sweetheart and never transcends the limits of decency. Therefore the hundreds of such poems dealing with love are happily devoid of obscenity. Even the songs on the harlots and the hero's association with them are free from gross bawdiness. Sexual passions have been purged of their obscenity through dignified poetic touches.

3.4 The early poets did not like to introduce foreign or borrowed images in their poetry. They always copied direct from life and Nature. Even when they had to describe the scenes of a distant country which they had not seen, as for example those of the Ganges in flood,[32] or of the Yak at the foot of the Himalayas,[33] they did not describe them in detail but restricted themselves to the facts they knew from others and avoided the odd mixture of any incongruous details in them. Even while describing the scenes of their own country, they did not extend their descriptions beyond their own observation and experience. For example, Kapilar, a great poet of the age, who had left us the maximum number of songs, had not depicted the agricultural region; he was content to deal with the mountains and their surroundings. The poet Perunkatunko of

[29] K. ANANDA COOMARASWAMY, *The Transformation of Nature in Art*, Cambridge, 1935, p. 41.
[30] *Akananuru*, 2.
[31] Ibid. 30.
[32] *Purananuru*, 161.
[33] Ibid. 13; *Patirruppattu*, 1.

the Cera family, celebrated for his descriptions of the arid mountains and forests, was silent about the beauties of the coastal region. Ammuvanar and other poets who had written so much on the coastal region were silent about the hills and the forests. They wrote according to the fundamental principle stressed by Hudson, "the principle that, whether his range of experience and personal power be great or small, a man should write of that which lies at his own doors, should make it his chief business to report faithfully of what he has lived, seen, thought, felt, known, for himself."[34] This sincerity or fidelity is characteristic of the poems in these early anthologies.

[34] W. H. HUDSON, *An Introduction to the Study of Literature*, 2nd ed., London, 1946, p. 17.

A LITERARY STUDY OF THE *TIRUMURUKARRUPPADAI*

C. A. KELLER

The following is a literary analysis of an ancient Tamil text: it is nothing more than that. What does this mean?

Let me try to explain the intention of this paper by mentioning rapidly, in a few words, the problems I am not dealing with.

(1) I am not dealing with single words, phrases or passages. I shall deliberately leave aside the philological approach to the text. This does not mean that I think that in this field all the problems are solved. On the contrary, I humbly submit that there is still much to be done. There exists as yet no critical edition, and we know next to nothing about the manuscript tradition of the poem. This means that we are working on a rather fragile basis, and anything we say on the poem is subject to revision as soon as other forms of the text are published. For the time being, we must be satisfied with a kind of Vulgate. Then there are many single words and combined expressions which we cannot study as long as there are no specialized dictionaries and concordances. U. V. Saminatha Aiyar and his son S. Kalyanasundara Aiyar have done very good work in quoting numerous parallels from all layers of ancient Tamil literature, and their edition is a real mine of information. But this is not enough: concordances and specialized dictionaries are badly wanted in the field of ancient Tamil literature, before we can attempt anything like a final interpretation and translation of the texts. But I must leave aside all these questions. My study is primarily based on Saminatha Aiyar's edition and the commentaries of his son, and I shall try, on the basis of that text, to point out the literary nature and value of the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppadai*.

(2) Neither am I going to deal with the historical problems attached to this text. These problems are numerous. First, the question of its author and date is intimately linked up with the question of its language. S. Vayapuri Pillai has questioned the attribution of *T.M.* to Nakkīranār, mainly on philological grounds (*History of Tamil Language and Literature,* p. 34), but also on account of its religious contents (he dates it to about A.D. 800, p. 58). Recent historians of Tamil literature are more conservative: neither C. and H. Jesudasan, nor P. Meile question Nakkīranār's authorship (and would accordingly date the poem to the 2nd

or 3rd century A.D.). Questions of authorship and date, important as they are, do not determine the literary appreciation of a poem. A poem is a piece of artistic creation; it stands out in its own right as something which claims to be studied and loved for its own sake. It is to a great extent possible to probe into the mysteries of *T.M.* (as of any piece of literature) without knowing anything about its author. Another question which I shall deliberately leave aside for the same reason is the historical background of this work: the religious and social conditions which it reflects, the literary context into which it is born. Again it is clear that an examination, say, of the **religious** background of *T.M.*, would yield a great number of most interesting results: *T.M.* is a first rate document about religion in ancient Tamil-naad. Moreover such an enquiry would also offer some clues as to the date and authorship of the poem. But I cannot deal with all this now.

My purpose is simply this: to understand and to appreciate *T.M.* as a timeless piece of artistic creation, as a work of art which may give rise to numerous enquiries of an historical nature but which first of all should be contemplated and admired such as it is, such as it is present to the observer.

I shall try to strip the poem of its historical context and to point out its perennial beauty, apart from all restrictions of time and space. And one important remark: If I treat *T.M.* as a timeless work of art, I do not study it according to ancient Tamil standards (= important historical study but according to inherent criteria: criteria found in the work itself.

(3) Besides the questions of linguistics and history, there is yet a third aspect of *T.M.* into which I am not going to enter in this study: the fact that this poem is essentially the work of a religious mind, that it belongs to a particular religious tradition which still has its adherents today. I am quite aware of the thoroughly religious nature of the poem and of its sentimental implications for a Hindu reader. But I am convinced also that a strictly literary interpretation of religious poems is the only way towards a really penetrating analysis of their religious value. Religion is intimately linked up with art; great religious literature is always great literature. The *Bible*, the *Gita*, the *Koran*, the *Bhagavata*, the *Tirumurai* — all these great books of religion are masterpieces of literature. If we want to understand them, we must study them as literature. Having discovered their literary qualities, we shall also discover their profound religious meaning.

I think that these remarks have made it clear what my purpose is. It may be that I shall say nothing that is new to teachers at Indian universities. But I am not aware of publications of this kind in any of the major European languages. Let me then try, as a European who is somewhat out of touch with the interests of his colleagues teaching at

Indian universities, to unravel the perennial beauty of this piece of ancient Tamil literature (I am aware of the fact that some of the comments I am going to make could be applied to other pieces of ancient Tamil literature).

I. THE COMPOSITION OF THE POEM

"This āṟṟuppaḍai, though its theme is religion, shows an artistic rather than a devotional trend. . . . There is certainly a deliberate and careful artistry. There is, first, a carefully made-out scheme. Details are fitted in (C. and H. Jesudasan: *A History of Tamil Literature,* p.29). The scheme is simple enough: this "guide-book to Murukaṉ" is made up of six scenes, each presenting the god as dwelling at a particular place, with the exception of the fifth, the "kuṉṟutōṟāṭal" where no particular shrine is mentioned. In this way, the seeker after Murukaṉ learns that his deity is to be found at Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam, at Tirucīralaivāy, at Tiruvāviṉaṉkuṭi, at Tiruvērakam, on the hills, and finally at Paḻamutircōlai.

But this is not the whole scheme. Even a superficial reading of the text reveals, within this general scheme, a literary technique which is rather particular. It is in fact clear that each one of the six scenes consists of one single sentence, or to put it more accurately: of a short statement consisting of a few elements which are systematically developed into as many isolated pictures.

Let us look at this more closely.

The **first scene** (Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam, 1-77) is based on the following statement which is its skeleton and frame-work:

vāḷ-nutal kaṇavaṉ (5), tār puraḷum mārpiṉaṉ (11), kaṇṇi milainta ceṉṉiyaṉ (43), cev-vēḷ cēy (61), celavu nī nayantaṉai āyiṉ (64): kuṉṟu amarntu uṟaitalum uriyaṉ (77): "If you want to come to the husband of the goddess with the shining forehead, to him who has a garland round the chest, a crown of flowers on his head, who is red and carries a red spear, then know that he likes to dwell on the hill." Every one of the elements is expanded into an independent picture; the unifying link is the statement itself:

- "the husband of the goddess with the shining forehead": expanded into the picture of the sunlike Master of the universe;
- "the garland round the chest": expanded into the picture of the clouds which pour rain over the forest so that the flowers open;
- "the crown of flowers": expanded into the picture of the mountain makaḷir who dance at the place where the flowers grow;
- "the red spear": expanded into the picture of the victorious warrior and the battlefield where the ugly peys eat the eyes of the fallen, and dance, holding the skulls aloft in their hands;
- "if you want to come": expanded into the picture of the seeker after the god, purified by previous deeds;

"He dwells on the hill": expanded into the picture of the peaceful country round kūtal (Madurai) with its fields, its flowers, its tanks and its bees.

The sun-like Master of the universe — the clouds pouring rain over the forests — the Cūrara makaḷir dancing on the mountains — the pēys dancing on the battlefield — the peaceful country round Madurai: these are — besides the descriptions of the seeker — the pictures which the poet draws in the first part of his poem.

The **second scene** (Tiruciralivāy, 78-125) is likewise based on the following sentence:

vēḻam mēlkoṇtu (82), mū-iru mukaṉum (103), panniru kayyum (118), Alaivāy cēralum paṇpē (125): "Mounted on the elephant, with six faces and twelve hands, he has the habit of coming to Alaivāy". The corresponding pictures are: the elephant, the six faces, the 12 hands, the coming with the accompaniment of thunder, drums, and other heavenly instruments. The scene depicts the cosmic majesty and the universal activity of the god.

The **third scene** (Tiruvāviṉaṉkuṭi, 126-176) can be reduced to the following sentence:

Muṉivar muṉ-puka (137), meṉ moḻi mēvalar... uḷara (142), makaḷirōṭu viḷaṅka (147), celvaṉum (Māl), celvaṉum (Civaṉ), celvaṉum (Indiraṉ), kāṉ vara (165), antara-koṭpiṉar kāṇa (174), Áviṉaṅkuṭi acaytalum uriyaṉ (176): "The muṉis going in front, the Gandharvas playing their instruments and rejoicing with their wives; Māl, Civaṉ and Indiran appearing, and the gods looking on, he likes to join Áviṉaṅkuṭi". The translation itself indicates the series of pictures of which this scene is made up: the poet describes one after the other, the Muṉis, the Gandharvas, the great gods and all the other gods. The last picture, dealing with the shrine, is rather rudimentary: the god is going to spend there some days in company with his wife.

The **fourth scene** (Tiruvērakam, 177-189) is the shortest one: Irupiṟappāḷar nuvala (181) Ērakattu uṟaytalum uriyaṉ (189): "While the brahmins chant the sacred mantram, He likes to dwell at Ērakam". The developed pictures are naturally those of the twice-born and of their chanting.

The **fifth scene** (Kuṉṟutōṟu āṭal, 190-217) has the following backbone: kāṉavar ayara (194-197) ceyyaṉ (206 etc.) makaḷirōṭu (205) kuṉṟutōṟu ātalum niṉṟa tāṉ paṇpē: "While the mountain villagers drink and dance, the Red One has the permanent habit of dancing with the girls on all the hills" (the function of 190-192 is not quite clear: vēlaṉ = traditionally the priest who performs ectantic dances; but perhaps also Murukaṉ himself). The pictures which have grown out of this basic statement

are the following: the drinking and dancing orgies of the mountain villagers, the dancing girls, Murukan̲ himself.

The **sixth scene** (Pal̲amutircōlai, 218-317). The following is the basis of this long passage:

(pala) nilayin̲um (226), Muruku ar̲r̲uppatutta viyal nakar (244), ān̥ṭu ānṭu ur̲aytalum ar̲intavar̲ē (249), ni mol̲iya alavyin̲ (281), tān̲ vantu eyti (288), paricil nalkumati (295), aruvi pal̲a mutir cōlaimalai Kil̲avōne (316-317). "If, knowing that He dwells in sundry places, and particulary in the temple where one brings him down, you invoke Him, He will come himself and give you happiness, He, the Master of Pal̲amutircōlai-mountain where there is a torrent". This bare sentence gives occasion to create the following pictures: The many places where one can meet Murukan̲, the women who worship Him in the temple, the seekers who invoke Him and the prayer itself, the gods answer, and — this is the surprising final presentation — the mountain torrent which destroys everything in its way, trees, flowers and fruits, and scares away the animals.

It was necessary to remind you in this rather elementary way of the essential trend of our poem and of its literary technique, because this will permit us to draw some general conclusions as to the poet's intentions.

We can make the following remarks:

(A) There is a *two-fold movement* which pervades the whole composition: an outer one, and an inner one.

(a) The *inner movement* appears in the passages where the poet speaks directly to his companion who is looking for god Murukan̲. In the first scene (62-66) he analyses the condition of the seeker: he wishes to join the feet of Murukan̲, and he will be able to reach them on account of his favourable karma. That is why the poet describes the places where Murukan̲ dwells. If in company with others the seeker praises God at all the places where He can be met, and if he invokes Him in the prescribed manner, then he is sure to be answered and to reach salvation. This is the essential trend of the poem, this is also its central message.

(b) This inner movement is paralleled by an *outer one* consisting of the various isolated pictures which taken as a whole form a kind of corollary to the inner movement. These pictures, isolated as they are, are arranged in such a way that there can be not the slightest doubt about the intention of the poet. The pictures of the first scene describe the universe: the sun which illumines the whole world, land and sea, the rain-clouds rising above the sea, and the forest; the mountains and the mountain makal̲ir; the battlefield and the demons; the prosperous cities and the peaceful countryside: everything being viewed in relation to Murukan̲. Not a single corner of the universe is omitted: the universal

stage is set for what is going to happen next. In the second scene, the poet presents the master of this universe: Murukaṉ coming to Alaivāy with the accompaniment of heavenly instruments. His six faces and twelve arms show that he is as manifold as the world depicted before. In the remaining scenes the poet seems to insist that all beings that live in the universe depend on Murukaṉ and worship him: the Muṉis accompany him, the Gandharvas too and their wives; the great gods — Vishnu, Shiva, Indra, Brahma (also Varuna?), and all the other gods come to see him; the brahmins chant holy texts at appropriate times, the mountain villagers have their orgies, the girls dance with Murukaṉ, the women worship in the temple, and the seeker adores his Master; there is a kind of diminuendo, the field of vision growing smaller and smaller: from the Muṉis and the great gods to the brahmins, the villagers, the women, and finally to the earnest seeker after God surrounded by other seekers. This diminuendo is also a crescendo in so far as those who come later on are nearer to Murukaṉ: the Muṉis who know everything, the mukta, are in fact farthest away from the personal god Murukan; the other gods are nearer to him; the brahmins chant his holy mantra, the girls dance with him, the women worship him, and the seeker hears his redeeming voice. The diminuendo is a crescendo in the intensity of the relation to Murukaṉ. The climax — or rather the focus — is found in the gracious appearance of Murukaṉ, (288-295). But there comes yet a sort of finale: the picture of the mountain torrent which sweeps away everything. It seems to me that this is a reminder of the fact that the grace of Murukaṉ means release from the world: the author's thought may be somewhat akin to that of Shivaism.

Summing up the outer movement which pervades the *T.M.*, we may say, then, that the author first sets the stage (in relation to Muruka — a cosmic stage — then introduces the main actors: Murukaṉ and the "nayantōṉ" and finally presents also the minor characters. Thus the outer movement appears as a sort of drama which accompanies the main drama (which is found in the inner movement).

We many add that it is quite legitimate to speak of "movement" and of "drama". There is indeed all through the poem one perpetual movement. It is the movement of dance, of singing, of whirling around, of ātal. All the developed pictures we come across are moving pictures. The only exceptions are perhaps the portrait of the brahmins, in the middle of the poem (177-188) (a few verbs only!) (contrast with the description of the women's worship, v. 227 ff: a great many verbs!) and also that of the peaceful countryside (67 ff.) The sun is turning round Mount Mēru; the clouds scatter the raindrops over the vast sky; the Cūrara makaḷir dance in the cōlai; the pēymakaḷ dance tuṇanakai-dance on the battlefield; Muruku has entered the sea; his bhakta wants to go to him; Murukaṉ comes to Ālaivāi; all the heavenly beings come to him; the

Muṉis walk (or fly?) in front; the villagers make kuṟavai, rapt in ecstatic orgies; Murukaṉ dances with the girls jumping over the hills; finally he comes to the bhakta to grant him paricil; the aruvi rushes down from the mountain: everywhere there is movement, intense action. The style of the poem — generally rather short phrases — which exploits all the possibilities of the Tamil grammar, (and also the metre, the rhythm) enhance the impression of constant movement.

It is, as P. Meile puts it, "un poeme inspire. L'ouvrage sanskrit dont il se rapproche le plus, le Kumarasambhava, n'est pas moins beau, mais n'est pas anime due meme souffle" (Inde class, p. 448) — it has a tremendous "souffle" in it.

(B) **The author's intention.** He wanted to compose a "guide-book to Murukaṉ", and indeed Murukaṉ is its pivot and its axis. Murukaṉ is present in every part and parcel of the poem: the universe is described in relation to him, (he illumines it), he carries the flowers, the nymphs sing his glory, he shatters the enemies, he is sought after, he appears while all the instruments of heaven resound, all the heavenly beings come to see him, the brahmins chant his secret mantram, he is the object of worship everywhere; to the true seekers he grants happiness (paricil), (a present which is otherwise unobtainable). A study of the theology (or rather Murukulogy) of the poem would be quite rewarding.

But the author's intention embraces more things than that. We have seen that in each scene he expands the elements of a simple basic statement, out of each single element he creates a moving picture. And we have seen that these pictures compass the whole universe. So his intention clearly is to *create a world which has meaning,* a world which receives meaning through Murukaṉ. In this world, every item is at its right place, every being, every object, has value and meaning through its relationship with Murukaṉ. Everything: all men and all gods, the nymphs and the demons, sky, sea and earth, war and peace, trees and flowers, wind and weather, towns and countryside. In his 317 verses, the poet offers us his total world view, and he forgets nothing.

II. THE CONTRAST METHOD

Various authors have pointed out the fact that the poet often puts side by side contrasting pictures. As C. and H. Jesudasan have said: "The effects of contrast are exploited cleverly" (p. 30). This is quite true, and the examples are by no means wanting. The picture of the sun which illumines everything with which the poem opens is immediately followed by that of the heavy clouds and the dark forests. This again is followed by the description of the Cōlai and the flower-covered nymphs. Next we hear about the battlefield and the awful pēymakaḷ: the contrast between the Cūraramakaḷir and the pēymakaḷ is almost violent. But the scene ends with the evocation of the peaceful countryside: throughout, the author proceeds by contrast. Again, in the third

scene, the poet describes first the Muṉivar who have left everything and abandoned all cravings, but then he adds the portrait of the Gandharvas who live in eternal happiness along with their wives. Then there is the fourth scene containing the description of the brahmins where allusions to aṟam and strict brahmanic orthodoxy abound, followed by the sixth scene with the orgy of the villagers (and their priest?) and the wild dance of Murukan himself. This wild dance is followed up by the orderly worship of the women in the temple (6th scene). Finally perhaps the most significant contrast of all: the graceful and loving revelation of Murukaṉ followed by the description of the devastating torrent.

This contrast method underlies even the description of individual pictures: take e.g. 78-82, the portrait of the elephant: his strength is unmeasurable — kuṟṟattaṉṉa maṟṟ-aru moympu — and yet it bears the marks of the sting that has daunted it. Or take again the verses 289-290: (speaking of Murukaṉ) paṇṭēi taṉ maṉam kāmar teyvattu iḷanaḷam kāṭṭi: Murukaṇ is young, and yet he is and has been since the oldest times.

This last example gives us a clue as to the meaning and function of this contrast method. It is not only a literary device, but it is rooted in the nature of Murukaṉ himself. Murukaṇ himself is not only fierceful and terrible, but also kind and loving. This is said right at the beginning (v. 3-4: uṟuṉar taṅkiya maṭaṉ utḻi noṉ tāḷ, se ṟunar tēytta cel uṟaa tatakkai). The same motif appears again in the description of the faces and arms, as well as in the prayer of the faithful. And it is also present at the end where the graceful revelation is immediately followed by the description of the unbridled torrent: destruction and granting of boons belong together.

So we see again that the *T.M.* is a carefully planned work of art: Whether we believe in Murukaṉ or not, we are at any rate in the presence of a literary chef-d'oeuvre, of a composition where each element is conceived in its relationship to the whole.

We shall not deal here with other peculiarities of style: vocabulary, choice of grammatical forms, sound analysis etc.; all these subsidiary approaches to the *T.M.* would confirm the basic results of our literary study.

THE USE OF LITERARY CONVENTIONS IN TAMIL CLASSICAL POETRY

M. MANUEL

The history of Tamil Literature does not begin from the early beginnings of that literature, but from the middle; and, therefore, we are unfortunately not in a position to study the growth of our literature from its first beginnings. Sangam literature, though comprising the earliest writings that we possess, obviously does not represent those beginnings. It has none of the characteristics that we usually meet with in other primitive literatures. There is no evidence whatever in Sangam literature of the primitive man's fumbling efforts at artistic expression, the wrestling with language in an effort to find the verbal equivalents of human perception and experience. Instead of the artless simplicity and directness and other recognized characteristics of primitive or folk literature, we are confronted by a literature which has attained a very high degree of artistic sophistication. We find the Sangam poets approaching the composition of poetry with a deliberateness and sense of art for which it would be hard to find a parallel even in European literature till we come to the Renaissance or the neo-classic age.

The spirit and temper of Sangam literature is unmistakably classicist. The literary ideals that seem to have inspired and controlled Sangam poetry are fundamentally the same as those of European classicism. The excessive preoccupation with form and technique, the extravagant respect paid to the authority of literary precedent, the extreme concern for conformity, the division of all literature into certain kinds (according to Tolkāppiar, seven) in the belief that form in itself has certain inherent virtues which can be attained by strict adherence, the neat analysis of the formal elements of poetry and the strong insistence on the formal aspects, the use of poetic diction, the use of an elaborate system of poetic conventoins — these and many other characteristics of Sangam poetry compel us to describe it as classicist in spirit and temper.

A modern reader who does not recognize this fact in all its implications will not only miss many of the finer aspects of Sangam poetry but will also misunderstand others and fail to appreciate its full excellence as poetry. A reader who looks at Sangam poetry through romantic eyes and a critic who applies to it the romantic values of art will find in it

little more than its antiquity to recommend it to our veneration. Any attempt to rehabilitate Sangam poetry with modern readers by making comparisons between European romantic poets like Wordsworth, Keats and Shelly and some of our Sangam poets, as is the fashion today with many of our critics, is bound to prove futile and unsatisfactory. Those critics who feel the need to establish the world stature of our poets could more effectively do it by focusing attention on the real affinities not between Sangam poets and Western romantic poets, but between Sangam poets and Western poets who have written in the classical tradition.

One common feature of European classical poetry and Sangam poetry is the use by both of an elaborate system of poetic conventions. Though the particular conventions used may be different, the poetic function of the conventions is the same in both literatures. As the poetic conventions form such a conspicuous feature of **aham** and **puram** poetry, and as with many present day readers the use of these conventions constitutes the chief barrier to their appreciation of this poetry, an attempt is made in this paper to elucidate the nature, function and poetic value of these conventions.

At the outset, certain widely prevalent prejudices against the use of conventions in poetry must be stated and contradicted. It is commonly assumed that the acceptance and use of a convention severely limits the poet's freedom, the free and unfettered play of his imagination, and the opportunity to express his personality, besides having a repressive effect on his originality and inventive genius. These are precisely the grounds of the romantic attacks on classicism. But classicism does not subscribe to the theory of poetry that holds that the display of the poet's originality or the expression of his personal emotion or experience is the object of poetry. T. S. Eliot, one of the chief spokesmen for classicism in our age, has stated the classical position thus:

> ... the poet has, not a 'personality' to express, but a particular medium. Which is only a medium and not a personality, in which impressions and experiences combine in peculiar and unexpected ways. Impressions and experiences which are important for the man may play no part in the poetry, and those which become important in the poetry may play quite a negligible part in the man, the personality.[1]

The poetic conventions, far from preventing poets who wanted to express their personality, helped them to escape from expressing it and achieve the impersonality they sought and to make a significant use of language. In accepting the displine of form, they had, of course, to make sacrifices, which they made willingly knowing that other gains would

[1] T. S. Eliot, "Tradition and the Individual Talent", *English Critical Texts,* ed. D. J. Enright and Ernest De Chickera, p. 299.

follow. What these gains were, it is the purpose of this paper to demonstrate.

But before discussing the poetic value of conventions, it is necessary to define precisely the nature and function of conventions. Briefly, a literary convention is a pattern of fictional behaviour. It is a mode of representing in art what we variously call 'real life', 'Nature', or 'reality'. A poet resorts to the use of a convention when an exact imitation or representation of life, as he sees it, is impossible because of technical difficulties presented by the medium he is working in, or is inadvisable because such exact imitation will be inartistic. Thus conventions are a means of circumventing technical shortcomings of the artistic medium on the one hand, and on the other of imposing order, pattern and form on the chaos that is real life.

The absence of the fourth wall in the stage in a theatrical performance is an example of a stage convention which helps to overcome a technical difficulty. If the wall were there the spectators would be excluded from the performance. The conventions regarding the three Unities in classical Greek drama enabled the dramatists to achieve artistic ends at the expense of exact fidelity to Nature. Poetry that uses conventions, instead of giving us an exact imitation of Nature, gives us 'Nature methodized'.

From this it follows that the use of a convention marks a departure from actuality. "Conventions are called in when literature diverges from life." Literature is farthest from life as it was lived in the poet's day, when his account of it is given in a form replete with conventions. The pastoral elegy in European literature, and the Renaissance love poetry in the Petrarchan tradition are illustrations of this. This important aspect of the use of conventions should exert a sobering influence on these scholars who rely excessively on the literature of the Sangam age to paint the picture of the inner and outer life of the people of that age. We must be very cautious in assuming that our **aham** and **puram** poetry reflect with any degree of fidelity the conduct of the men and women of the Sangam age in love and war.

A literature that used such an elaborate system of conventions did not obviously subscribe to the theory of poetry which holds that poetry should aim at a true representation of life as it is really lived. Rather it had more sympathy with the opposite view that, far from being an exact imitation, it is an abstraction or distortion of reality for aesthetic and didactic purposes.

The Sangam poets had a clear understanding of the relationship between real life and its representation in poetry. They clearly differentiated the two and this may be clearly seen in the technical terms they used in referring to them: **ulakiyal valakku** denoted how a thing was said or

[2] H. LEVIN, ed., "Notes on Convention", *Perspectives of Criticism*, pp. 55-84.

done in real life; **pulaneri valakku** or **ceyyul valakku** denoted the practice in poetry of representing it. In his commentary on the lines,

> Nāṭaka vaḻakkiṉum ulakiyal vaḻakkiṉum
> Pādal cāṉra pulaṉeṟi vaḻakkam.

Ilampūranār clearly indicates how poetry deals with real life. The fictions of poetry are not totally unrelated to real life, but are created in conformity with the laws of poetic beauty, and aim at a purer truth or ideal than can be adduced from too faithful a representation of real life.

A true understanding of the theory of art underlying great works composed in obsolete forms in former ages is absolutely necessary in order to realize what their authors were aiming at and what justification they had for the means they employed. Those who think that the use of conventions make Sangam poetry seem very artificial should realize that their ideal of poetry, namely, that it should have a close correspondence with real life is very different from that of Sangam poets who were true classicists. The neo-classic Dryden complained of Shakespeare that his plays were **inartificial,** meaning that they were too close to nature and therefore not good art.

A further point about the use of conventions in poetry and in other forms of art is that the use should not be capricious or obscure. A literary convention is in the nature of an agreement between writer and reader that certain themes will be represented in a certain way. The reader's expectation is satisfied when the writer conforms to the convention and thwarted when he departs from it. The conventions establish a certain harmony in artistic tastes between the poet and his public. As a result of the reader's full understanding of the convention, the communication of the poem's meaning and significance becomes easier. The reader is thus in a position to appreciate the poet's skilful and imagintaive handling of a familiar situation. He can appreciate also the delicate touches and overtones of meaning which flow from the poet's individuality, enrich his composition and affix his signature to the poem. Miss M. C. Bradbrook's definition of Convention may be quoted here:

> A convention may be defined as an agreement between writers and readers, whereby the artist is allowed to limit and simplify his material in order to secure greater concentration through a control of the distribution of emphasis.[4]

The stage is now ready to introduce some of the important conventions employed in **aham** and **puram** poetry and discuss their poetic function. The division of **aham** themes into **aintinai** with the strict delimitation of the conduct proper to each and the appropriate background of

[3] *Tolkappiyam, Porulatikaram: Akatinaiiyal,* verse 56.
[4] M. C. Bradbrook, *Themes and Conventions in Elizabethan Tragedy,* p. 4.

place, time and natural scenery against which it should be presented, would, on the face of it, seem a very arbitrary and unnatural way of representing real life situations. So does the manipulation of the plot in a Greek tragedy observing the Unities of action, place and time. A student of comparative literature cannot miss the close similarity between the Greek Unities and the convention in Sangam poetry regarding the treatment of action, time and place. The conventions, of course, developed independently in the two literatures at about the same time and do not have an exact correspondence. But the same artistic sense which limited itself to a single action to be represented without much shifting of locality and within a limited period of time, may be seen at work in Tamil poetry also where by a poetic convention the poet in any particular poem limited his theme to one action whether of courtship, parting, lovers' quarrel, or separation and treated it against a definite geographical region, season of the year and time of day. The Greek Unities applied to the drama which is tied to a stage and therefore had to be more rigorous in the allowance of place and time. But Sangam poets, not writing plays, could permit themselves a greater allowance of place and time. But the important point is that they do observe the three Unities and for the same reasons and with the same results. The Sangam poets observed, in fact, not three but four Unities. They went a step beyond the Greek dramatists in their convention about the Unity of imagery (Karuporul). A restraint of this kind results in a simplification of material and consequently offers scope for greater concentration of treatment. It is a discipline which ultimately enriches art.

As we have said, the classical poets aimed not at expressing their personality, but to create a pattern of meaning which should be timeless or significant to all times. This they attempted to do by choosing a familiar theme of limited scope and developing it within a broad frame of conventions. But the emphasis was on the craft of the poet, on the selection and organization of significant images. By following the four unities they were able to create an intricate complex of meaning at many levels moving in harmony to reinforce the central theme. As the source from which they could draw their imagery was limited by the convention regarding the unity of imagery, their use of imagery became clear and precise and accquired overtones of symbolic and allegorical significance. In no other poetry is the use of imagery so integral to the total meaning of the poem. The specialization in imagery enabled poets to load words, especially the names of common objects like flowers, trees, birds, animals, rivers, hills, etc. with associative meaning. This increased the suggestive power of the language of poetry and made possible a severe economy in the use of words. Their skilful use of imagery enabled them to dispense with direct statements and use instead the oblique suggestion which is poetically more effective. The structure, that is, the paraphrasable argument, of their poems, is simple enough. But the texture, or quality of

the expression, is so rich and intricate. Beneath the limpid flow of the surface of the poems, we discover great intellectual adroitness and even toughness and the serious use of wit. We may be sure that it is by these that contemporary readers judged the merit of a poem, and not by the degree of conformity to the conventions which was taken for granted.

Sangam poets regarded poetry as a timeless pattern of meaning to be regarded ideally. Poetry was for all times, therefore, timeless and contemporary. Anything in the material offered by life for poetic treatment, which related it to a particular time, place or person was rejected. Poetic composition became a kind of distillation of the raw material, and in the process of distillation the poet effaced not only himself from the poem, but also everything else that would make it local, temporal and particular. In **aham** poetry especially, the proper names of the places which were the scenes of the 'action' of the poem, or the proper names of the characters who played a part in the action, were used, as if the naming of places and persons would take away from the idealization of the action that was being aimed at. It may be mentioned here that in the two well-known poetic traditions in European poetry making large use of poetic conventions, namely, the pastoral and the Petrarchan love poetry, real names of persons are never used.

The conventions have point and force only within a particular poetic tradition which is based on a well understood theory of poetry. Poets working within that tradition and having common objectives, do not see anything arbitrary or artificial (in the bad sense of the term) in the use of these conventions. They do not feel that their freedom is needlessly restricted. Speaking of the classical rules regarding poetic composition that supreme English classicist, Alexander Pope, said :

> The rules of old discovered, not devised,
> Are Nature still, but Nature methodized;
> Nature, like liberty, is but retained
> By the same laws which first herself ordained.[5]

As poets are the law givers and create in their readers the taste by which they are enjoyed, neither would contemporary readers have felt that their artistic sense was left unsatisfied by the procedures of the poet. As the poet and his public share the same attitude to art and endorse the same theory of art, there is no question of the poet and his public being at the mercy of ancient literary authority.

We have seen how a convention originates; but its establishment as a convention does not take place till several writers have accepted and used a device which one poet of great originality had invented. Some supremely felicitous and original feature or detail in the work of a great poet will naturally invite imitators who might follow the poet's technique

[5] ALEXANDER POPE, *An Essay on Criticism*, lines 89-91.

and treatment of a subject. "When certain features are taken over by a large number of writers working through a certain period or in a certain trend, these features become a kind of accepted usage, that is, a convention in literature."[6] When the literary tradition is fresh and vigorous and the creative impulse is strong, the poets are unconscious that they are imitating models, or conforming to literary precedents or following well established conventions. Conventions become noticeable when the poems using them have nothing else — vigour, originality, imaginative and distinctive use of imagery — to recommend them except the conventions. It is when the creative artist has either discarded them or is unable to make a genuinely poetic use of them that the critic takes them up. It is in this light that we should regard *The Poetics* of Aristotle or the *Porulathikaram* of Tolkāppiar. The great creative age of Sangam poetry preceded and not followed or was contemporaneous with *Tolkappiam.* "Only after continued and solid achievement has established trends and traditions does limping criticism struggle forward to generalize and appraise what has been done, or make bold to ordain what may be done in the future."[7]

It must be said that the commentators of Tolkāppiar had only an imperfect understanding of the origin, nature and function of poetic conventions. They tried to explain and justify their use not on artistic grounds, or by reference to the theory of art underlying their use, but on grounds of reason and logic. They strained their intellectual resources to demonstrate that the conventions were in accordance with the facts of real life, whereas, as we have seen, they really signalled the places where poetry deviated from life. One inference to be made from this is that the tradition of Sangam poetry had totally gone out by the time the few extant texts reached the hands of the commentators. Another is that the theory of poetry in favour in the age of the commentators was not the same as that which gave girth to the conventions in the great creative age of Sangam poetry.

[6] GIAN N. G. ORSINI, "T. S. Eliot and the Doctrine of Dramatic Conventions", *Journal of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters,* vol. 43, 1954, p. 193.

[7] WILLAIM C. GREENE, "The Greek Criticism of Poetry", *Perspectives of Criticism,* ed. H. Levin, p. 19.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE TRADITIONAL DOCTRINE OF LOVE

AVVAI D. NATARAJAN

The term 'grammar' applied to the Tamil language, means more than it usually does with reference to other languages. Generally the grammar of a language deals with 'its inflexions or other means of showing relation between words as used in speech or writing and its phonetic system'.[1] The grammar of a language is thus confined to its phonology, accidence and syntax. Tamil Grammar on the other hand is more comprehensive in its scope. In method of treatment it agrees with the grammar of any other language only in two of its purely grammatical features, viz. the study of letters and the study of words. A thought rendered cognizable becomes a word or a series of words. Grammar normally is concerned with words in isolation, then with words in combination and thirdly with words in poetic composition. There are therefore three aspects in Tamil grammar. The first aspect deals with the phonetics of words. This is called Eluttu. Morphology and syntax form the subject matter of the second aspect. This is called Collatikaram. The third aspect as evidenced in 'The Chapter on Subject matter' is an aspect unique to Tamil and goes beyond the bounds of grammar and the linguistician's legislation of other languages (Porulatikaram). Dealing, as it does, with 'matter' (Porul) and showing the subjective-objective relations, the esoteric-exoteric elements, and the phenomenal and noumenal aspects, this third book, the *Porulatikaram* forms a most cherished and unique possession of Tamil as a language.

What is it that made the ancient Tamilians think of grammar in this larger sense? Thoughts which give birth to words are after all an outcome of social life. Words — mere shadows, no doubt, mean thoughts, the darlings of the imagination, as much as thoughts mean words to a larger extent and hence the nurslings of immortality. Thus words in their turn denote 'matter'; they mean and stand for all that we become conscious of by means of sense-perceptions and all other provinces of human experience. Naturally all thoughts that strike our mind, all words that we utter and all our 'ideas' — in addition to all that we aspire for

[1] *The Concise Oxford Dictionary.*

and attempt in action — all these taken together are meant by Porul or Matter. No other grammar in the world has formulated this kind of tridimensional trend which deals with the processes of poetic imagination and literary thought, the patterns of words and speech and the norms of action, all in tune with the external world. This is the reason why this third theme (Porul) is conventionally commended as an indispensable part of Tamil grammar besides the chapter on alphabet and words. In fact there is a passage in another grammar work "The Lord's Doctrine of Love" (Iraiyanar Akapporul) which highly declares categorically: "Of what avail are the 'letters' and 'words' if there be no 'matter'!"[2] This unique feature of Tamil grammar makes it of perennial interest, linking it with life and going beyond mere empty 'words' and speech.

A certain cohesive force is inherent in the human race, and the lowest indivisible unit of the race is the family consisting of a man and his wife. Human society is an outcome of the co-mingling of various families. This tendency of human beings living together in conventional units of family dates back to time immemorial. Now it is 'Porul' or Matter (Material Possession) that impels a man and his wife to thoughts and deeds conforming to social life. Naturally the pursuits of the members of the family become two-fold — to acquire material things and to share and enjoy the fruits thereof. In fact these two constitute the basic functions of a family. The emergence of the family system goes back to almost pre-historic times. Philip Lee Ralph points out in his *History of Civilization:* "The real pioneers of human history were the nameless men and women of the stone ages who discovered how to manipulate the inert elements of their environments so as to tip the balance of nature in their favour.[3]

It seems to be the pre-ordained pattern of creation that a man and a woman should live together. When they thus come together in bonds of Love, they yield to the fundamental craving for material pleasures and for multiplying. This is the general characteristic of all mankind and it is the family that affords all the facilities for satisfying the fundamental cravings of man and woman. The Tamil scholars, who were fully aware of the necessity and inevitability of 'family-life', laid down the four-fold goal of family life, viz. Virtue (Aram), Wealth (Porul), Pleasure (Inbam), Salvation-Grace (Vitu). The first three avowed objects are stated to be the pursuits of those leading domestic lives; the last, of those who embrace asceticism. Tolkappiyar, the great grammarian, remarks that the Tamil works deal mainly with the first three ideals of domestic life.[4]

[2] *Iraiyanar Akapporul,* p. 7.
[3] *The History of our Civilization,* p. 14.
[4] *Tol. Porul.* 418.

That which negates domestic life, salvation (Vitu), is always given secondary importance in Tamil Literature. Nalatiyar also stresses the importance of these three ideals.[5] Of the three, 'Virtue' means righteous life. As righteous action leads to wealth and that in turn leads to the 'Grand' pleasure, virtue and wealth are linked together as cause and effect. This is the reason why the study of virtuous action conventionally precedes that of pleasure. As the Puram[6] points out, the proper practice of Aram leads to the ennobling of life.

Thus it is only domestic or household life that facilitates the exercise of the three cardinal ideals of virtue, and the acquision of material possession and pleasure. A man and a woman who form the unit of family have to live as husband and wife and bear the yoke of responsibilities devolving upon them as the heads of the family. If the members of a family do not swerve even a hair's breadth from righteous thought and action and aim at pleasure derived thereby, they easily acquire material wealth and experience the sheer joy of living. Such a family also acquires fame, being quoted as a model of excellence to all others. A society or community formed of such families naturally grows into a prosperous one, standing as a monumental and ornamental example of the family alone can lead to acquisition of material wealth. This in turn serves as an incentive to all families to love and adore virtue. Thus the whole community learns to live in perennial joy based on this exalted purity. This is the ideal that is set constantly before us in all ancient Tamil works. They aim at making earthly life happy and they show us the way to exclaim with Duke Orsino, "Now Heaven Walks on Earth!"[7]

It is this faith of the ancient Tamil scholars that made them divide matter into two subdivisions of esoteric or 'love' matter (Akam) and exoteric or 'non-love' matter (Puram). The life of the members of a family in relation to each other, beginning from the awakening of love in man and woman and progressing through coy denials, obstructions, doubts and misgivings upto wedlock, union, the after-effects of such union — these form the theme of the Fine Amor (Akapporul). Admiring the skilful art displayed in the depiction of the force of the darts of Cupid in Tamil classics V. V. S. Iyer says: "The most ardent admirers of Locksley Hall will have to admit that the Tamil poet is easily the superior of Tennyson in analysing the infinite number of moods that chase each other in the agitated minds of Lovers."[8] All that pertains to the man and the woman who strive to come together as husband and wife, all their moods of joys and sorrows, their hopes and despair are portrayed with a certain psychological insight and a marvellous romantic

[5] *Nalatiyar*, 114.
[6] *Puram*, 31.
[7] SHAKESPEARE, *Twelfth Night*.
[8] *Tirukkural*, translation by V. V. S. Iyer, p. XXXVI.

subtlety of perception which is truly astonishing. The Love Theme deals mainly with the mental processes of the members who live in the family. It deals with domestic ideals. When the husband or leader of the household goes out into the world to educate himself which renders "an intelligent being yet more intelligent", and to practise a profession and acquire wealth or 'matter', all his efforts and deeds become proper themes for Purapporul (or External matter) in literature. It must be noted here that of all the means of acquiring material wealth, political or administraive leadership as vested in a ruler or emperor was considered to be the supreme calling in those days. Accordingly, the ancients speak of Porul only with reference to lofty deeds of honour done in connection with ruling a country. The *Tolkappiyam* refers to royal deeds alone as Purapporul; and the *Tirukkural* too deals with kings and their administrative responsibilities as Purapporul.

Thus it will be seen that the deeds pertaining to Akam and Puram (amorous and extra-amorous experiences) are the basis of well-being and joy in society. The Akam and Puram themes thus constitute the essential basis of culture and play their vital part in every phase of human activity and these themes were generally called Porul. As human beings, we do not covet anything more than Porul in this larger sense — internal and external. Therefore the words and speech of the ancient Tamils centre on Porul. Life on earth was the primary concern of the ancient Tamilians. That is why the ancient grammarians did not confine themselves to the grammar of words, orthography etc. but went beyond this to deal with the very grammar of living. They made the term Porul connote the thoughts, deeds and the consequent matter and pleasure. "This world ceases to exist for the 'matterless'" says Tiruvalluvar.[9] Perhaps he means by 'the matterless' the indispensability of the grammar of matter (Porulatikaram) besides the more obvious 'material wealth'.

Now let us turn to the graded stages that lead to the evolutoin of domestic or household life. During childhood, we look up to our parents for protection and maintenance; as we grow into youth, we stand by our parents and learn to face the responsibilities of life independently. The aged parents at this stage look up to us for love and protection. As we grow older, we free ourselves entirely from a stage of dependence on our elders and become competent to offer protection to the members of the family ourselves. It is at the stage between youth and boyhood that the instinct to form a family of our own rises. The male being looks for one of the opposite sex and vice versa, to serve as life-long companions. It is not out of place here to refer to Plato's teaching in the symposium regarding a dualism arising out of what was orginally a single entity.

[9] *Tirukkural,* 247.

The divided units naturally strive for union. This instinct for companionship and union rises spontaneously from a source unknown and unknowable. Gradually this instinct which draws a young man and a girl towards each other develops and matures into love. Thus the man and the woman become the lover and his beloved. This stage of love becomes strengthened by community of feelings in either partner and habitual meetings. Finally a stage is reached when each finds it impossible to live without the other. Thus one becomes the source of life for the other. Next, both are united in wedlock, with the help of the parents and elders. Thus after marriage, they from the family and live together as husband and wife, doing good to themselves and good to all in society. It will be seen that the instinct for companionship matures to love which mellows into marriage in the conventional sense. This consummation of marriage, says Pitrim A. Sorokin, "is the most vital, the most intimate and the most complete unification of body, mind and spirit into one socially approved, indivisible WE and the individual egos of the parties merge; and joys and sorrows of one become the joys and sorrows of the other; all their values, aspirations and life experiences become fully shared; their mutual loyalty is unconditionally pledged until death do part them".[10]

The first stage then is that of courtship. The lovers, drawn towards each other by instinct, meet, woo each other and strengthen their bonds of love without the knowledge of other people. Love grows in a secret atmosphere. Stolen waters are proverbially sweet. This stage of stealthy courtship is called Kalaviyal in Tamil literature. The next stage is called Karpiyal which means the attempts on the part of the lovers to publicize their love to their parents and elders and their marriage. The term Kalaviyal (the theme of courtship) means nothing but the growth of love, when the lovers keep their love to themselves unobserved by others. Kalavu or Stealth is not to be taken in any bad sense here, as meaning forbidden, unlawful or immoral. In fact as this stage lays the firm basis for the emergence of family, it is honoured as Kalavu-Olukkam or the Ethics of Stealth. It is also called Marainta Olukkam or Concealed Ethics or simply Marai, or the Code of Concealment. Naccinarkkiniyar comments on this stage as follows: "The aged parents keep their daughter in trust, as one belonging to a stranger. The lover does not go to the parents for accepting her. But with hearts united in love, the lovers meet and court and unite in secret."[11]

Various interpretations have been given for this word by commentators and translators. Kalavu has been translated as Gandharva marriage. This amounts to explaining one unknown by another unknown medium. Nakkirar the commentator, interprets it as fraud, 'Vanjittukkontu', to beguile the couple for a higher purpose. Schopenhauer, the

[10] Pitrim A. Sorokin, *Sane Sex Order*, p. 4.
[11] *Tol. Porul*, 92.

great philosopher also saw in the happiness of young couple, a sort of delusion and fraud of Nature, which make it appear as individual happiness to fulfil its own purpose of propagation; but Nakkirar thought that it led them to renunciation, an end different from that envisaged by Schopenhauer. Fraud is, however, different from theft. Kalavu does not mean fraud, Karavu or Vanjam, at all. Perasiriar held that the chapter is named as Kalaviyal because it deals with sex matter as a result of love. It is also interpreted as clandestine love, clandestine meeting or union."[12] Dr. M. A. Dorai Rangaswamy interprets the term Kalavu in a different sense. He gives the literal meeting 'Weeding' for Kalavu. He thinks that this code of Kalavu is deliberately undertaken by human beings to wash off the inborn impurity.

Thus Kalavu (the code of courtship) and Karpu (the code of married life) are spoken together as the ethics of Love or Anpu-Olukkam. This ethics of love is divided into five stages of experience such as the union of the lovers, the act of separation, the separated existence or the patient waiting, the taunts of the beloved or the bouderie and the pangs of separation when the lovers pine in thought for each other. Thus Anpu-Olukkam is named as the Five-fold Tinai (phases of love). When a person's love is not reciprocated or fails to evoke any clear response in the beloved, then it comes under the category of Kaikkilai or unrequited love. Any instance of improper union between a man and a woman either prior to experience of love or in an atmosphere not conducive to love is called Peruntinai. The prefix 'perum' which means 'general' is indicative of the fact that amours of this kind were much in vogue. Many of the conventional marriages come under this category of Peruntinai, as the will of the parents alone brings about the marriage and not that of the two concerned.

Thus the seven categories known as Kaikkilai (unrequited love), the five-fold phase of love and Peruntinai (improper union) form the subject matter of the theme of love. Of the seven phases the five stages of love comprising Anpin Aintinai are the most essential in shaping an ideal family. The code of love as traced in these stages is based on a sound sense of morality and truth. Therefore the grammar of matter means this particular code of love whenever references are made to amorous themes in the love lyrics. All the verses dealing with love themes in ancient literature are based on this five-fold code of romantic love.

The ancient Tamil scholars and poets had it as their ideal to direct human life on the path of virtue, love and joy. They were fully conscious of the importance of material well-being for the enjoyment of life. They were fully conscious of the potential power of literature which has a tremendous formative influence on society. They knew that it was the

[12] K. KOTHANDAPANI PILLAI, *Tirukkural*, Kamattupal, p. 45.

primary purpose of literature to instruct and edify mankind, besides refining his emotions and imaginations. "It was similar to the 'human-heartedness' or the humanism of Confucius among the ancients and the humanitarianism of Comte among the moderns. Comte held on the basis of positivistic science, that there was nothing greater than humanity for worship."[13] As they were essentially humanistic and all their interests centred on exalted domestic life on earth they sang of love and household life, looking at it from various angles in their love songs. It was clear to them that peaceful and enjoyable household life depended on the proper understanding of values between husband and wife. Hence their detailed study of the moods and feelings of lovers. Their study of the minds, however, never degenerates into a cheap, sexy and sensational affair. Their songs aim at suppressing carnal instincts and animal passions. They inculcate in us a sense of beauty and make us experience the sanctity of human life at its best. The Akam works show the way to refined and cultured enjoyment of life. As the elements of music (icai) and drama (kuttu) contribute largely to refinement and rejoicing in life, the main themes of music and ancient drama are of this amorous category. There is nothing unusual about the dominance of love theme in the Cankam works. Walter De La Mare also tells us that two poems out of every three poems in English are on love.[14] "The love of man and woman is the natural religion of the poet, one of the perennial springs of poetry and one of the shaping analogies of poetic thought."[15] It was the main concern of ancient poets to give prominence to this love theme in all the three major divisions of Tamil literature known as Iyal (Verse), Icai (Music) and Kuttu (Drama). Naturally most of the compiled works of the classical age belong to the Akam category.

The five phases of love known as union of lovers, pangs of separation, patient waiting, wife's sulkiness and wailing and pining in thought (Kutal, Pirital, Iruttal, Utal and Irankal) were considered to be the essential topic (Uripporul) of all love lyrics. The ancient poets conventionally thought of the five phases of love in connection with a suitable background in dimensions of space and time. In other words, the natural background, the time of experience and the place where the experience occurs — all merged in a wonderful harmony in the (Akam) love songs. All the different stages of love, graded in proper order, are linked to nature, having their appropriate seasons and even hours of day. It is interesting that the reader who enjoys the elements of all these wonderful love lyrics finds in their poems what Palgrave would characterize as the marriage of man with nature.[16] In fact, experience evolving out of action is said to have eight aspects by Tolkappiyar. "The deed,

[13] K. KOTHANDAPANI PILLAI, *Tirukkural*, Kamattupal, p. 25.
[14] PROF. HASHIMI, *Man's vision of woman*, p. 191.
[15] DR. V. SP. MANICKAM, *The Tamil Concept of Love*, p. 1.
[16] DR. M. VARADARAJAN, *The Treatment of Nature in Sangam Literature*, p. 3.

the way of doing it, the object (of experience), the place (of action), the time (of action), and the instrument (of action); the purpose (of action) and the cause — all these first six and the last two are the eight-fold aspects of human experience (Vinai)."[17] This verse (Sutram) shows that the first six aspects are of greater significance than the last two; the very structure of the aphorism where the last two are separately mentioned proves this point. Naturally the grammarians of love-poetry refer to the first two aspects of human experience (action and the doing) as essential topic (Uripporul), the place and the time of action or experience as the basic factor (Mutarporul). The natural background or appropriate atmosphere or the objects of environment (Karupporul) consists of an account of the various living beings in the regions, their pursuits and their natural and acquired qualities, in short all their important ways of life in their respective background. The *Tolkappiyam* refers to Karupporul as follows: "Karu consists of the Gods (worshipped in the various regions), food, fauna, flora, music, birds, drums and other objects indigenous to the region."[18] The phrase anpin-aintinai meaning the five-fold phase of love is at once compact and expressive. The term Tinai (phase), even though it is very comprehensive denoting important cultural doctrines, reminds us of the two-fold division of the higher gender (Uyar Tinai) and the lower gender (Akrinai) belonging to the grammar of words. Here the division is made to distinguish the higher order of human beings speaking a language from the lower order of sub-human beings and inanimate objects. Tinai is the word to denote the species or form of existence. Similarly in love songs, every stage of love is called a tinai; the five stages beginning from the almost biological instinct of the opposite sexes drawing towards each other to the consummation of love in marriage and domestic life are called anpin-aintinai because they denote the various aspects of love of the sexes. As the love of the sexes is confined to the earth in Cankam poetry, the geographical features of the various regions are divided first into four major divisions such as Kurinci, Mullai, Marutam and Neytal. Accordingly there are four tinais conforming to the four regions. Each region is then looked upon as the most suited background for one of the five phases of love. Thus the Kurinci region (mountainous region) is suited to union, the Mullai region (the pasture lands) to patient waiting, the Marutam region (the agricultural region) to wifely sulkiness and the Neytal region (maritime tracts) to pining in thought. Thus, those who sing of the essential love experience of union chose the mountainous region as their suitable background. The natural beauties of the region formed the 'background' of their songs of union. This convention of speaking of an action in conformity with a region suited to it led to wonderful gems of poetry. It gave an opportunity to the ancient Cankam poets to think of man as part

[17] *Tol. Col.* 113.
[18] *Tol. Akat.* 18.

of nature. Xavier Thani Nayagam pays a glowing tribute to the complete and accurate studies of nature which was imposed on the Tamil poets by poetic tradition and convention. "The accuracy with which the Tamils divided land into the five regions which are the environments of the five basic types of culture, and enunciated that since a different way of life was conditioned by each environment, therefore different types of poetry should correspond to the different regions, is baffling in its antiquity. It seems almost incredible that more than two thousand years before Le Play, the Tamils could have focussed their attention on natural environment and on the nature-occupations which are the foundations of material culture."[19] As for the Uripporul of separation of lovers, a fifth region known as Palai (waterless arid patches) is mentioned. However, there were no arid, desert regions in ancient Tamil land. Separation can never be better expressed than in the external natural symbol of waste land. The Cankam poets chose as the natural background for themes of separation only the less fertile parts of either Kurinci or Mullai regions or a mixture of both. Ilanko Atikal also refers to the same convention: "When Mullai and Kurinci regions are blighted and swerve from their characteristics, when they are deprived of their good and pleasant features, they take the aspect of palai or waste land."[20]

To sum up, the trinities of Poetry, the place and time of action (Mutar Porul) along with the natural background (Karupporul), conjoined with the particular episode in a man's love life, psychologically and idealistically ascribed to the particular region' — union, separation etc., (Uripporul) form the subject-matter of classical love poetry. The varying moods of the lovers were also scanned in relation to their sexual attitudes. In fact the whole theme of love can be visualised in symbols of the dualism of sexes — masculine and feminine and of the harmony in diversity. The choice of the male and that of the female have to serve at once as types of humanity and individuals. This is achieved by the Cankam poets when they idealize their heroes and heroines. All the characters of love poetry are lovers of virtue, without any brace of the undesirable and tragic weaknesses and flaws that cling to the puny child of dust'. The Tamil Muse portrays ideal Man and ideal Woman, rid of the sufferings inherent in birth, growth, disease, old age and death. They are free from malice, envy, fear, love of slander and evil thoughts. The ideal man and the ideal woman are there before us, at a particular stage of their lives when "it is good for them to be" human beings as such, in a particular background. Like Keats's *Nightingale*, they merge with the background, experiencing no strife, and so they are immortal. Even their companions like the hero's friend and the lady's confidante are all visualized in this ideal context by the ancient poets. Their friendship with the hero or heroine is also idealized in consonance with Shelley's

[19] XAVIER S. THANI NAYAGAM, *Nature in Ancient Tamil Poetry*, p. 42.
[20] *Cilampu*, 11-64 — 5.

'Prometheus Unbound' which discloses 'the ideal man', the saviour of the world where Truth, Liberty and Love are redeemed and consecrated.[21]

The hero of Akam song happens to be the leader of the people belonging to the particular region where he indulges in courtship or union. Thus the mountainous tract is the region suited to marriage or union. Mountains and the adjacent parts of the mountains form the Kurinci region. The people who live in such a region are addressed by particular names derived from their geographical surroundings as Kunravar, Kuravar and Vettuvar (Hunters). Their leaders or chiefs who appear as heroes of the Akan songs are called by their tribal or vocational names as Poruppan, Verpan, Cilampan, Kunra Natan, Kal natan. The heroine is called Koticci or Kuramakal. Thus the hero and the heroine in love are held in great esteem by the society to which they belong. Similarly, in the songs of the pastoral region, the hero as the leader of Ayar (Shepherds) and Potuvar, is spoken of as Kananatan, Kurumporainatan, Potuvan etc. The heroine is called Manaikilatti, Manaiyaval or Aymakal. In the songs pertaining to the fertile plains, the hero is called Uran, Makilnan or Konkan who is the chief of the farmers, a ploughman of the region. The heroine is called Manaivi, Manaiyaval or Kilatti. In the littoral songs dealing with coastal regions, the sea and its neighbourhood form the background. The people who live there take to fishing as their main occupation. They are called Umanar or Paratavar. Their leader is known as Cerpan or Pulampan and the heroine is called Paratavar makal, Nulaicci. Those of the Palai or arid wastelands are called Eyinar or Maravar. The hero of the region is Kalai, Vitalai, or Meeli and the heroine is Eyirri or Maratti. The tribal names attributed to the inhabitants of these various tracts should not be taken as if in the olden days Tamildom had its caste system. In the words of Prof. V. R. R. Dikshidar, the Tamil society in the pre-historical period 'expanded itself and division of classes was distinguished based on profession in one and the same region'.[22] No region or occupation was held in low esteem.[23] As this was the position, there could not have been any supply of material by religion and caste, for the evolution of Akattinai.[24]

The 'Essential emotional experience' of the five-fold phase of mutual love which leads to the emergence of a good family is fully analysed under two broad categories of Courtship and Wedded Life (Kalavu and Karpu). Both put together are termed as 'The Conduct of Love' (Kaikool). Courtship, as we have already mentioned, refers to the coming together of the hero and heroine, their love at first sight, their secret understandings, their assignations and their wooings. Next, the hero claims the heroine as his own, among his relations, elders and the parents

[21] V. R. M. CHETTIAR, *Critical Essays*, p. 52.
[22] *Studies in Tamil Literature and History*, p. 180.
[23] DR. V. SP. MANICKAM, *The Tamil Concept of Love*, p. 110.
[24] Ibid.

concerned. When he finds 'impediments to the marriage of true minds', he sets them aside, and following virtue he marries the heroine in the conventional manner. Thus 'The Code of Courtship' is explained in four stages by Tolkappiyar. They are the first union effected through the agency of destiny, the second meeting at the same spot when the hero will come once again to the place where he met the lady-love first (Itantalaipatu). The third stage is the union through the aid of male companion (Pankotu talal) and lastly the hero resorts to the aid of the maid who is the governess of the heroine.

Then the lovers see each other for the first time, they crave for each other's company and love to meet as often as possible. Even since the first meeting when they 'exchange speechless message of love', they grow into inseparable lovers because of 'their union of desire'. First they meet alone, unobserved by others, impelled by the force of love. There is complete mental union or union of hearts (Kamappunarcci) which amounts to physical or bodily union. This craving born of the first meeting is satisfied only by repeated meetings at the same place, and then it matures into unshakable love. This is known as second meeting (Itantalaippatu). Pankar Kuttum is the next stage of development wherein the love-lorn youth or hero gets to know the most intimate female companion of his beloved; he earns the companion's sympathy which enables him to cultivate greater intimacy with his beloved. This is known as "Union with the aid of the maid".

Undying love born of true friendship is dependent on the three factors: (a) complete compatibility and perfect agreement of feelings between the lovers (The Union of hearts), (b) contact, and (c) intimacy and union. Tiruvalluvar points out how constant meeting and companionship are superfluous in true friendship and how agreement of feelings, the union of hearts, maketh strong the bond of friendship.[25] There must be 'the marriage of true minds' preceding union. It is this perfect mental union that leads to lasting friendship among men and women. Love is primarily ideal friendship between the sexes and the ancient poets were aware of this almost modern idea of sexologists who instist on parity of feelings between husband and wife. Leslie J. Tizard, for instance, says: 'Love equals friendship plus sex. Both are indispensible, but of the two I think friendship is the more important becouse the lasting quality of love depends upon it. They are a happy couple who can say: "We shall be lovers when the last door shuts, But what is better still, we shall be friends."[26]

The code of stealthy love insists upon the three factors of complete union of hearts (or agreement of feelings), contact and union. These stages are brought about by (Kamappunarcci) 'The Union of Minds', the

[25] *The Kural,* trans. V. V. S. Aiyar, p. 163.
[26] Leslie J. Tizard, *Guide to Marriage,* p. 21.

working of which has been already shown as following four stages. Here the term 'Kamam' comes from the root 'Kamam' meaning 'to fill'. Thus 'Kamam' means 'love that fills the heart'. The term 'Punarcci' means 'union'. Thus Kamappunarcci means the intermingling of hearts filled with love. This is also called 'Ullappunarcci' or 'The Union of Hearts'. When this feeling of love draws two of the opposite sexes together, it is but natural for the lovers to indulge in amorous touches, embraces and kisses. Thus all the concomitants of love are meant by the single term Mey Uru Punarcci or 'The Amorous Advances'. The term Urutal means 'to touch or contact'. Thus 'Meyurutal' means the 'contact of bodies'. Some commentators interpret the term differently as it includes the sexual congress. Dr. V. Sp. Manickam supports the later view explaining that it is not an immoral feature in the furtive stage, for the lovers who are one in soul but two in flesh to enjoy physical happiness.[27] It is interesting to mention here a different interpretation given by Andreas Capellanus in his book *The Art of Courtly Love.* He defines two types of love: pure and mixed. The first kind goes as far as the kiss and the embrace and the modest contact with the nude lover, omitting the final solace, and the latter permits "the final solace". He declares that 'all men ought to choose a pure love rather than a mixed or common one'.[28]

The intimate friends of the hero and heroine play an important part indeed in bringing the two love-lorn persons together, without the knowledge of the other people. They shield their love, as it were, from the eyes of the public at the stage of stealthiness. The maid companion arranges for the secret assignment of the lovers. Thus they meet both during day time and night. The appointed place of meeting is called assignation (Kuri), where the hero and heroine indulge in love-play, with great security of feelings. The pools, fountains, river-banks and groves serve as the rendezvous during day-time. This love-tryst in day-time is called diurnal assignment (Pakar Kuri).[29] These are the places to which the women of the day usually resort during day-time. The places which serve at night as the rendezvous for the lovers are in the vicinity of the heroine's house. At times the place of nocturnal meeting might be the house itself.[30] This appointment to suit night is called nocturnal assignment (Iravukkuri). Thus the resorts of the lovers the two-fold according to the division of a day.[31]

No doubt the path of true love is beset with many an impediment. The lover who goes to meet his beloved has to plod his way in the pitch-dark night, facing many a trouble. The rains add to the troubles and make him stay away from his lady. For some reason or other, some unforeseen circumstance, the lover at times fails in his assignments. All

[27] DR. V. SP. MANICKAM, *The Concept of Love,* p. 31.
[28] WILLIAM G. MEADER, *Courtship in Shakespeare,* p. 3.
[29] *Tol. Porul,* 132.
[30] Ibid., 131.
[31] Ibid., 130.

the while his beloved may be kept under strict watch, she may be forced to keep indoors by her parents or elders. These obstructions only add to the fire of love in the hearts of the lovers. The heroine deprived of the pleasures of meeting her lover pines away, and 'lets concealment prey upon her heart like a canker in the bud'. Naturally her health declines; she looks pale, and emaciated. The public begin gossipping about her. The parents who do not understand her clandestine love attribute her illness to many extraneous factors. The parents of the heroine lay down strict injunctions that she should not go out of her house. As the heroine thus suffers alone, her companion manages to meet the hero, expatiates to him on the lady's suffering and insists on his meeting and marrying the beloved. The parents on the other hand try to appease the God and Goddesses who are imagined to have caused the physical and mental changes in their daughter. They arrange for 'Veriyattu', a kind of spirited dance to evoke the blessings of God and relieve their daughter of her 'indefinable' emaciation. But once the lady gives her heart away to a man, it is not expected of her to worship any God. Such a worship is considered as running counter to the virtue of chastity. Therefore she sends word to her lover through the companion asking him to come and claim her in public.[32]

In the meanwhile the hero may be forced to stay away from his beloved due to various reasons. The hero's profession or his desire to acquire wealth to facilitate married life may be the deciding factors which lead to separation. Separation necessitated by duty is called 'Oruvali tanattal'; separation necessitated by a desire to earn wealth for marriage is called 'Varaivitaippirivu'. When the hero is away, the heroine's yearning for his companionship grows into an uncontrollable passion — an appetite not to be appeased but by the lover's presence. She is full of mental conflict. Sometimes she feels that she must openly acknowledge her love before her elders and somehow become his own. She feels that he should not be left free to marry anyone else. At other times she fears that her clandestine amours might become known to her parents. Thus experiencing doubts and misgivings, and great mental conflict, she wants her lover to meet her immediately or she even thinks of the possibility of eloping with him.[33]

When the heroine's parents arrange for 'Veriyatal' (a kind of spirited dance to evoke the blessings of Lord Muruka to relieve the daughter's malady which is attributed to the wrath of God,) she tries to enlighten her parents through her maid-companion of her clandestine love or she tries to let her parents know of her love through her companion, when strangers come and ask for her hand for someone other than her love, or when the parents of the hero do not approach her parents. This indirect

[32] *Tol. Porul.* 210.
[33] *Tol. Porul.* 225.

intimation of her secret love to the parents is known as 'arattotu nirral' or 'conforming to the righteous path in love' (revelation of the love with virtue).

If the parents of the heroine refuse to great her wish or happen to arrange for her marriage with someone else, she sends word to her lover immediately, being ready to elope with him. This of course is an extreme measure and the parents trace the course of the lovers, bring them back and celebrate the marriage in their house, giving their daughter to the lover with all their heart. At times the runaway lovers may escape the parents of the heroine; then the hero takes his beloved to his house where the marriage takes place. Wedding at the bridegroom's house, in the presence of the elders, was considered to be quite proper though the bride's parents were not present to give away their daughter. Marriage is defined by Tolkappiyar as 'the owning of the birde by the bridegroom, offered by those who are suited to give her away'.[34] It if was a case of eloped lovers, there was nothing improper in their getting married in the bridegroom's house, in the presence of village elders. Thus Tolkappiyar says that even in the absence of the parents of the girl, the eloped lovers can marry.[35]

The next change of life is 'the code of married life' (Karpolukkam). This stage of life affords security to the husband and wife who live together, freed from the fears attending stealthy, clandestine love. Neighbours would not indulge in gossip nor need the woman pine for her lover if he is absent; there is no feeling of being under the strict surveillance of her parents nor is there the irrelevant 'spirited dance' which only added to the mortification of the beloved. All these fears and troubles enhanced the intensity of pleasure which she used to find in the company of her lover, all alone and unobserved by the rest of mankind. Hereafter there is no question of rival suitors coming and demanding her hand; nor is there the possibility of the lover belonging to anybody other than herself. The hero is her husband and the heroine his wife — and this fact has been openly acknowledged by the community to which she belongs. Thus 'the code of clandestine love' (Kalavolukkam) is marked by more or misgivings and sorow while that of married life (Karpolukkam) is characterized by a greater sense of security, which leads to greater pleasure. There is no possibility of the lover leaving her in the lurch, when he is separated from her on duty. She is sure that she will never be forsaken. The fear of being ignored or forgotten is the greatest of all fears that a woman in love ever has, and once married life gives her the freedom from this fear, she achieves the ideal and is satisfied beyond measure. The heroine, now raised to the status of a wife, hereafter concentrates on household or domestic life, dedicating her all to her husband. This code

[34] *Tol. Porul.* 142.
[35] Ibid., 143.

of household life based on the virtue of charity or faith, is the greatest of Porul obtainable in life.

It must be noted that the hero does not entirely lose himself in the gloss of wedded life. He does not or ought not to consider hoenymooning as the sole business and forget his duties. If he cares only for the pleasures of love, if light-winged cupid and toys of love "seal with wanton dullness his speculative and officed instruments, that his disports corrupt and taint his business" as Othello says, then he fails in his duty as a citizen. The society to which he belongs becomes corrupt as a consequence. The hero has other pursuits. He has to educate himself and earn a living. He tries to engage himself in some honourable profession of the day. He has also the ambition to become reputed in his calling. His ideal is now to distinguish himself in war or administration or ambassadorial activities. He has thus to leave his home to equip and qualify himself. This is an occasion when the heroine again experiences sorrow on the eve of her husband's departure. She weeps at the prospect of the pangs of separation. It is the turn of the hero to offer comfort to her; he rightly points out the necessity for his leaving and promises to return to her at the earliest. Thus encouraged and strengthened by the hero's promises of love and quick return, the heroine is relieved of her gloom and puts up with the separation. In the husband's absence, she strictly abides by the virtues of the chaste housewife, eagerly awaiting the day of her husband's return.

COURTESANS

Another cause of separation between the couple was the hero's attraction for courtesans. But it will be a bad mistake to imagine that this attraction was that of sex. A people who refined virtues to the extent that ancient Tamil did and who attached such great sanctity to chastity could not have been easy victims to influence of sex. Other explanations therefore must be sought. The commentatiors give some very plausible explanations.

In Ancient Tamil land women outnumbered men as a result of many causes. Many of these women, denied the opportunity of married life, turned courtesans. They also specialized in the fine arts, music and dancing being the most popular of these. Porf. Avvai S. Doraisamy Pillai says the Tamil term 'Parattaiyar' means in fact the superfluous women; this lends support to the view that women outnumbered men. Now the hero is a man with fine artistic sense. It is quite legitimate therefore to say that he was drawn to courtesans by their music and dance and not by their sex appeal. An an important individual of his society it was even his duty to patronize them and encourage their pursuit of art. Nakkirar proposes this explanation.[36] In fact even friendly competitions in the arts were held and successful exponents were given awards.

The title 'Talaikkoli' was confered upon the best exponent. The commentator of Tancaivanan Kovai also upholds this view.[37] The commentators Peraciriyar also expresses the same opinion in exquisite terms.[38]

Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaram Pillai advances another explanation.[39] The hero's enjoyment of unalloyed bliss may begin to cloy in him. It is good that sweetness should be seen as contrasted with the bitter. Love and reconciliation that follow a little pique and lover's quarrel has its own enhanced value and sweetness. As nothing is likely to yield this pleasure as jealousy the hero takes himself off for sometime. That he is attracted by other women inflames his lady's jealousy. The consequent sulking and the latter making up give their own psychological satisfaction.

Dr. U. V. Swaminatha Iyer states "that everything described in literature need not have a moral propriety and may be taken as faithful portrayal of life in the world".[40] A detailed study is made by Dr. V. Sp. Manickam in his learned thesis 'The Tamil Concept of Love'[41] supporting the views of Dr. U. V. S. Iyer.

When all this has been said, the fact still remains that in ancient Tamil land the women outnumbered men. Courtesans therefore did flourish. It need not therefore cause any surprise if the attraction of courtesans is mentioned in literature as a cause of separation. Even thus in Tamil literature this attraction is never mentioned as honourable. It always meant loss of face. "It is well known that a Cola king named Nalankilli asseverated that, if he failed to inflict a heavy defeat upon his enemies, his failure should be deemed as equal to the disgraceful act of his embracing the breast of unkind prostitutes."[42]

It was usual for the heroine on such occasions to tease her husband on his return, leveling charges of infidelity at him. She would sulk and pretend indignation. Then the hero would prove his fidelity and his friends would help him clear himself. This part of 'Utal' (love-taunts) and union is a unique feature of 'Karpu Iyal' or the code of married life. This offers gerat satisfaction for the heroine who must be assured and reassured of her supremacy in her lord's affections. This the hero must do with all gusto, for this is a great source of her joy in life.[43]

The next stage in 'Karpiyal' begins with the birth of the child. The love between the sexes blossoms into pure, passionless affection towards the child born in the family. Until a son is born the hero is interested

[36] *Iraiyanar Akapporul*, p. 172.
[37] Quoted by Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaram Pillai in *Valluvarum Makalirum*, p. 68.
[38] TIRUKKOVAIYAR, *Parattaiyar Pirivu, Commentary*'.
[39] PROF. T. P. MEENAKSHISUNDARAM PILLAI, *Valluvarum Makalirum*, p. 68.
[40] DR. U. V. SWAMINATHA IYER, *Karuntokai*, Nularaicci, p. 79.
[41] DR. V. SP. MANICKAM, *The Tamil Concept of Love in Ahattinai*, p. 165-175.
[42] *Puram*. 73 — Quoted by DR. V. SP. MANICKAM, *The Tamil Concept of Love in Ahattinai*, p. 174.
[43] *Tol. Porul*. 499.

in the pursuit of knowledge, wealth and fame for himself. But when a son is born, all his attentoin is concentrated on the son. He now realizes his responsibility to bring him up on proper lines. His ambition now is to see this son enjoys good health, acquires sound knowledge and develops a sense of righteous conduct. With the birth of more and more children, the hero thinks less and less of himself and as he attains old age, he is surrounded by all his kith and kin who in turn try to keep him happy. The old hero learns to be detached in his attitude towards life. His attachment to earthly possessions grows weak and as an old man he teaches the younger generation the art of living and path of virtue. He also engages himself in activities of a spiritual kind which will lead to his salvation. In all such spiritual pursuits the heroine assists him whole-heartedly. Thus 'Akapporul' grammar teaches us how to establish an ideal society. It is formed of families wherein the members are all interested and engaged in the pursuits of knowledge, sound health, virtuous conduct, material wealth and reputation.[44]

In speaking of 'Kalaviyal' or the code of courtship, many conventionally refer to the riding of 'matal' (or Metal erutal) by the love-lorn hero. It is said that the hero who wants to meet his beloved begins to persuade the maid-companion of the heroine to facilitate the meeting. The maid-companion who may not after all know the mind of her mistres may at first refuse to convey the hero's wish to the herone. We cannot expect a heroine to confide inner thoughts of love to her companion as much as a male-lover may be expected to do. Naturally the maid-companion is in the dark regarding the heroine's preference and choice. In the circumstances, the hero imagines that the maid deliberately puts off his request and he threatens to proclaim his love in public by riding on 'matal'. **Matal erutal** may be briefly described in this way: The figure or doll of a horse is designed out of the palmyra fronds and it is fastened to a chariot. The figure of the heroine is drawn on a piece of cloth with a suitable legend underneath glorifying her beauty and virtue. The hero holds it in his hand as he rides on the doll-horse which is drawn by the youngsters of the place. He thus rides through the street where his beloved's house stands. Now this is a course which will tell upon the dignity of the heroine, for it will lead to gossip. Threatened in this way, the maid-companion agrees to convey the message of love. Of course, this bogle of 'matal' riding is just a threat meant to prove the strength of his love and his resolve to obtain the lady of his heart at any cost. Actually there never was an occasion when this desperate step was taken, nor does it obtain now.

The code of married life refers to four kinds of pursuits on the part of the husband when separated from his wife. They are: (1) education

[44] *Tol. Porul.* 192.

or attaining scholarship, (2) acquiring wealth, (3) defence of the country, and (4) 'Tutu' or ambassadorial activities.[45]

In fine, the Doctrine of Love is thus portrayed in all its facets and nuances by the Tamils of yore which led them to consecrate 'Love' in the temple of their Literature. The word Tamil itself came to bear the connotation of Love for the Tamils.

[45] *Tol. Akat.* 25, 28.

TAMIL LITERARY THEORIES — EPIC

T. E. GNANAMOORTHY

GENESIS OF EPIC

The Epic is a highly developed form of art the genesis of which is traced by the critics to the heroic age. In that age the man who possessed outstanding physical strength, beauty, personality, prowess, valour and generosity became dominant, and was praised, admired and revered for his individual greatness. His admirable traits were celebrated in poems. Subsequently they developed themselves into narrative forms finally resulting in epic poems. "Epic literature", says W. P. Ker, "is not common. It is brought to perfection by a slow process through many generations. The growth of the epic out of the older and commoner forms of poetry, hymns, dirges or panegyrics, is a progress towards intellectual and imaginative freedom."[1]

The epic poems came into being initially with a heroic spirit as their chief and dominant feature. These epics have been classified by the western critics as "Primitive" or "Authentic" epics.[2]

The epics of later ages in which the spirit of sophistication pervades are called "Artificial" or "Literary" epics.[3]

TAMIL EPICS OF THE HEROIC AGE

Cankam age is the heroic age of the Tamil country. No epic of that age worthy to be called authentic epic is now available. It seems that the works such as *Ramayanam, Paratam,* and *Takaturyattirai* were extant in Cankam age. We find verses from those works quoted by the commentators of later periods in their texts. These works have prose and verse interspersed, thus conforming to the definition of Tonmai mentioned by Tolkappiyar. According to him Tonmai is a work where prose and verse are interspersed and a traditional legend forms its subject.[4] Mr. Winternitz considers this form of literature to be the oldest form of epic poetry.[5]

From the excerpts of *Ramayanam, Paratam,* and *Takaturyattirai*

[1] W. P. KER, *Epic and Romance*, 1926 edn., p. 13.
[2] C. M. BOWRA, *From Virgil to Milton,* 1957 edn., p. 1.
[3] C. M. BOWRA, *From Virgil to Milton,* 1957 edn., p. 9.
[4] "Tonmaitane collunkalai uraiyotu punarnta palamai merre", *Tol.* v. 539.
[5] M. WINTERNITZ, *Some Problems of Indian Literature,* p. 44.

available here and there we find that they are the works composed with Venpa and Aciriyappa verses. The authors of *Ramayanam* and *Takaturyattirai* are not known. The author of *Paratam* is said to be Peruntevanar.

Takaturyattirai deals with the war fought and won by the Cera king Perunceral Irumporai against Atikaman the king of Takatur.

All the extant epics are literary epics belonging to later ages.

FIVE MAJOR TAMIL EPICS

It is traditionally held that the works, *Cilappatikaram, Manimekalai, Civakacintamani, Valaiyapati* and *Kuntalakeci* are the five major epics. The age of *Cilappatikaram* and *Manimekalai* must be after the Cankam and prior to Pallava period. *Civakacintamani* belongs to the 9th century.[6] The age of *Kuntalakeci* and *Valaiyapati* is believed to be 9th or 10th century.[7] Of all the Tamil Epics extant, *Cilappatikaram* is the earliest.[8] Of these *Cilappatikaram* and *Civakacintamani* possess epic grandeur worthy of major epics. Although *Manimekalai* bears epic characteristics, the epic spirit is not sustained till the end. Its latter portions are devoted to emphasize the merits of the Buddhistic philosophy and condemn the other religious creeds. Consequently the tempo of the epic spirit is reduced to a low ebb. Nothing can be said conclusively about *Valaiyapati*, a Jain epic as it is not available. Some verses belonging to this work are found quoted in the commentaries of *Tolkappiyam, Cilappatikaram, Yapparunkalam* and *Takkayakapparani.*

Kuntalakeci is also lost to us. That it is a work intended to propagate Buddhistic philosophy is evident from the Jain work, *Nilakeci* which was written as an antithesis to *Kuntalakeci* opposing its faiths and philosophies. Nineteen verses belonging to this work are found in *Purattirattu.* Such of these which have philosophical disputations as their main theme would naturally lack epic grandeur, and hence they do not belong to the category of major epics.

FIVE MINOR TAMIL EPICS

Corresponding to the five major epics the following five works are considered to be minor epics. They are (1) *Utayanakumarakaviyam,* (2) *Nakakumarakaviyam,* (3) *Yacotarakaviyam,* (4) *Culamani,* and (5) *Nilakeci.* All of them except *Culamani* lack epic characteristics. Dr. U. V. Saminatha Aiyar who edited *Utayanakumarakaviyam* states that the work does not fulfil the basic elementary principles of an epic. It bears many grammatical flaws. It does not deserve even to be called

[6] T. P. MEENAKSISUNDARAM, *Camanat Tamil Ilakkiya Varalaru,* Kalaikathir edn., 1961, p. 106.

[7] S. VAIYAPURIPILLAI, *Kaviyakaldm,* pp. 192, 203.

[8] T. P. MEENAKSISUNDARAM, *Camanat Tamil Ilakkiya varalaru,* Kalaikathir edn., 1961, p. 69.

literature.[9] Likewise *Nakakumarakaviyam* and *Yacotarakaviyam* also lack epic qualifications.[10] *Yacotarakaviyam* narrates the story of Yacotaran. It dwells on the sins comitted by killing. The work comprises of five Carukkams (chapters) having 320 verses in all. *Nakakumarakaviyam* has not yet been brought out in print. *Nilakeci* as already pointed out is a work mainly dealing with philosophical disputation and as such it does not come up to the epic standard. Such works as this which have a strong bias towards a particular religion, and which deal throughout with its propagation, cannot rise up to the level of epic stature and they can be classified as only pseudo epics.

Of the so called minor epics, *Culamani* alone distinguishes itself as a grand epic. It belongs to 9th century A.D.[11] It has all the characteristics required of an epic. In fact it should be classified as a major epic. Similarly *Perunkatai*, believed to be written in the 7th century.[12] is an epic of outstanding merit. Konkuvelir, who is its author, is said to have adopted his epic story from the Sanskrit work *Prikatkata* written by Turvinita, the Ganga King. *Kamparamayanam* written in 12th century[13] and *Villiparatam* in 14th century[14] are epics par excellence. Their structure and style are superb. Instead of classifying all these great epics as major epics, it is surprising that the works lacking epic qualifications are classified as such. Therefore it is clear that the classification as major and minor epics was done at random without conforming to any specific principles.

TONMAI AND TOL.

Tolkappiyam, the earliest extant Tamil grammatical work enunciates principles governing the composition of various kinds of poetry. Although it does not deal with epic poetry in particular, the principles dealt with therein relating to poetry in general, apply to epic poetry also. Tonmai and Tol. mentioned in *Tolkappiyam* seem to be akin to epic poetry. We have already seen how Tolkappiyar defines Tonmai. Tol. is the work which deals with the noble subjects in sweet words, composed elaborately running to any number of lines.[15] Peraciriyar, the commentator defines the noble subjects to be Aram, Porul, Inpam and Vitu. He also states that Tol. is the treatise where a traditional legend forms the subject.[16]

[9] DR. U. V. SAMINATHA AIYAR, Intro., *Utayanakumarakaviyam*.
[10] K. V. JAGANNATHAN, *Tamil-k-kappiyankal*, 1955 edn., p. 215.
[11] T. P. MEENAKSHISUNDARAM, *Camanattamil Ilakkiya Varalaru*, Kalaikathir edn., 1961, p. 111.
[12] Ibid. p. 98.
[13] K. V. JAGANNATHAN, *Tamil Kappiyankal*, 1955 edn., p. 253.
[14] Ibid. p. 250.
[15] "Ilumen moliyan vilumiyatu nuvalinum
paranta moliyan atinimirnt tolikinum
tolena molipa tonmolip pulavar". *Tol.* v. 550.
[16] Peraciriyar's commentary on *Tolkappiyam*, v. 550.

These narrative poems, we may say, might not have been similar to the epics of later ages. As already stated in case of Tonmai, perhaps Tol also relates to the epics of ancient age.

EPIC PRINCIPLES IN LATER WORKS

The epic principles are found in *Tantiyalankaram* and in *Maranalankaram* which are the works dealing with figures of speech, and also in prosodial works such as *Vaceanantimalai, Navanitappattiyal,* and *Citamparappattiyal.* But none of these works covers the epic principles in all aspects fully.

EPIC PRINCIPLES IN TANTIYALANKARAM

Tantiyalankaram is an adaptation from the Sanskrit work entitled "Kavyadarsam" written by Tanti, a great Sanskrit savant.[17] The name of the author of *Tantiyalankaram* is not known.

He classifies epics into two kinds as Perunkappiyam (major epic), and Kappiyam (minor epic). He defines perunkappiyam as follows: "It should commence with any one or more of three elements — Valttu, or a song in praise of God, Vanakkam or invocation, Varuporul or introduction of the subject matter. The four subjects namely Aram (virtue), Porul (wealth), Inpam (love) and Vitu (salvation) should form the contents of the epic poem. It should have a hero of unparalleled magnitute. It should contain descriptions of mountain, sea, country, city, six seasons of the year, rising of sun, rising of moon. Consummation of marriage, coronation, beauties of flower gardens, water games of a frolic nature, indulgence in intoxicating drinks, to bear forth children, love quarrel, sexual love and such others should be dealth with. Further, the State Council comprising the King and the Ministers, diplomatic mission, invasion, battle, victory — should also find a place in it. It should be an interesting poem infused with emotional elements, divided into chapters called Carukkams or Ilampakam or Pari-c-cetam. It must be a work of a savant.[18]

Kappiyam or Cirukappiyam is that which deals with any one or more, but not exceeding three of the four subjects — Aram, Porul, Inpam and Vitu.[19] The rest of the elements relating to Perunkappiyam apply to Kappiyam also. It must be noted that the only difference between Perunkappiyam and Kappiyam is that the former deals with all the four subjects (of Aram, Porul, Inpam, Vitu) whereas the latter deals with not more than three out of the four subjects. This classification of epics is done by the author of *Tantiyalankaram* according to the traditions of Sanskrit epic, and the principles also are based totally on the same tradition. Hence they would not strictly apply to Tamil epics.

[17] S. VAIYAPURIPILLAI, *Kaviyakalam,* p. 264.
[18] *Tantiyalankaram,* v. 8.
[19] *Tantiyalankaram,* v. 10.

For instance *Cilappatikaram* and *Manimekalai* which are said to be Perunkappiyams or major epics do not conform to the principles of this classification. *Cilappatikaram* does not deal with Vitu while Porul and Inpam do not find place in *Manimekalai*. And most of the other aspects of epic enumerated in *Tantiyalankaram* do not find a place in these twin epics.

EPIC PRINCIPLES IN PANNIRUPPATTIYAL

In *Pannirupattiyal* there are three verses enunciating rules relating to Totarnilai-c-ceyyul or epic. Three kinds of Totarnilai-c-ceyyul are mentioned therein. They are, Talai, Itai and Katai.[20] Of these three kinds, Talai Totarnilai-c-ceyyul only is defined in the work. The definitions with regard to other two kinds are not found in it. Obviously they must have been lost. According to this work the Talai Totarnilai-c-ceyyul is that which deals with Aram, Porul, Inpam and Vitu in clear terms and in continuous narration.[21]

EPIC PRINCIPLES IN OTHER TAMIL WORKS

The definitions found in *Maranalankarm, Vaccanantimalai, Navanitappattiyal* and *Citamparappattiyal*, are same as the definitions in *Tantiyalankaram*.[22] *Navanitappattiyal* among the objects of description includes Tacankam, i.e. the description of the ten parts of the hero's body,[23] which never finds place in *Tantiyalankaram* and other works.

Vaccanantimalai and *Citamparappattiyal* classify Puranams also under cirukappiyam (Minor epic).

STORY

The primary requirement of an epic is a good story which should be well told and greatly told. The materials of the story must possess an unmistakable air of actuality; that is, they must come profoundly out of human experience. The story generally must be of one which has been handed down through the ages past. Such stories besides being realistic gain weight and solidity bearing in them the age long culture and civilization of the native land. An invented story though full of significance is not suited to epic poetry. "Reality of substance is a thing on which the epic poetry must always be able to rely."[24] According to Abercrombie the reality of substance means that the story must be founded deep in the general experience of men.[25] It need not be said that an invented story would lack the nature of reality. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai

20 *Pannirupattiyal*, v. 224.
21 Ibid. v. 225.
22 *Maranalankaram*, vs. 72 to 76; *Navanitapattiyal*, vs. 62 to 65; *Vaccanantimalai*, vs. 40 to 43; *Citamparappattiyal*, vs. 41-42.
23 *Navanitappattiyal*, v. 62.
24 LASCELLES ABERCROMBIE, *The Epic*, ch. III, p. 53.
25 Ibid.

states that the heroic legend handed down orally through ages past from time immemorial is the subject of Itikacam or epic, and cites *Paratam* and *Ramayanam* as examples in support of the statement.[26]

It is therefore, an avowed principle that a well-known legend of ancient time should be the central subject of an epic. When the story of the poem is thus safely concerned with some reality, the poet can graft on it as much appropriate invention as he pleases for the purpose of elaborating his central subject.[27]

It is surprising that most of the Tamil works dealing with the epic principles have not mentioned about the story, the chief requirement of an epic. Perhaps it is taken for granted. *Tolkappiyam* mentions the story when it defines Tonmai to which we have already referred.

There is a reference about the story in *Maranalankaram* which states that the Perunkappiyam must have a story of a hero possessing incomparable magnitude of personality.[28] But there is no more elaboration of its qualifications.

ACTION OF THE STORY

The critics hold that the action of the story should have three qualifications. First it should be but one action. Secondly it should be an entire action. And thirdly, it should be a great action.[29] The term one action refers to the unity of action. The story can have several incidents but all of them should be centered on the main action. The following words of Aristotle explain well the unity of action.

"The truth is that, just as in other imitative arts, one imitation is always of one thing; so in poetry the story, an imitation action, must represent one action, a complete whole, with its several incidents so closely connected that the transposal or withdrawal of any one of them will disjoin and dislocate the whole. For that which makes no perceptible difference by its presence or absence is no real part of the whole."[30]

An entire action, which is the second qualification required in the action of epic poem, is that which is complete in all its parts. Aristotle describes it thus: "Now a whole is that which has beginning, middle, and end."[31] It is clear from this that the parts of the action must be told in a distinct manner, and that they grow out of one another in the most natural order.

The *Pannirupattiyal* states in verse 223 that the narration of the hero's story should comprise three parts, viz. vittu, entuli, and koti which mean seed, tender shoot, and creeper respectively. These terms are used

26 S. VAIYAPURI PILLAI, *Kaviya Kalam*, 1957 edn., p. 260.
27 LASCELLES ABERCROMBIE, *The Epic*, ch. III, p. 56.
28 *Maranalankaram*, v. 73.
29 *Milton Criticism*, ed. James Torpe, 2nd edn., p. 23.
30 *Aristotle on the Art of Poetry*, trans. Ingram Bywater, 1954, edn., p. 42.
31 Ibid. p. 62.

metaphorically to mean the beginning, the middle and the end of the story which correspond to the entire action.[32]

The third qualification of an epic poem, namely its greatness includes the nobility of subject, its largeness and its duration; that is it should have a due length in it. Of the dignity of epic poem, W. P. Ker states, "The ideas of their time are conveyed and expressed in a noble manner... They have hit upon a way of telling a story clearly and in proportion, and with dignity.[33]

THE STORIES OF THE TAMIL EPICS

We find that the nature of reality permeates all the stories of the extant Tamil epics, born as they are out of deep human experience. They are traditional stories extant for ages prior to their adoption in the epics. The stories of *Civakacintamani* and *Culamani* are the ancient Jain stories. These stories are found narrated in the Sanskrit work *Mahapuranam* which, some scholars hold to be the source for the stories of those two epics. Chakravarti Nayinar is of opinion that the story of Civakan must be much earlier, because he was a historical personage, a contemporary of Mahavira Vartamanar, and that both the Sanskrit version and the Tamil verson, were probably derived from such sources.[34] As already mentioned, the story of Perunkatai has been adopted from the Sanskrit work *Prihatkata.* The stories of *Ramayanam* and *Paratam* are very popularly known from time immemorial. We find references to these stories in ancient Cankam poems.[35]

It is said that *Cilappatikaram* is a real story that took place in the age of its author Ilankovatikal. Its prefatory verse states that the poet Cattanar who witnessed the incidents in the life of Kovalan and Kannaki narrated their story to Ilankovatikal who subsequently composed *Cilappatikaram* with that story.[36] In Varantarukatai of *Cilappatikaram* Ilankovatikal states that he was present at the temple of Kannaki who then spoke to him praising his renunciation.[37] These evidences are cited to prove that the story is a real story, which had actually taken place during the lifetime of the author.

The prefatory verse cannot be relied on, since it was written by a later poet and added to the work. As regards the references to the author in Varantarukatai, we must regard it as invented by the author to infuse interest and a sense of reality in the work.

As the stories of other extant Tamil epics, the story of *Cilappatikaram* too must have been a traditional legend popularly known for ages,

[32] Pannirupattiyal, commentary to v. 223.
[33] W. P. KER, *Epic and Romance,* 1926 edn., p. 14.
[34] *Civakacintamani Corpolivu Ninaivu Malar,* forword by A. Chakravarti, p. 11.
[35] *Purananuru,* v. 2, 378.
[36] *Cilappatikaram,* Patikam, Ll. 12, 60-90.
[37] Ibid. Varantarukatai, Ll. 171-184.

before it was chosen for the epic. Incidents resembling the life of Kannaki are found mentioned in Cankam literatures such at *Purananuru*[38] and *Narrinai.*[39] This leads us to believe that the legend of Kannaki was a very ancient one that was handed down through ages past. Likewise we may regard the story of Manimekalai also which is the continuation of that of *Cilappatikaram* as a traditional legend.

DURATION OF ACTION

As regards the duration of action which means the space of time which is taken up by action there are diversified views among Western critics. Aristotle fixes no limit of time. Minturno permits only the events of a single year. According to Giraldi the whole biography of the hero is indispensable.[40]

A study of various epic poems will convince us that it is not plausible to lay down rules to circumscribe the action of an epic poem with specific space of time.

CHARACTERS

The most important requisite of an epic poem is a conformable multitude of characters. The multitude and variety of characters contribute to the excellence of the epic poem. Story, characters and episodes are the three main constituents that lend weight and solidity to an epic. Of these three, characters are vitally important for an epic. Narration of mere fable and events would be monotonous. It is the variety of characters that make an epic lustrous, lively and impressive. They contribute varied interest to an epic poem, and they are also the medium of expression of sentiments. How a good representation of characters is indispensable is well expressed in the following words of W. P. Ker: "without dramatic representation of characters, epic is merely history of romance; the variety and life of epic are to be found in the drama that springs up at every encounter of the personages."[41] Aristotle also in his discussion of epic makes the character all important, not the story.[42]

PRINCIPLES OF TOLKAPPIYAM IN RESPECT OF CHARACTERS

Tolkappiyar in his "Porulatikaram" has dealt with the characters requisite for the love poems in general. The principal characters found in his treatise are Talaivan (the hero), Talaivi (the heroine), Pankan (the companion to the hero), Toli (the lady companion to the heroine), Narray (the mother of the heroine), Cevili (the foster-mother of the heroine),

[38] *Purananuru,* v. 144.
[39] *Narrinai,* v. 216.
[40] W. M. DIXON, *English Epic and Heroic Poetry,,* ch. I.
[41] W. P. KER, *Epic and Romance,* p. 17.
[42] *Aristotle on the Art of Poetry,* tr. Ingram Bywater, p. 38.

Kamakkilati (the paramour of the hero), Arivar (the men of knowledge), Kuttar (the men dancers), Viraliyar (women dancers), Panan (the musician), Patti (wife of Panan), Ilaiyar (those who do service) and parppar (the learned men).

Tolkappiyar also deals with the characteristics of each of these characters.

The hero must be a man of noble nature and courage.[43] Modesty (accam), shyness (nan), and innocence (matan) should invariably be the predominant qualities of the heroine.[44]

Tolkappiyar then states the qualities that are common to the four principal lady characters, viz: Talaivi, Toli, Narray and Cevili. They must love each other so intensely and move so intimately as to appear four persons with one soul. They must also possess the qualities of shyness and innocence.[45] They should be self-restrained (cerivu), calm (niraivu), unperverted (cemmai), witty (ceppu), wise (arivu), and be of such trait as not be gauged of their real intention (arumai).[46] Pankan, the hero's companion will reprove the hero at first for his clandestine love and disapprove his act of frequenting the abode of courtesans.[47] The Ilaiyars are the men who guard and do service.[48] The lady companion of the heroine (Toli), the mother (Narray), the learned men (parppar), the companion of the hero (Pankan), the musician (panan), the wife of the muscian (patti), the men who do service (ilaiyar), the guests (viruntinar), the dancers (kuttar), the wives of dancers (viraliyar), and the men of wisdom (arivar), are those who do the services of mediation and offering advice.[49]

The Tamil poets have adopted these characters with their respective characteristics not only in their poems but also in their epics.

The Tamil grammatical works, *Tantiyalankaram*, *Maranalankaram*, *Navanitappattiyal* and others which specifically define the epic poem speak only of the hero as one with a personality of unparalleled nature.[50] It is disappointing that other characters are not dealt with in them.

SENTIMENT

Sentiment is another feature of an epic poem Sentiments are the thoughts which the author ascribes to the characters and things introduced in the epic, in conformity to their nature. Joseph Addison says, "the sentiments have likewise a relation to things as well persons, and

[43] *Tol., Porul,* v. 95.
[44] *Tol., Porul,* v. 96.
[45] *Tol., Porul,* v. 198.
[46] Ibid. v. 206.
[47] Ibid. v. 180.
[48] Ibid. v. 169.
[49] Ibid. v. 191.
[50] *Tantiyalankaram,* v. 8; *Maranalankaram,* vs. 72-76; *Navanitappattiyal,* vs. 62-65.

are then perfect when they are such as are adapted to the subject."[51] They should be natural or sublime according to the situation.

TOLKAPPIYAR'S PRINCIPLES ON EXPRESSION OF SENTIMENTS

Tolkappiyar has enunciated several principles with regard to the expressions of sentiments or thoughts. He gives an enumeration of thoughts or sentiments in relation to each character who has to give expression to them.[52] And he also prescribes context for expressing each sentiment.

The verse 234 of "Porulatikaram" states that the expression of sentiments by the hero (Talaivan) as well as by the heroine (Talaivi) should be of high order.[53]

From this rule of *Tolkappiyam* it is clear that hero and heroine should express their sentiments as would become of their dignity. Another verse emphasizes that poetry should adopt the worldly usages, since they are nothing but the words of high or noble persons.[54] In other words it means that poetry should express high or noble ideas.

These rules are enunciated by Tolkappiyar in respect of poetry in general, and they are also applicable to epic poetry.

Tolkappiyar also outlays three sentiments — Aram (virtue), Porul (wealth) and Inpam (love)[55] that a poem should give expression to. A poem can deal with either one or all of them.

He has treated these three subjects under two main heads — Akam, and Puram. He includes Aram and Porul in Puram and Inpam in Akam. The later Tamil works such as *Tantiyalankaram, Maranalankaram, Pannirupattiyal, Navanitappattiyal, Citamparappattiyal, Vaccanantimalai,* etc. while dealing with the definitions of epic, emphasize that great or major epic poem should give expression to the four chief sentiments — Aram, Porul, Inpam and Vitu (salvation).[56]

DICTION

The remaining part to be considered with regard to epic poem is language or diction. Diction implies also the style.

It is essential that the language of an epic poem should be both perspicuous and sublime. In proportion as either of these qualities are wanting, the language is imperfect. For clearness and perspicuity the poet necessarily has to clothe his thoughts in the most plain and natural expressions. But it should be noted that 'the most obvious phrases, and those which are used in ordinary conversation, become too familiar to

[51] *Milton Criticism*, ed. James Thorpe, 2nd edn., p. 33.
[52] *Tolkappiyam, Porul,* vs. 99, 109, 112 and 113.
[53] Ibid. v. 234.
[54] *Tolkappiyam,* Porul, v. 213.
[55] *Tolkappiyam, Ceyyuliyal,* v. 102.
[56] *Tantiyalankaram,* v. 8; *Maranalankaram,* v. 73; *Pannirupattiyal,* v. 226; Navanitappattiyal, v. 65.

the ear and contract a kind of meanness by passing through the mouths of vulgar, which if used, will greatly pull down the elevation and grandeur that are the peculiar trait of epic poem. Hence he should take care to guard himself against ordinary or idiomatic ways of speaking.

"It is not, therefore, sufficient", staes Joseph Addison, "that the language of epic poem be perspicuous, unless it be also sublime. To this end it ought to deviate from the common forms and ordinary phrases of speech."[57]

Tolkappiyar has given a list of some literary words, that can be used in poetry in the chapter — Uriyiyal. The conventional usage of literary words is dealt with in another chapter called Marapiyal.

The magnificent structure of epic is thus erected on the foundation of deep human experience with the story bearing one action, entire action and great action, characters, noble sentiments and dignified language as its constituents.

MAGNIFICENCE OF THE TAMIL EPICS

We find that the most of the extant Tamil epics such as *Cilappatikaram, Manimekalai, Cintamani* and *Kampa Ramayanam* conform to these epic principles, and thus distinguish themselves as mounmental works. It is obvious that they were written in accordance with the poetics of *Tolkappiyam.* With luscious literary flavour, they explain the duty and the magnificence of man. They also deal with history, religion and philosophy and survey the universe and present a comprehensive vision of reality. Although these ideals are found common to these epics, each expounds them in its own way in accordance with the conditions that prevailed in its age.

Cilappatikaram portays the chastity of a woman as a powerful force to purify the domestic, social and political life, and explains how chastity is universally deified on account of its miraculous influence.

Manimekalai by depicting the ascetic life of a maiden, distinguishes Buddhistic philosophy as the best to be followed by mankind to attain its salvation. *Civakacintamani* deals with the material life of splendour and glory culminating eventually in spiritualism of the highest order. Kampa *Ramayanam* is a mighty and magnificient structure with elucidations of human virtues which ultimately triumph over the indomitable evil forces.

Thus these epics show forth the virtues that lift mankind to the heights of ennobling spirit. Their events and persons enhance our belief in the work of human achievement and in the dignity and nobility of man.

[57] *Milton Criticism,* ed. James Thorpe, 2nd edn., p. 33.

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WHAT KAMBAN MEANS TO US

C. Jesudasan and E. Jesudasan

For many, especially for non-Tamils, Kamban is just the author of the Tamil *Ramayana*, and the Tamil *Ramayana* is a translation, or at best an adaptation, of the Sanskrit *Ramayana* by Valmiki. By the same argument the author of *Othello* is only a playwright who adapted the already existing story of the Moor of Venice. It is not easy for non-Tamils to grasp the meaning that Kamban's *Ramayana* has for those who are in a position to read and understand it in the Tamil original.

In his own day, of course, there were many reasons for Kamban's popularity. Popular he certainly was, and he is one of the few great writers who have been popular as well. Three Tamil poets have, in their day, been known by the name 'kavi-c-cakkaravartti' or 'Emperor of Poets'. All the three belonged to the days of the Tamil emperors, and hence their literary greatness was measured by the imperial greatness of the most powerful crown then known to the Tamil public. But of these three, two, Jayaṅgoṇḍāṉ and Oṭṭakkūttaṉ, were directly under the patronage of the emperors themselves, and this probably explains the title conferred on them, for otherwise there is really no justfication for it in their works themselves. But Kamban's story is different. In his own day, it was just a noble who patronised him, the noble whose name is gratefully woven into his verses so many times. Had it been an emperor, as later myths mislead us to suspect, Kamban would have done as much for him. Yet this noble's protege is known as 'kavi-c-cakkaravartti'. The title is one conferred on him by the Tamil-knowing public, maintained and exalted by them. Kamban was, and is, immeasurably popular.

In the first place, his was an age of temple-worship, epic-compositions and epic-recitals in the temples. Temple-worship, in the aftermath of the Bhakti movement, was the order of the day. Natuarlly and inevitably the Hindu religious purāṇas came to claim the notice of the public; and which story among them has a greater emotional grip on the imagination, than the story of Rama and Sita? The story did not lose by being already known as Vālmīki's story. Kamban by instinct took this appealing story to start with. For the story is one to hold the attention of young couples, fathers and mothers, in fact everyone who comes

to the temple for worship, or for seeking a revelation of idealism or divinity in the human flesh if it were on the imaginative level.

EPIC EPISODES

Epics were the literary fashion, and strings of episodes the rage. For a story could not be exhausted in one night. Something had to be left over for the morrow. The technique of the serialised stories in the magazines had to be cultivated in a way. Hence the story-teller had to satisfy his audience by one moving episode a day, exploit it to the fullest and keep further episodes in reserve for the future. The ramshackle and loose arrangement of the *Kambarāmạyanam* is explained by this. For the epic is decidedly not compact. It will not answer the requirements of epic restraint. It was meant to hold a public spellbound for several days, or nights, in succession. It is a string of episodes. But Kamban did not set out to imitate Homer or Milton. Theirs were not his standards. He knew his audience, as Shakespeare knew his. He cared for popularity, as Shakespeare cared for his groundings in his theatre. So if *Kambarāmāyanam*'s epic-structure is bad for us, it is because it is aimed at those with very different ideas of enjoying a story. And if his discriptions are too often long-drawn-out and tedious, they are so because he has had to while away a given time with a given episode.

DEVOTIONAL ELEMENT

Again, the devotional element in the epic is very pronounced. Many a stanza[1] of the *Kambarāmāyanam* could be recognized as Bhakti literature. It could be sung, used for worship and wept over. Perhaps this element in the epic was not included for cheap popularity. Perhaps it is ingrained, and Kamban very likely meant every word of the devotional stanzas with which the epic is sprinkled. But in any case it did go a long way in ensuring the popularity of the epic in his day, and it is not the element which should decide the permanence of his work as a great piece of literature.

EROTIC PASSION

Nothing else but the bid for popularity could explain Kamban's indulgence of the erotic passion. His age in Tamil, like ours in English literature, was one in which the erotic element was recognized unashamedly, revelled in, and encouraged in every possible way. Of course Kamban was composing a religious epic. But then the stuff had to sell. A Hollywood picture would hardly pass muster without a kiss. A Tamil purāna-film would include the element under a very thin veil. Kamban knew his trade, and the price of being an acknowledged kavi-c-cakkaravartti. Le ủs not think that Kamban was catering to the groundlings.

[1] KAMBAN, *Kambaramayanam Araniya kandam,* (pub.) S. Rajam, pp. 15-16, 20-21, etc., Madras, 1958.

Rather, he had his eye on the artistocrats, the connoisseurs of eroticism, the followers of the patrons of works like Sīvaha Sindāmani and *Kaliṅ-gattu-p-parani.* This is the way to popular favour, and Kamban took it. In a way he prostituted his genius to popularity. To say that Shakespeare often did so, does not extenuate Kamban. Sometimes one feels that the Tamil kavi-c-cakkaravartti is laughing at his own wild eroticism, as when he pictures a love-lorn woman collecting the moonlight in her cupped hands, and drinking it down as wine'.[2] Such language was not for the groundlings, but the epicureans of love could understand it well. Kamban fairly beats Venus and Adonis — at its best as well as its grossest. But that is because he knew his market.

Is Kamban a snob? He writes of kings and queens and princes. Even the Rākshasas assume dignity under their crowns. Kamban's age was an age of emperors. The public imagination invested the throne with the glory they hardly gave their god. *Kambarāmāyanam* glows with this light. A life goes for a kingdom, a husband's happiness is rejected for a crown, Rama's broad shoulders quiver with royal valour, a people are wiped out for the indignity offered to a queen. Today they may be cant terms, but in Kamban's day they were not. They belong to the order that has changed, and has no permanent significance before the throne of literary judgment.

Having eliminated all these factors, matters purely temporary, what is left of Kamban? What is there in him that could still command the attention of the literary world, with set standards for the epic, free from religious bias, not particularly addicted to traditional verse-forms, with new democratic and socialistic ideas, and not prepared to confuse literary merit with erotic appeal? We are coming to that. So far we have seen only the negative side in Kamban. But there is a positive side as well. And the positive side keeps Kamban still a kavi-c-cakkaravartti, an Emperor of Poets. Here we must acknowledge, Kamban was trying to please no one but himself, as a poet, as a musician, as a scholar, as a lover of Nature and of people, and as a judge of human character. Here he belongs to the Immortals, and his place is on Olympus; he is no longer the mere exploiter of a borrowed story for mass-consumption.

THE MUSIC MAKER

The musical aspect of the *Kambarāmāyanam* is a thing to be reckoned with. The modern audience is trained to await gaps and breaks in the progress of sound, to be suspicious of the opiate cadences of old-time measures, to look for sober conversational rhythms, or to follow the fitful movements of thought in the mind's ear. Men of the calibre of Frost and T. S. Eliot have set the fashion, not only in English literature, but in the Indian languages as well. Their claim on the modern

[2] KAMBAN, *Kambaramayanam* — *Palakanadam,* (pub.) S. Rajam, Madras, (1958), p. 146, st. 15.

intellect is not to be denied, but it has to be accepted that whatever they may have been, they are not among the music-makers. They think, they speak, they stammer, they experiment, they surprise and alert the reader, but they do not sing. While acknowledging their contribution to the world's literature, we cannot ignore the very great number of poets who have sung down the centuries. Kamban's age was not an age of sight-reading, as today; it was an age when poetry had to be chanted and listened to. Hence the claims of verbal melody was stupendous. To know what Kamban was like, therefore, you have to forget the printed word to hear him recited, to close your eyes and allow yourself to float away, on the wonderful Time-machine of his verse into twelfth-century Tamilnad — and into timelessness and spacelessness.

The reasons for this music are manifold. In the first place there is his mastery of metre and rhythm, his brilliant manipulation of sound-effects to suit the mood of his verse. Here Rama and Sita, exulting in their new-found freedom, are falling into stride:

> "māhandamum maharandamum aḷahandaru madiyi<u>n</u>
> pāhandaru nudaḷāḷoḍu pavaḷandaru midaḷā<u>n</u>
> mēhanda<u>n</u>i varuhi<u>nr</u>adu mi<u>nn</u>ōḍe<u>n</u>a miḷirpūn
> nāhanda<u>n</u>i varuhi<u>nr</u>adu piḍiyōḍe<u>n</u>a naḍava"[3]

This verse shows Kumbakarna, heavy with sleep, in the face of disaster, the pathos of his situation being brought home to us in this song:

> "u<u>r</u>aṅguhi<u>nr</u>a kumbahar<u>n</u>a uṅgaḷmāya vāḷvelām
> i<u>r</u>aṅguhi<u>nr</u>a di<u>nr</u>ukāṇ eḷundirāy eḷundirāy
> ka<u>r</u>aṅgupōlo vilpiditta kālatūdar kaiyilē
> u<u>r</u>aṅguvāy u<u>r</u>aṅguvāy i<u>n</u>ikkiḍan du<u>r</u>aṅguvāy."[4]

Here is the princess of Lanka, pacing into Rama's presence, her anklets sounding with her footfalls, seeking to capture his attention:

> "pañchiyoḷir viñchukuḷir pallava ma<u>n</u>uṅga
> señcheviya kañchanihar sīraḍiya ḷāhi
> añcholiḷa maññaiye<u>n</u>a a<u>n</u>name<u>n</u>a mi<u>n</u>num
> vañchiye<u>n</u>a nañchame<u>n</u>a vañchamahaḷ vandāḷ."[5]

[3] KAMBAN, *Kambaramayanam Ayottiya kandam,* (pub.) S. Rajam, Madras, 1958, p. 86.
[4] KAMBAN, *Kambaramayanam Yuttakandam* vol. II, Madras, 1959, p. 303.
[5] KAMBAN, *Kambaramayanam, Araniya kandam,* (pub.) S. Rajam, Madras, (1958), p. 41.

Here is Sūrpanaka lamenting her disgrace:

> "uranerindu vilavennai udaitturitti mūkkarinda
> naranirundu tōlparkka nānkidandu pulambuvadō
> karanirunda vanamonrō ivaipadavum kadavēnō
> aranirunda varaiyedutta annāvō annāvō."[6]

These are not studied effects. At any rate, in Kamban they do not strike us as studied. The wonders of Kamban's metrical effects are many, but they always strike us as inspired. It is interesting to observe that the four instances cited above are in the same metre, **kali-viruttam,** yet have been adjusted by variations in foot and rhythm to suit widely differing moods. Kamban sticks to no hard-and-fast rules, in the case of metre as well as rhythm. If the same metre is set for different moods, no metre is set for any mood as such either. "Thou hadst a voice whose sound was like the sea" is true of Kamban at his best, and that is oftener than with other poets.

The same cause — that of inspiration — extends to his marvellous use of liquids and vowels. You cannot choose your consonants and vowels down the whole length of an epic. But his trained ear like Milton's, chooses by instinct and chooses unerringly. Though Kamban must have been a Sanskrit scholar, he must also have been schooled in Tamil tradition, as is revealed in his beautiful comparison of the river Kodavari to the flow of poetry along the five **tinais,** and he must have known what value sound has in Tamil. He does freely use Sanskrit words, but he always takes good care to Tamilise them, softening down the harsh 'r' after 'k' or 'r' after 'p', or more often avoiding them. He refers to Sanskrit, but the word used is **ariyam** or **vadasol** and not Sanskrit, for obvious reasons of sound-values. It would be an interesting study to take a few stanzas of his, examine the Sanskrit words, and find out why he made his changes. His reasons are Tolkappiyar's reasons, but they are also the reasons of a man with a poetic ear. No purist writer of modern times could be more jealous of his sound values than Kamban, though of course Kamban did not have the modern purist's reasons for avoiding Sanskrit and therefore did not avoid it.

THE ARTIST

Poets being artists in words, we set much by what use they make of words. Word-associations are immeasurably rich in Kamban. Startling effects are achieved, often by a single word or phrase, which may appear to have dropped in quite accidentally. When Ravana is dead, there is his queen Mandōdari's lament over her renowned husband's fall,

[6] KAMBAN, *Kambaramayanam, Araniya kandam,* (pub.) S. Rajam, Madras, (1958), p. 51.

[7] KAMBAN, *Kambaramayanam, Araniya kandam,* (pub.) S. Rajam, Madras, (1958), p. 37.

all through his illegitimate desire for Sita. Maṇḍōdari's casual reference to Sita sends a shock through us. "kaḷḷuḍaiya malar-k-kūndal Sāṇahi",[8] i.e. "Sita of the tresses with wine-filled flowers". Here is the suggestion that the flowers on Sita's hair have intoxicated Ravana. Or does Maṇḍōdari imply that Sita has been wearing those flowers, or "setting her cap" at Ravana, to intoxicate him and lure him to his destruction? Not an inconceivable idea in the bosom of a wife when her husband lies dead on account of another woman, whatever be the injustice of the charge. In another poet, "the wine-filled flowers" would just be a description of the flowers. In Kamban they have a purpose in the context. To go through Kamban is to stumble upon a surprise of this kind again and again, and here we cannot afford more space for such examples.

Kamban maintains his sovereignty in the field of description as well. In his fits of inspiration, in his wide-awake moments, Nature glows in the ardour of his imagination, whether Nature described as herself pure and simple, or whether she is invested with the poet's own understanding of life. Mountains are not among his sweetest dreams nor are forests. But streams, and fields, and flowers are. He can describe a stream's beauty, or suddenly awaken, the reader to a passionate realization of its similarity to poetry. He can picture the sheer loveliness of the flower-lit pools or can visualize the lowly blue flowers opening their eyes in surprise at the simplicity, the humanity, the meekness, of the prince of Ayodhya in his hermit's garb. Occasionally he dwells on the wild birds, but when Rama turns away with tight lips from two cocks fighting for a hen-bird, his feelings are interpreted in that bit of wild life. And sometimes he luxuriates in a bit of sophisticated description, as in this courtier-like interpretation of Marudam or the fields:

"While peacocks of the cool grove dance,
the lotuses lift their lamps,
The rain-clouds drum,
the hyacinths look open-eyed,
Water-sheets unroll like curtains,
and like the honeyed harp
The bees drone sweetly,
Marudam sits enthroned."[9]

KAMBAN'S IMAGERY

To talk of Kamban's imagery is to be trite and commonplace. While he aimed his conceits at the conceit-minded high-class literati of his day, the best of them can very well shake us out of our complacency.

[8] KAMBAN, *Kambaramayanam, Yuttakandam,* vol. IV, (pub.) S. Rajam, Madras, (1959), p. 521.
[9] KAMBAN, *Kambaramayanam, Palakandam,* (pub.) S. Rajam, Madras, (1958), p. 30.

Rama, as a bridegroom, adorns himself with a string of pearls for the occasion, and he remembers the smile Sita gave him. Rama, bereaved, looking across the sea to Lanka where his wife is imprisoned, torn by conflicting and confusing thoughts, is caressed by the playful breeze that has sprung from its watery bed, and is quite innocent of what is occupying his thoughts. Kamban can stun with images as with words. As for his description of people, the five stanzas depicting Sita coming for the betrothal show what Kamban can do in this sphere, when he has set his heart to it.

CHARACTERISATION

Yet nowhere is Kamban as triumphantly Emperor of Poets as when he is dealing with people, their feelings and personalities. His epic is alive with them. While fairy-tale ogres turn up now and then for the benefit of the childish, the main characters of his epic are men and women, of course, of epic stature. He sees to it that Ravana is not excluded from our sympathies, for the artist's reason — that the story will otherwise lose in interest. Ravana might be a Lucifer — but he is also a Lucifer who has known some heights. Lustful that he is, his feelings for Sita show him as a connoisseur in lust, he is as eager to master and dominate her mind as he is to subdue her to his physical strength. He is not a mere brute or a Rākshasa. He has a mind. He has his gifts. His ten heads might as well be ten crowns. He has human feelings, the most touching of them being for his son Indrajit. Rama himself is magnificently human in his tenderness and his delicacy of feeling. Kamban works out the epic in such a way as to magnify Rama's sense of feminine honour, so that he seeks persistently to cover up his step-mother's dishonourable practice in exiling him to the woods. The tragedy becomes therefore terribly painful because it puts the woman dearest to him in a situation that he cannot even name with his lips. Indeed, the bare suggestion that she has been under the roof of a lecherous man is sufficient to wither the pride of this flower of manhood. When Sita is returned to him we feel that he can never be the same man again. The scar tells, and the *Kambarāmāyanam,* though it shows him accepting his wife, leaves us with a sense of tragedy, the tragedy of Rama's broken pride. For Kamban has conceived Rama as a tragic hero. Rama's life was pride — pride in his family, pride in his valour, pride in his wife. His family is disgraced by his father's bondage to his step-mother. His valour breaks before Vāli. But the blow to his wife is worst of all, and leaves his manhood nothing to boast of.

What wonderful people we find in the epic, Lakshmaṇa — the impetuous, lovable Lakshmaṇa; Kumbakarna, taking the stage in his giant stride, censorious of his erring brother but faithful to him to the death; Guha the boatman, dignified yet humble in Rama's presence; Sita, ignorant and foolhardy where the world was concerned, yet heroic, true

and strong where it was a question of love and honour; Maṇḍōdari, helpless in the face of her husband's lust for women, but yet loving him in her own way; Vāli, a monkey but more than human in his large-hearted love of the man who killed him — it is high time that we stopped here.

The Ayōttiyā-kāṇḍam is its author's highest achievement in the presentation of the interplay of human feelings, yet again and again there is a fresh outburst of Kamban's genius in this respect. When Hanuman goes to Lanka to find out Sita, Rama sends word through him to prove to Sita that Hanuman is really her husband's messenger. It would be a rewarding study to compare these few stanzas, in their simplicity, dignity, tenderness and restraint, with Valmiki's stanzas on the occasion. Sita would have recognized the messenger at once from the message in the *Kambarāmāyanam*, and the honour and delicacy of the man who sent it could not but have appealed to her.

Unfortunately, when we take Kamban, we have to take him along with a good bit of the ore. A *purāna* story may be out of date with many; it may even be reprehensible to the D.M.K.; hyper-sensuousness may very well satiate; old-fashioned measures may be discarded in the days of sight-reading; and yet Kamban has that in him which will grip the modern mind. His recognition of human dignity irrespective of class, his respect for the love which woman gives, the honour which woman maintains, of her free-will, his realization of the cost at which goodness can be upheld against evil — some of these values may even sound ultra-modern. But they were very true to Kamban. In view of the fact that they are true today, they must be held eternal. And the genius that wove them into his cosmos, against a background of an ocean of music, in a world of recognizable human personalities, subject to the storm of human passions and vicissitudes — certainly this man was among the divinely inspired voices of the Eternal Spirit, struggling for articulation through the medium of imperfect and corrupted human art.

MYSTICAL SYMBOLISM IN THE WORK OF THE ALWARS

A. SRINIVASA RAGHAVAN

The work of the Alwars, known as 'the divine four thousand', covers every stage of the journey towards reality. The journey begins, as it generally does, with a restlessness of the spirit that tests and rejects the here and now. Thus Nammalwar:

> Along the path of this contraption,
> The body that Thou gavest me,
> I whirl.
> When will the disease
> Of this burning time die?
> When will I uproot Karma?
> When, when will I become
> One with Thee?[1]
>
> I cry and cry
> From within the thicket of this earth
> Sinner that I am,
> I wander bewildered in an endless maze,
> Where, where can I reach Him?[2]

From every one of the Alwars except Tiruppan this cry breaks forth. They admit that the senses are hard to be tamed. They coax the mind, they chide it, they try to wean it from the earth. 'Think of Him, my heart', says Poihai Alwar. 'Only think of Him. You may

1 முந்நீர் ஞாலம் படைத்தஎம் முகில்வண்ணனே
அந்நாள் நீதந்த ஆக்கையின் வழிஉழல்வேன்
வெந்நாள் நோய்வீய, வினைகளை வேரறப் பாய்ந்து
எந்நாள் யானுன்னை இனிவந்து கூடுவனே.

TIRUVAIMOZHI: III ii. 1.

2 கூவிக் கூவிக் கொடுவினைத் தூற்றுள் நின்று
பாவியேன் பலகாலம் வழிதிகைத் தலமர்கின்றேன்
மேவியன் றாநிரை காத்தவன் உலகமெல்லாம்
தாவிய அம்மானை எங்கினித் தலைப்பெய்வனே.

Ibid: III, ii. 9.

praise Him, you may blame Him, you may speak of Him as low as you please, only think of Him'. Kulasekarar, who was king sings:

> No, no, I do not care for any of these:
> To be the ruler of untold wealth,
> Of the wide earth,
> To ride on the swaying elephant strong,
> To taste kingship,
> To reveal in the songs and dances
> Of Urvasi and Menaka,
> Of women bright and slender as the lightning,
> No, no, I care not for any of these.[3]

Tirumangai cries:

> I cannot bear
> The never-ending gnawing of the senses,
> They are eating away my spirit
> Worming into it, little by little,
> And I am afraid, Lord, I am afraid,
> And turn to Thee.

The conquest of the senses is the first step. The Alwars achieve this, not by starving them but by changing their direction. They know of the ascetic path, they speak of it but their way is that of which Tiruvalluvar spoke:

> Attach yourself to the feet
> Of Him who is void of all attachment
> That is the way to shed yours.[4]

In this, they are theistic, rather than **advaitic.**

This attachment to God by which the Alwars try to turn the body and the mind from the earth is not the mere intellectual perception of an idea in the abstract. The Vaishnava concept of God as **saguna** gave the Alwars any number of concrete images and events as instruments of expression. One section of modern Hindu thought under the influence of the luminous abstract speculation of the Upanishads tries to explain

3 ஆனாத செல்வத் தரம்பையர்கள் தற்சூடி
வானாளும் செல்வம் மண்ணரசும் யான்வேண்டேன்.

கம்பமத யானைக் கழுத்தகத்தின் மேலிருந்து
இன்பமரும் செல்வமும் இவ்வரசும் யான்வேண்டேன்....

மின்னனைய நுண்ணிடையார் உருப்பசியும் மேனகையும்
அன்னவர்தம் பாடலொரும் ஆடவை யாதரியேன்,

PERUMALTIRUMOZHI. IV. 2, 5, 6.

4 பற்றுக பற்றற்றான் பற்றினை அப்பற்றைப்
பற்றுக பற்று விடற்கு.

TIRUKKURAL. 350.

them as mere symbols. But to the Alwars they were not mere symbols; they were the embodiment of reality, the only way that the Infinite could reach out to a conditioned world. The **vaishnava** belief in **avatara** (the descent of God to this earth) as a voluntary expression of His grace placed in the hands of the Alwars, the wealth of the concrete into which according to the *Ramayana,* the *Baghavata* and the *Vishnu Purana,* the Transcendent had revealed itself in the conditioned, and through which the Eternal had shone through the mists of time. Again the Alwars believed that the various shrines dedicated to God were really abodes in which God dwelt, not merely as indwelling and directing spirit, as **antaryamin** and **niyanta,** but also as the visible idol, worshipped there, what Vaishnava theology calls the **archavatara.** Besides, the whole wide world of earth and sky, all cosmos, were to the Alwars the body, the **virat swarupa** of God. This wealth of the concrete, then — the accounts of the **avataras**, the glowing idols felt to be God, the shrines that were considered as the segments of the Infinite, and all cosmos — was rich enough to satisfy the mind and the senses and to draw them away from earthiness. The earth was not rejected by the Alwars, it was transformed. The senses and the mind were not uprooted but were planted firmly in the shining fields of the concrete and the phenomenal which is their natural home, and nurtured Godward, thereby making them instead of being impediments, instruments of spiritual progress. I referred earlier to how Tiruppan is the one Alwar who does not cry against the senses. He has no need to. In the only poem he wrote, *Amalan Adippiran,* he speaks of the beauty of the Lord of Srirangam and how that beauty has drawn and satisfied his mind and all his senses to the exclusion of everything else.

> 'His dark body has filled my mind,
> unverably sweet'[5]

Tirumangai Alwar, in whose *Peria Tirumozhi* we often come across the bitter complaint against the senses and the material attachment to which they lead, nevertheless affirms that there is no necessity to suppress them. An ascetic negation of the body is not for him. 'No penance for you, my friends' he says,

> 'No penance, friends,
> For you who wish to claim as your own
> The world eternal.
> No mortifying of the flesh,
> No placing of life under duress.

5 நீலமேனி ஐயோ நிறைகொண்ட தென் நெஞ்சினையே.

AMALANATHIPPIRAN. 9.

No torturing of the five senses
That, for all that you can do,
Cleave to the body, not to be shaken off.
No more wasting and withering for you.
Instead, your way lies there
Where the forest dances,
And the peacocks,
And near by, dances the brook
And the bright fish within it,
There, across the fields, goes your way
Where lies Chitra Kuta,
Mount of Beauty,
Flags dancing honey-sweet over the terraces.'[6]

Not to crush but to yoke the instruments of the body to seek the real is the endeavour. It may seem to be more natural and so, easier then the ascetic way of repression. But every mystic knows that it has its own dangers, chiefly the one of deluding oneself that to be merely sensuous is to be sensitive to the infinite reaches of the spirit, and the other one of pantheistic thought deteriorating into pancosmism. Again and again, the Alwars declare that for all the inter-penetration of the earth and God, is transcendental, **seshi niyamaka.** Saya Nammalwar:

He is here,
And all these forms are His.
He is also not of the here;
And so, all these forms
Are shadows of the Formless.
God is of the here and not of the here.
These are his twin attributes.
But He is, here and beyond endless, He is.[7]

This is easy enough to postulate but the spirit is sorely tried in realizing it. Of a sudden, however, the hand of God bridges the gulf between the infinite and finite and the spirit of man tastes freedom and realization. It now looks around on this earth, this bank and shoal of time, as

6 ஊன்வாட உண்ணா(து) உயிர்காவலிட்டு
உடலிற் பிரியா புலனைந்தும் நொந்து
தாம்வாட வாடத் தவம்செய்ய வேண்டா
தமதா இமையோர் உலகாள கிற்பீர்
கானாட மஞ்ஞைக் கணமாட மாடே
கயலாடு கானீர்ப் பழனம் புடைபோய்த்
தேனாட மாடக் கொடியாடு தில்லை
திருச்சித்ர கூடம்சென்று சேர்மின்களே.

PERIATIRUMOZHI, III, ii. 1.

7 உளன்எனில் உளன் அவன் உருவம்இவ் வுருவுகள்
உளன்அலன் எனில்அவன் அருவம்இவ் வருவுகள்
உளன்என இலன்என இவைகுணம் உடைமையில்
உளன்இரு தகைமையொ(டு) ஒழிவிலன் பரந்தே.

TIRUVAIMOZHI. I. i. 9.

Nammalwar did, and finds it woven of the eternal. The wave becomes conscious that it is a segment of the Infinite sea, it is a wave and yet the sea.

'O joy, O joy', sings Nammalwar speaking of this moment:

> 'Blessed, blessed is the world
> The dark curse laid on life is lifted.
> Wasting has been laid waste
> And hell is in ruins.
> Worn-out Death has nothing he can call his here.
> Behold, the dark ages are dead.
> For everywhere on the earth,
> Myriads of God's servitors
> Are singing and dancing,
> Dancing and singing His praise'[8]

The earth and everything in it have now become the resplendent hem of God's garment. Tirumazhisai Alwar says the same thing differently:

> I have found, I have found Him,
> The theme perfect for my poem.
> The Vedas, if you examine them,
> Speak but of the same.[9]

Poigai Alwar sings:

> The sky and the fire,
> The rolling sea and the air,
> They are now Thee
> And are honey and milk to me.[10]

It is of this sudden glimpse the spirit has had of the Ultimate, that Andal sings, Andal, daughter of the earth who became the Bride of the

8 பொலிக பொலிக போயிற்று வல்லுயிர்ச் சாபம்
நலியும் நரகமும் ·நைந்த நமனுக்கிங்கு யாதொன்றுமில்லை
கலியும் கெடும்கண்டு கொண்மின் கடல்வண்ணன் பூதங்கள்
மண்மேல்
மலியப் புகுந்து இசைபாடி ஆடி உழிதரக் கண்டோமே.

TIRUVAIMOZHI. V. ii. 1.

9 ....கவிக்கு
நிறைபொருளாய் நின்றானை நேர்பட்டேன் பார்க்கில்
மறைப்பொருளும் அததனையே தான்.

NANMUGANTIRUVANDADI. 69.

10 வானாகித் தீயாய் மறிகடலாய் மாருதமாய்த்
தேனாகிப் பாலாம் திருமாலே.

MUDAL TIRUVANDADI. 92.

Lord. She sings of it as a dream she has had a wedding is the symbol used:

> It was a long, long procession;
> A thousand elephants led it.
> At the centre, He walked . . .
> Into the hall decked with palms
> He came, Madhava . . .
> Standing beneath a canopy of pearls,
> He took hold of me by the hand,
> And with my hand in His,
> He walked round the sacred fire with me,
> He made me His.[11]

This is part of Andal's dreams; and it is but a dream to her because the mystical vision has been but a momentary experience, vivid, no doubt, and real, but fugitive. The splendour that filled that heart and the earth fades as suddenly as it came, into the light of common day. The quest begins again, but now it is more passionate, it is fiercer, for, reality has been apprehended once and the human soul yearns to make it a permanent possession, that is to say, to be possessed by it.

The lyrics of the Alwars express all the ardour and agony of this stage of mystical life. It is here that they employ different kinds of human relationships — **bhavas** as they are called — as so many golden ways of the heart of God. In this, they are in accord with mystic poems, we note two things: The first is the intensity with which the human passion used as a symbol is presented; the intensity is so great and compelling that by its own volition it carries us, though it starts from the earth, to the beyond. The second is — and this is essential — the mystical poet never forgets the Divine of which the earthly state is only a symbol; if he does, then, to that extent, the poem falls short of being an authentic mystical utterance. In other words, the symbol glows — has to glow throughout — with a light that never was on sea or land. On the one hand, to express the earthly passion intensely, (otherwise the poem becomes an artificial theological allegory, a discussion, not a communication), and on the other, to maintain the symbol as a symbol otherwise the poem is just another poem of the earth, to move at the same time in these mutually opposed directions in order to express the inexpressible — this is the mystic's problem. It is true that a true mystic never thinks of it as a problem, never thinks of it objectively at all. He is so wrapped up in his passion for God that the mould into which he pours it, fills and overflows and though the mould is fashioned out of the earth, it gets transformed into something divine by the very excess of the passion. We can see this in the work of the Alwars. But what specially

[11] *NACHIAR TIRUMOZHI*, VI.

distinguishes it is that, to the Alwars, the symbols from the earth are already shot with light of God. To them, God has already come to this earth many times and in each one of the **avataras** has been the protagonist in a number of human relationships. The **avataras** provide the Alwars with the symbols which are at once of the earth and Heaven. Thus, Periyalwar conceives of God as a child and his lyrics are mostly in **vatsalya bhava,** that is, the love of a mother for her child. But the child to whom Periyalwar turns as to God is not a symbol fashioned by him out of the stuff of human affection, not a mere figure of speech imagined by him. He does not merely try to see God as a child; to him, God is child; for has not He come to the earth as Krishna, played on the hallowed banks of the Jumna, and in the sacred groves of Brindaban? What Periyalwar does is to identify himself with Yasoda, Krishna's foster mother, and once that is done, the symbol of the child becomes a living thing; and Periyalwar finds in the thousand and one details recorded of Krishna in the *Baghavata* the various stops on which his own yearning for God can play the endless tune of seeking and finding. Periyalwar's lyrics thus have all the convincing intensity of the realistic and all the mystical quality of the real.

Another Alwar, Kulasekara, by identifying himself with Devaki, the mother of Lord Krishna, is able to give poignant expression to the sense of desolation that comes over the seeker when what he seeks appears for a moment and vanishes. Lord Krishna, the *Baghavatha* says, became Devaki's child but the same night — He has so ordained it — He is taken to Nanda Gokula and brought up by Yasoda. Kulasekara utters as Devaki the same cry that breaks out from every mystic at one stage of his Godward journey:

> 'Whither has it fled, the visionary gleam,
> Where is it now, the glory and the dream?'

Periyalwar, speaking as Hanuman,* expresses the **dasya bhava,** that is, the seeker approaching God as his master. Kulasekara, who was himself a king, speaks of God as king; he has, however, no need to evolve this symbol, for God to him is already Sri Rama, King of Ayodhya. There are in the works of the Alwars a number of exquisite lyrics in the **mathura bhava** or the **nayaki-nayaka bhava,** that is to say, lyrics that illustrate the path of bridal mysticism. Here is one from Nammalwar:

> The village is asleep
> And all the world is steeped in the dark midnight.
> All time has gathered
> Into this long, long night.

* The *vanara* warrior who served under Sri Rama.

If He does not come,
Who is there who can save me?
O heart, my foolish heart,
Why did you love Him, why?
Will the red sun never come
Riding in the chariot of the east?
But go on and on, dying like me,
Little by little,
Particle by particle?
The world is asleep, indifferent, cold;
But I am wake.
O heart, my foolish heart,
Why did you love Him, why?[12]

Here is another from the same mystic:

The South wind fragrant with jasmine
Stabs me.
The rich kurnijippan comes on the evening,
The twilight makes me real drunk,
And the clouds aflame in the sunset.

Tear me to pieces.
He, the Lord of mystery,
Are his eyes like blue lily, are they the lotus;
He has kissed these shoulders, these breasts,
And I know not
Where to turn for refuge.[13]

I am the flower
That the Divine Bee has sucked and torn.
But that does not save my spirit now,
Far from it.
Even my heart, is no help to me;
And I know not
Where to turn for refuge.[14]

It will be noted that the lover here, who is the symbol of God, is

12 *TIRUVAIMOZHI*, V, iv, i, 10.
13 மல்லிகை கமழ்தென்றல் ஈருமாலோ
வண்குறிஞ்சி இசை தவழுமாலோ
செல்கதிர் மாலையும் மயக்கு மாலோ
செக்கர்நன் மேகங்கள் சிதைக்கு மாலோ
அல்லியந் தாமரைக் கண்ணன் எம்மான்
ஆயர்கள் ஏறு அரியேறு எம்மாயோன்
புல்லிய முலைகளும் தோளும் கொண்டு
புகலிடம் அறிகிலம் தமிய மாலோ
14 தூவியம் புள்ளுடைத் தெய்வ வண்டு,
துதைத்தஎம் பெண்மைஅம் பூவி தாலோ
ஆவியின் பரமல்ல அவைக ளாலோ
யாமுடை நெஞ்சமும் துணையன் றுலோ.
TIRUVAIMOZHI IX. ix. 1 & 4.

God himself as Krishna, Lord of the cowherds, and the lover of Gopis.

But the most moving and the most intense lyrics in the **nayaki nayaka bhava** are from Andal. The great Tamil Vaishnava commentator Periyavachan Pillai speaks of her bridal mysticism as being as natural as waters flowing downward. In her work, the dual symbolism of the earth on the one hand and the **avatara** events on the other, that we find in the work of all the Alwars rises to great heights of expression and suggestion. She falls in love with God but she has no need to symbolize him as a lover. He is already that; He is Lord Krishna, the lover of Brindaban, calling to the infatuated Gopis with his flute; and He is the Eternal Lover, calling human hearts to him from the gold bar of Heaven which to the Alwars, is everywhere. In Andal's *Tiruppavai,* Tamilnad, that is, the earth around her, becomes transfigured into Nanda Gokula and that again dissolves through the magic of the significant symbols that are themselves reality into the bourne beyond space and time, where the individual merges in the One Truth.

There is one aspect of what I call this dual symbolism — though to the Alwars, it was not symbolism at all — that deserves notice. Where an Alwar is defining his relationship to God in terms of one **avatara,** he makes references to other **avataras** too or other incidents in the same **avatara,** as a contrast, thereby throwing into relief what he is recording. Thus, in *Tiruppavai,* Andal is speaking of the nearness of God through presenting how Krishna came out of his chamber and appeared before the Gopis; that is, she is using details from **Krishna avatara.** The wonder that the human soul feels at this nearness to God, at the immeasurable Grace that has descended to life up such a small thing as itself, is brought out by Andal through reference to other **avataras**. The Gopis speak, as they stand marvelling at the beauty of Krishna's feet as he walks before them:

> Blessed be Thou
> Who measured of yore this earth with Thy feet.
> Blessed be Thou
> Who went all the way on foot
> To Lanka to destroy it.

Here, the references are to **Trivikrama avatara** and **Rama avatara,** though the basic symbol of Krishna and Gopi is from **Krishna avatara.** 'The feet that measured all earth, the warrior feet that walked the long, long way to Lanka are now moving before us as those of an ordinary mortal.' So think the Gopis and the wonder that what they feel stands revealed.

In another poem, Andal is expressing her frustration at the delay in realizing God; to put it in the symbolic way of the **mathura bhava,** at the lover not having kept his word and tryst. The lover is God; to Andal he is Lord Krishna. But, she makes a sudden reference to **Varaha avatara** and this reference flames into intense and daring expression

of bitter complaint and frustration. 'You have not come', she says to the Divine Lover, 'and that is to be expected. For, were you not once a pig, a shameless, dirty unwashed pig, all for love of the dirt-covered woman, the earth?[15] The utter daring of the mystic as an instrument to express an ecstasy of the disappointment, what is chronicled in the story of an **avatara** — that is we see here. Francis Thompson likened God to a hound; Andal spoke of God as a pig, but while Thompson evolved his own symbol, Andal only used what was already part of Vaishnava epos.

Thus, the symbols that the Alwars use from out of the earth are the earth relationships that God as avatara actually lived here; and so, in their work, the symbol and the thing symbolized become fused into one.

The vagueness and artificiality that symbolism sometimes brings in its train are thus avoided; and the passion of the moth for the moth gains in intensity, even as it glides easily and convincingly into the passion of the moth for the star.

A passage from one of the mystical love poems of Nammalwar illustrates another feature of the symbolism of the Alwars. Here is the passage:

> Evening has come, He has not.
> And the kine are wriggling in content,
> For the bulls, bells jingling,
> Have mated with them.
> The cruel flutes are prating.
> Within the bright, bright jasmine buds,
> And the blue lily
> The bee is fluttering and dancing.
> The sea breaks open, leaping up to the sky and cries and cries
> What is it that I can say?
> How can I escape and save myself,
> Here, without Him?[16]

The details chosen by the poet from the evening landscape are significant. The suggestion is clear and cannot be missed; it is almost

15 பாசிதூர்த் துக்கிடந்த பார்மகட்குப் பண்டொருநாள்
மாசுடம்பில் நீர்வாரா மானமிலாப் பன்றியாம்
தேசுடைய தேவர் திருவரங்கச் செல்வனார்
பேசி யிருப்பனகள் பேர்க்கவும் பேராவே.

NACHIARTIRUMOZHI. XI. 8.

16 மாலையும் வந்தது மாயன் வாரான்
மாமணி புலம்ப வல்ஏறு அணைந்த
கோலநன் னாகுகள் உகளு மாலோ
கொடியன குழல்களும் கழறுமாலோ
வாலொளி வளர்முல்லை கருமுகைகள்
மல்லிகை அலம்பிவண்டு ஆலு மாலோ
வேலையும் விசும்பின் விண்டு அலறு மாலோ
என்சொல்லி உய்வன்இங்கு அவனைவிட்டே.

TIRUVAIMOZHI. IX. ix. 10.

openly revealed by the context. The kine and the flowers and the sea are experiencing either the ecstasy of love's commingling or the worldless peace and fulfilment that comes the moment after. Their presence heightens the agony of longing in the heart of the love-lorn soul, an agony that knows no respite, from which there is no escape.

In the love poems of the Sangam age, the age preceding that of the Alwars, we find this kind of suggestion through nature description consistently and consciously employed.*

This is not to be confused with pathetic fallacy. It is a different poetic instrument and through it, the Sangam poets weave, by implied similarity and contrast, rich and delicate overtones to the cry that is the poem. In the work of the Alwars, this poetic tradition persists. The description appears at first sight to be just that and nothing more. But dwell on it, and then it unfolds into a hint that opens depths unsuspected in the poem. Thus, Tirumangai describes Tiruvahindrapuram where there is a shrine, in the following words:

> The she-bee goes into the flashing webs of the madhavi creeper,
> And in the fragrance-unfolding lotus,
> Her mate calls sweet and loud;
> This is Tiruvahindrapuram.[17]

Though the she-bee has come away from her mate in a huff, exchanging the lotus for the madhavi creeper, the male bee keeps calling to her. The suggestion is that even so, God keeps calling to His Divine Consort. This, the commentators say, is the suggestion. We may say that the lines suggest that God keeps calling to the errant soul. Similar suggestions are to be found in all the nature descriptions of the Alwars. These have been tracked and their effect on mystical expression elaborated by the great manipravala commentators.

* Tolkappiar, the great grammarian and rhetorician refers to this in his *Porul Adikaram.*

இறைச்சி தானே பொருள் புறத் தது‌வே

(பொருள் அதிகாரம் 229)

And Nacchinarkiniar, the great commentator, commenting on this sutra says:

இறைச்சி என்பது கருப்பொருளுக்கு நேயம் கூறவேண்டுவதோர்
பொருளின்புறத்தே புலப்பட்டு அதற்கு உபகாரப்படும் பொருள்தன்மை உடையதாம்.

(The suggestion called இறைச்சி springs no doubt from the details of nature and in here in them. But it helps the theme or mood of the poem.)

17 மின்னது மாழியங்கையன்
செய்யவ ளுறைதரு திருமார்பன்
பன்னது நான்மறைப் பல்பொரு ளாகிய
பரனிடம் வரச்சாரல்
மின்னது மாதவிப் பந்தலில் பெடைவரம்
பிணியவிழ் கமலத்துத்
தென்ன வென்று வண்டின்னிசை
குரல்தரும் திருவகிந் திரபுரமே.

PERIATIRUMOZHI. III, i. 2.

The symbolism found in the works of the Alwars then has two distinct features. One is the result of the Vaishnava belief in **avataras** and in the **archavatars** and also in the earth being God's **virat swarupa.** This makes the symbols parts of the reality that they seek to express, and also places in the hands of the Alwars a wealth of story and incident and human relationships in which God has directly and visibly played a part. So it is that the symbols glow as segments of Truth. The other feature is their using the Sangam technique of oblique suggestion, suspending in a realistic description, as light in a mist, a world of wordless feeling and experience. This makes their symbols rich and subtle, with a power all their own, of reaching out to level on level of complex mystical experience.

APPERCEPTION IN TAMIL LITERARY STUDIES

XAVIER S. THANI NAYAGAM

DEFINITION OF TERMS

"Apperception" is not a very modern term in the psychology of Cognition or of Learning. It was first introduced by Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776-1841) to express the process of new ideas and experiences being received by the mind and their being immediately related to previous ideas and experiences. Herbart postulated the existence in the brain of "apperception masses" which fall upon new ideas and experiences and work them into new compounds.[1] This term "Apperception", borrowed from Herbartian psychology, seems as convenient a term as any to express the perspective of literary experience that the study or the appreciation, or evaluation of literature confers, when literature especially poetry, is considered in its passive aspect, namely, as the reaction created in the mind by the impact of a piece of literature, as read, studied, deciphered, and evaluated. Apperception, as meant here, may also be substituted by other terms like "assimilation" (William James)[2] or by a term with closer literary affinities, namely "contextualization", the planting of a mental literary reaction in its relation to previous experience.

The passive and psychological aspects of reaction to literature vary with each individual. Individuals are not affected to an equal extent by the same plot, by the same characters by the same metaphor, by the same simile, by the same word. To what then is due this range and variety of literary experiences stimulated in different individuals by the same word or set of words? A range is possible because of one's mood at the time of reading the poem, by the weather outside, by happy or sorrowful memories which lurk in one's subconsiousness as a result of the events of yesterday or of the recent past. But these may be termed the incidental or accidental aspects or even determinants of the mental reaction to literature, since they do not affect, at least let us concede for argument, the *substantial* reaction on the mind. (Note distinction between 'tied' imagery and 'free' imagery.)

[1] JOHN ADAMS, *The Herbartian Psychology applied to Education*, D. C. Death and Company, London, n.d.

[2] See ALAN R. WHITE, *Attention*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1964.

INDIVIDUAL RESPONSE AND ANTERIOR PREPARATION

The *substantial* reaction occurs in different individuals according to their previous knowledge and experience, and the extent of "awareness' at a particular point of time resulting in a response to a literary stimulus.

A line like Bharathi's:

> Puhal̲ manṭikkiṭakkum tamil̲ naaṭu

may evoke in different readers different response-reactions according as a person is historically aware and harks to the period of the Coolas and their artistic creations, or one is religiously aware and thinks of the achievements of the Saints like Seekil̲aar, or one is militarily aware and thinks of the *Tirukkural,* or is aware of a combination of these and other fields of achievement. A whole world of difference may exist in individual response, and will, therefore, depend to a large extent on the individual's total anterior preparation, both literary and psychological, for a particular poem or line.

So much for what may be termed popularly the association of ideas. But the strength of apperception depends also on the lexicological and the multi-disciplinary preparation of an individual, because the meaning of poetry is "contextual", and evokes the meaning of words related by similarity or contrast in sound, or sense or derivation, in all the languages and in the disciplines that the individual knows. Again, for the study of literature a man's total education and aesthetic sensitivity counts, and the teacher of literature must seek to build the total aesthetic personality of the Individual, if evaluation is to rise to the level of the understanding of Art and Beauty. The poem as poem, consists in the texture and organization of language, in the images it evokes, and in the capacity it has to satisfy the aesthetic sensitivity of a cultivated mind. These require in the individual himself a development of aesthetic potential.

TWENTIETH CENTURY WESTERN CRITICISM

Western literary criticism emphasizes in this century the study of literature as literature, and keeps reporting that the response to the poem should be through explication and an analysis of poetic devices in terms of aesthetics. The response in the individual, according to present day critics, should generally be not created because of social, historical, psychological or anthropological interest and perspective. The history of Western literary criticism has gradually led to this shift of emphasis, and this climaxing in the study of the poem as a poem, is partly because of its having satisfactorily exhausted the study of literature from the angle of social history, of anthropology, and psychology. Yet in ultimate analysis what is the scope that explication and aesthetics offer outside of related background perspectives? What is it that makes a poem a poem or a novel a novel? If, as is advocated, a poem has a special ontological

status and is "a system of norms of ideal concepts which are intersubjective" and that there is concerning a poem a "collective ideology" accessible only through "individual mental experiences based on the sound-structure of its sentences",[3] the most vital factor in the definition the poem is the *mental experience of the individual.* Therefore, the task of literary education should be to develop the potential for the mental experience of the individual so that the total "collective ideology" improves, and evaluation is sufficiently objective, and exploits to the full the aesthetic possibilities of a work of art.

There are two approaches to a literary work of art which are possible, and which, no doubt, have to be utilized by Tamil literary criticism and the teaching of literature to develop along lines where there is room for development is desirable. One is the study of the intrinsic qualities of a poem, the other is the study of the background and related material whereby apperception is made strong and deep. The exploitation of intrinsic qualities is performed by the study of word rhythm, metre, imagery, and is contained in the general study of *style.* The provision for understanding of background and related material has to be furnished by encouraging the study of the historical, social, anthropological content of Tamil Literature. The background studies would apply not only to ancient Literature but to modern literature and contemporary writing as well. To use terms which have been already used, the stylistic aspects of the text may be known as the *micro context,* and the background associated material as the *mocro context.*[4] The study of micro context would be textual contextualization, and the study of the background associated material would be cultural contextualization.[5]

LIMITATIONS OF EARLY TAMIL CRITICISM

The course of Tamil Literary criticism has employed both methods in its history. The application of the norms of metre and of rhetoric to the explication of poetry has been assiduous, as has been also the exploitation of related material by the commentators. In the commentators is seen the effort to explain the norms of grammar and rhetoric by meticulous illustrations from literature, and to justify literary usage by appealing to grammar and rhetoric. The method is exegetical, grammatical and paraphrasic since the commentators were writing for a generation which came about twelve or fourteen centuries after the compilation of the works which they sought to explain. Hence their scope is to

[3] RENE WELLEK and AUSTIN WARREN, *Theory of Literature,* Penguin Books, 1956, p. 156.

[4] These terms are used in a much wider sense than that used by M. RIFFATERRE, *'Stylistic Context', Word* XVI (1960) pp. 207-218, and STEPHEN ULLMAN, *Language and Style,* 1964, p. 127.

[5] NILS ERIK ENKVIST, JOHN SPENCER, MICHEAL J. GREGORY, *Linguistics and Style,* Oxford University Press, 1964, p. 83.

make the text intelligible, with paraphrase and notes on obsolete or difficult lexical items, and explain obscure points of grammar and meaning by appeal to usage in parallel passages or in the grammatical norms of *Tolkappiyam.* Seldom do they enter into literary criticism as it is conceived in the modern period, or into historical or sociological study. The problem of style is therefore, treated only when the text calls for explication by stating the technical term of a difficult figure or trope.

But the exegesis and commentary of the text has also called for greater information concerning related fields, and all related material. The Lexical glossaries (Nigantu) furnished such related information in a limited and catalogue manner, and all the commentators furnish this kind of information. Atiyaarkkunallaar, however, is more diffuse and draws material for the explanation of arts and crafts from a large range of books, some of them now lost to us. His commentary on the lines referring to Music, to Dance, to Dreams, to Robbers, and to geographical and religious allusions, show that an encyclopaedic knowledge was required of the commentator.

But interpretation of the classics varies with each generation and there is no doubt, progress made in branches of learning, which should benefit the interpretation of the ancient texts. We, perhaps know more now than Atiyaarkkunallaar did of certain aspects of the trade of the *Yavanar* who lived in Kaaverippoompattinam of the *Cilappatikaaram,* and more than Naccinaarkiniyar did of the same city when he commented on the *Pattinappalai.* Because the language of the Tamil classics was nearer to the period of the commentators, they may not even have had the taste of classicness which we have, because one of the norms which makes for the charm of poetry is its archaicness which produces in turn an element of novelty and surprise for a new generation, detached in time from the period in which the literature was composed. The period of the commentators must have been one in which the Cankam classics were rediscovered, and ours is a period in which they have been rediscovered, once again. The language of ordinary speech has been "used up", and poets and writers have constantly to find new possibilities for language if they wish to arrest the attention of their readers. We are able to find in the classics new levels of experience, new strata of stimulus, and new patterns of association. Further we have possibilities for the study of Tamil Literature in comparison with other literatures, such as previous generations never had.

TEXTUAL CONTEXTUALIZATION

Since Stylistics is the "expressive potential of language", it may be studied under Linguistic stylistics, Metrical stylistics, Imagery stylistics and Psychological stylistics. Each one of these divisions overlap, and has its own limitations and does not represent by itself the total content of a work of art or its entire analysis. But in examining and evaluating

a work of art it is by such aspectual and partial studies, later synthesized, that the elements of unity and unity itself of a work of art are understood.

(a) Under *linguistic stylistics* would come all the devices of the poet by which he arrives at expressiveness and explicitness and organization of language; his use of common speech or dialect, or literary language, his peculiar usages, his idioms, his repetitions of sound, his inversion of word order, his transpositions, his hierarchies of clauses, his syntactical patterns, his action words and his qualifiers, and the evidence of his exercising the liberty of choice between possible variants. His adherence to traditional literary language would also be considered. In linguistic stylistics, statistical studies, word counts etc. provide data for conclusions with a great margin of probability, though high statistical frequency is no indication that expressiveness is attained by frequent usage alone. Without confirmation by statistical data, however, studies of this kind remain impressionistic and intuitive. Ullmann would suggest a parallel division in Stylistics as in Linguistics, namely, phonological stylistics, lexical stylistics, and syntactical stylistics.[6]

Our analysis of individual style should be such that we are able to characterize individual styles of different books and different periods by generalizations such as conceptual, sensuous, decisive, tense, colourful, subjective, abstract, concrete, only after a detailed analysis and frequency study of the stylistic patterns of a work of art, done preferably in comparison with other works of Art.

(b) *Metrical Stylistics:* Up to very recent times, in fact, up to the popularization of printing, Tamil poetry was written or dictated and was meant for oral recitation. Verse in its area of discourse included medical and other scientific work. Poetry orally recited or sung has features which poetry meant for the printed page has not, and the melodic and metrical effects of early poetry and are not fully exploited until the manner of the original recitation is reproduced. The change of metre in the long epic poems of the *Ahaval* category, in the narrative viruttam, is often or always accompanied by a change of topic, or of sense, or arrests the attention of the hearer to indicate a new theme or transition from one mental concept to another.

The purpose of metrical variations should be explored and the onomatopoeic variations and their relation to situations adequately studied. Initial rhyme is characteristic of Tamil poetry and initial rhyme imposes metrical functions which end rhyme does not. The one initiates new lines of thought while the other completes thought. The long *ahaval*

[6] STEPHEN ULLMANN, *Language and Style*, Basil Balckwell, Oxford, 1964; MICHAL A. K. HALLIDAY, "The Linguistic Study of Literary Texts", in *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Linguistics*, Cambridge, Mass. August 27-31, 1962, Mounton & Co., The Hague, 1964, p. 303. 'Linguistic Stylistics is thus essentially a comparative study. To pursue the example above, we also need to know the relative frequency of this clause structure in other works of the same period and the same genre."

sustains an atmosphere of suspense, the venba has the element of finality, and the viruttam though capable of melodious variations, imposes certain limits to the thought and length of expression of the poet. In minor poetry and in folk poetry, dance and drama combine to add to variations in metre. To the category of *Isai Tamil* belongs a field of metrical devices closely connected with literature. The concepts of pitch and juncture and quantitative elongation of vowels have to be applied to analyse our texts as read or recited. Metrical stylistics, therefore, may not be so limited in its scope or so distant from other areas of stylistics.

(c) *Imagery Stylistics:* Imagery stylistics enters into the frequency distribution and the nature of the images (metonymy, simile, myth) used by an author. It studies his use of colour and of light, the senses to which his images recall, and the range of his poetic fancy. The Greeks are said to have been colour blind, but perhaps this would not be quite true of our Cankam poets. But it would be most interesting to see what use is made of Light and Darkness, and the White and Red, Yellow and Blue and dark shades. Tiruvalluvar's use of oli and irul is most interesting to trace, but venmai has a range of meaning from the veḷḷai-k-kotti of Ilanko, to the vellaittaamarai-p-poovil irruppaal of Bharati. Bharati's use of the sunrise and the dawn is almost like a symbol, poet of freedom that he was. In Bharatidasan however the lines are heavily charged with gustatory imagery, of fruits, of paaku and honey, and even tamil-k-kani piḻiyunkaalai.

The synaesthesia figure runs through Tamil Literature and unless a count is made we shall not be able to state how frequent it is. Bharati's teen ventu paayutu kaatinile can find parallels even in several ancient works.

It should be an interesting contribution to study period imagery and designate it by generalized terms and to see how far the period imagery corresponds to the spirit of the age. Cryptic and terse imagery of the Cankam period become very elaborate with the passage of time and seem to become more involved in the *Cintamani,* in *Kambaramayanam,* and much more embellished in the eighteenth and nineteenth century poets. To trace one image through the centuries or in one particular author, might show a new path for image study, which might well reveal itself as in some of them.

(d) *Psychological Stylistics:* This term is rather ambiguous, but means the interpretation of the text in terms of psychology, and contains the implication that the psychology of an author may be evident in his style, i.e. in the choice of his words and the selection of his figures, types and symbols, and in the psychology of his characters. This assumption is open to several pitfalls, because the author's own life and psychology need not necessarily be reflected in his works. However, such studies are of interest, particularly if idiosyncrasies of style, frequency of certain idioms and key words find corroborative evidence in

extra-literary sources, say in his own letters or incidents of his life. In Kamban's imagery the sea and figures drawn from the ocean, occur in remarkable frequency, especially in the first Kaandams of his epic. The river is source for some of his finest verses. If it were argued that the frequency might be due to his consciousness of naval power in his period, or that the frequency is due to his awareness of Tirumaal Narayanan even in his subsconscious worship, would literary criticism come by great and irreparable harm? Such conjectures based on the text would only serve to increase the possibilities of psychoanalytic applications to literature, and widen the areas for the application to literature of contemporary advances in psychology. One may argue from stylistic analysis and linguistic traits the philosophy and beliefs of a particular author. It is not evident that the otherwise soft-spoken Appar, Gnanasambandar, and Seekiḻaar reserve thier strongest epithets for the Jains and the Buddhists. Kamban seems to compose his epic as if he were watching the *Ramayanam* enacted before his eyes as he composed it, and his architectural language shows a familiarity with stone palaces and temples which other poets of his age do not show. Psychological stylistics, however, can be open to such subjectivity as other branches of stylistics are not open to. The correction is in the dialectic that should be established between impressions and subjectivity on the one hand and the objective findings in the text and in associated material.[7]

Having studied individual style under these aspects, it would be very much easier to make useful generalizations on period style and genre style.

CULTURAL CONTEXTUALIZATION

It has been pointed out that the emphasis of Western Literary Criticism is today on the aesthetic aspects of a work of literature, and the stylistic analysis which has been outlined will explore the poem further as a poem and as a feature of language usage. But if apperception, appreciation, and evaluation of the work are to be made yet stronger and more and more meaningful, the work should be studied not only in relation to stylistic variants in contemporary works or modern works, but also in relation to the milieu, the social, political, and historical circumstances in which the work was written, or of which it is evidence. Some authoritative literary critics are among these who might label such milieu studies as historicism and reconstructionism. To relate a poem written in an earlier century to our own times, and to compare it with our own usage is natural enough, but the full import of language and its semantic nuances, and the parody and irony and allusiveness of the works can hardly be known unless such milieu studies are forthcoming to add to the existing literature of Tamil Literary scholarship. This is

[7] LUDWIG REINERS, *Stilkunst*, C. H. Beck, Munich, 1961.

part of the programme of interdisciplinary studies and of integration which should be encouraged.

Since Religion and Philosophy have been the specialized fields of earlier writers and commentators, these fields have been adequately studied as to explain the relation of Word and Thought in Tamil Literature. But it is not so with new disciplines in the social sciences, the utilization of which would add to the understanding of the cultural setting. Social History, Social and Cultural Anthropology, Individual and Social Psychology, the Fine Arts, are the fields which require to be applied to the interpretation of Tamil Literature.

By Literary Sociology in this paper, is meant the provenance of poets or the social classes from which they came during different periods, and the status accorded to them. The shaman, the bard and the poet had important roles in society, before the monk, the minister of state and the court-poet took over from them. Data gathered from their works and related to extra-literary sources give us the cultural background for the understanding of their works. With the scarcity of historical material for the study of society and social history in the earlier periods, we have no other option but to draw out as much social and cultural information from Tamil texts, as much as the texts themselves will offer. For the social history of the Tamils, Literature has remained up to now the primary source.

The application of social and cultural anthropology to Tamil Literature promises to be a most fascinating and rewarding study. Though Ralph Linton took into consideration the *Tolkapiyam* in his *Tree of Culture,* that very primary source still remains unexplored from the sociological and anthropological point of view. The *Cilappatikaaram* and the minor literature like the *Parani,* the *Kuravanci,* the *Pallu* and the ballads of folk literature portraying as they do the life and activities of particular social classes, contain elements which could be newly interpreted in the light of the social sciences.

An attempt should also be made to apply the findings of individual and social psychology to the characters and classes of Tamil Literature. The philosophy of the subconscious, in spite of its inadequacies, has been an auxiliary science helping the interpretation of characters in fiction and explaining the attitudes and interests of the author in his moments of creation. These interpretations have been shown at times to be wrong and groundless, but the attempt should be made so that the area of discourse available to Tamil Literary Criticism is made more expansive. Could it be argued that Bharati Dasan dwells in mercantile characters and imagery because he was the son of a merchant, and that Kamban indulges in the word Uttaman because he wrote in the time of Uttamacoo̱lan? The inference may not be always accurate but the suggestions continue to be of interest. Freud and Jung initiated the study of sub-conscious psychology, and we are yet at the fringe of this

new study, but it is well worth exploring along the lines suggested by them and others the psychology of the artist in order to understand some aspects of his work.

Another wide field knowledge which makes Tamil Literary studies more perceptive, is the history of the Tamil Fine Arts, a certain understanding of the dance, the music, and the achievements in painting, sculpture and architecture. The onomatoepoeia in Tamil poetry seems to have some musical instruments as its base, and the poetry concerning the Dance of Siva requires to be illustrated as well by the bronzes and sculptures. Would it not mean more for the student to have his line tinkal moonradukkiya tirumukkudai-k-keel illustrated with the sculpture of Mahavira which follows this iconographic detail, and the bhakti fervour illustrated by the bronzes of the Naayanmaar?

Poetry as pure poetry, literature qua literatuer are ideal norms for literary criticism, provided cultural contextualization is pre-supposed. Tamil Literary studies have to widen the area of interests in order to exploit the content of literature to the full. There is hardly any branch of the social sciences which will not prove of interest to the literary critic. An encyclopaedic knowledge, an access to original literary works in several languages, and a wide range of personal and literary experience is what makes modern critics make notable contributions to Literary studies. These are the conditions of scholarship which Tamil Literary scholarship must propose to itself if it is to make its own contribution, to the knowledge and understanding of Tamil Literature in Comparative Studies of World Literature.

It is a matter for gratification that papers presented at this conference have anticipated some of the developments outlined in this paper.

THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE SANGAMS TO TAMIL LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

P. T. RAJAN

It is the finding of historians that the South Indian peninsula stretched far into the Indian Ocean beyond the present Cape Comorin. Here, two ancient Pandyan capitals THENMADURAI and ALAVAYIL lie submerged as the result of deluges which occurred at two different dates. These two cities were the venues of the first two Tamil Sangams.

Because the word Sangam does not occur in early Tamil Literature some scholars mistakenly feel that the Sangams were of relatively later origin. My paper deals at length with the connotation of this word, which is much the same as the earlier Tamil word KOODAL, by which the Sangams were originally known. The change of name occurred when Tamilnad came under the influence of Jains and Buddhists. At this time the names of cities, rivers, mountains, persons, and even deities were translated into Sanskrit, and the Sanskrit versions have remained in use to this day in very many cases.

All information pertaining to the Tamil Sangams given in this paper are to be found in early Tamil works of the Third Sangam period, slightly later works like the *Silappadikaram*, and in the commentaries of learned scholars of later dates. The sum and substance of this information is that from a very early date, not later than 5000 years before the Christian Era, until the first few centuries A.D. there existed three Tamil Sangams in three successive capitals of the Pandyan kingdom.

The first Sangam was in the city of THENMADURAI, which was submerged by a deluge. The greatest poet of this period was Agathyar, and his work *Agathyam* is said to have dealt with literature, music and drama. All the works of this Sangam are lost. The Sangam's greatest contribution was the very concept of an organization meant exclusively for the furtherance of knowledge, and the development of language and literature. It is to the everlasting credit of the Tamil genius that such an organization was conceived of, long, long before the Greek scholar Plato held academic discourse with his pupils in a garden, called the "Academy", near the city of Athens. It was from this that organizations devoted to the development of language and knowledge, came to be known as academies. If the world knew a little more of Indian history

in general and the history of the Tamils in particular, these organizations might well have been known as Sangams or even Koodals.

The second Sangam existed in the city of ALAVAYIL which the later Sanskrit scholars with characteristic thoroughness translated into KAPADAPURAM. The greatest contribution of this Sangam was that great classical work on Tamil grammar known as *THOLGAPPIAM,* so called because it was written by one THOLGAPPIAAR. Any nation in the world could be proud of the possession, at such an early period, of such an authoritative treatise on grammar, which is as valid, binding and fresh in style, substance and idiom, today, as it was when it was written centuries ago. The city of ALAVAYIL and the second Sangam perished as the result of the second deluge.

Fortunately the Pandyan king, MUDATHIRUMARAN, who must have received a forewarning of the calamity, fled with his courtiers and scholars and escaped the deluge. He and his successors established their capital in the present City of Madurai and formed the Third Sangam. The works of the third Sangam period form a substantial portion of classical Tamil literature that is now available. The Sangam itself classified eighteen important works including ten idylls and eight anthologies of verses, as belonging to this period. The immortal *Thirukkural* belonged to this period, but for some strange reason it was not one of the eighteen works mentioned above. Why this was so could very well be the subject of research. It may have been published after the Sangam had completed its classification.

The third Sangam came to an end due to the subjugation of the Pandyans by nomadic invaders from the North, known as KALABRAS. Jains and Buddhists gradually gained strength in Tamilnad. They too formed several Sangams, among which the most famous was the DRAMINDA SANGAM (app. A.D. 500-1000). Though their main aim was the propagation of their faiths, they did some service to Tamil, as they also classified eighteen treatises, amongst which they included *Tirukkural.* Later, ten epics, five major and five minor, were also catalogued. The most famous of these were the two major epics *Silappadikaram* and *Manimegalai.* As the chief aim of the DRAMINDA SANGAM was the propagation of the Jain faith, it is not included amongst the Tamil Sangams.

Though the Pandyans regained their kingdom in the 10th century and continued to rule until the 14th century the Tamil Sangam was not revived. After this, the country came under the rule of the Nayaks of the Vijaya Nagar Empire, the Muslims, and finally the European invaders. Though many individual contributions were made during this period by poets like KAMBAR, KACHIAPPAR and SEKKIZHAR, cooperative effort as exemplified by the Sangams was not feasible in the absence of royal patronage.

The tide did at last turn, with the advent on the literary scene of

that great scholar and philanthropist PANDI THORAI THEVER, a member of the Royal Sethupathi Family of Ramanathapuram. As a result of his devotion and ceaseless effort the Fourth Tamil Sangam was inaugurated in the City of Madurai in 1901. This Fourth Sangam is an heir to the earlier Sangams which date back to almost prehistoric days.

THE INFLUENCE OF TAMIL IN *MAHABHARATA*

V. I. SUBRAMONIAM

V. S. Sukthankar, the editor of the comprehensive edition of *Mahabharatha*, in his prolegomena posits two recensions for the Epic: one, Northern and another, Southern.[1]

Of the fifty-nine manuscripts utilized by him for his edition, thirty-three are from the South, which includes Tamilnad, Kerala, Mysore and Andhra-Pradesh. This works out to be 56% of the total number of manuscripts used by him. In the manuscripts obtained from the South, twenty, that is sixty-one percent. are from the Saraswathi Mahal Library of Tanjore, which is the only source mentioned by him from Tamilnad. Most of the Tanjore manuscripts are written in Grantha and a few are written in Devanagari or Telugu scripts. The longest version is from Tanjore written in the Grantha script.

It is also relevant here to note that among the two earliest manuscripts for *Mahabharatha,* obtained in India one is from Tanjore, the date of which is A.D. 1598. The other one is from Baroda, dated A.D. 1519. From Nepal, two earliest manuscripts (N_3 and V_1) have been obtained. They are dated A.D. 1511 and A.D. 1528 respectively. All other manuscripts secured from India and abroad are either undated or are later versions.

The *Mahabharatha* story was familiar to the Sangam poets. The *Mahabharatha* war is mentioned in *PuRanaanuuRu* (stanza 2), *Akanaanuu Ru* (st. 233) and *Cilappatikaaram* (kaa. 29). One of the Sangam poets was known by the name Baaratham Paatiya (he who sang the Bharatha story) Perumteevanaar. Inscriptional evidence[2] for the ceremonial participation of South Indian kings in the Bharatha battle is available in plenty (copper plates of Paraantaka Viira Naarayanan *c.* A.D. 9, line 36, Cinnamannuur plates of Raja Simha *c.* A.D. 10, Viira paantiya Inscription, *T.A.S.*, vol. II, pt. I, p.18 etc.). Translation of Bharatha is mentioned in the Cinnamannuur plates (line 102). The Kuuram plates

[1] V. S. SUKTHANKAR, ed., *The Mahabharata, Adiparvan,* Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1933, p. viii. My gratitude is due to V. R. Prabodhachandran, Lecturer in Linguistics, University of Kerala, for translating the Sanskrit quotations found in the prolegomena.

[2] Information by R. Pannerselvam, Research Scholar, Department of Tamil, University of Kerala, Trivandrum.

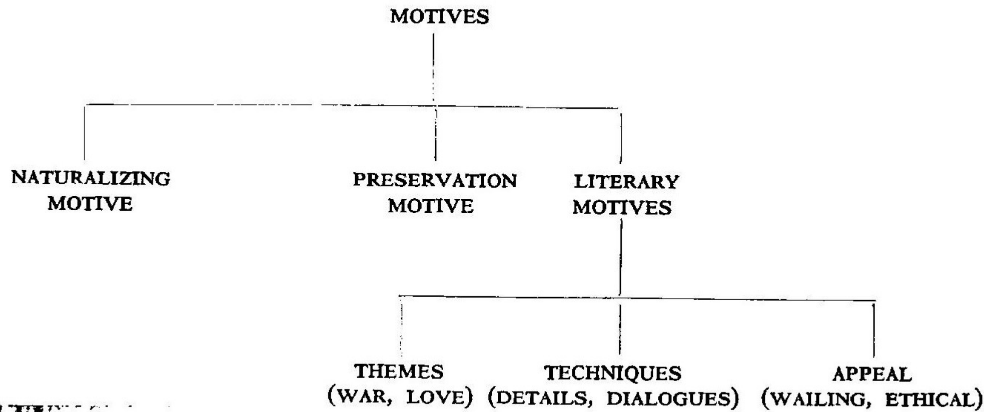
mention about the endowments for reading Bharatha (lines 74, 75, *c.* A.D. 7). The Tandantoottam plates of Nandivarman II (*c.* A.D. 8, line 198) has also a reference to this.

The early popularity of *Mahabharatha* and the continued interest shown by the Tamils in this epic will explain the availability of the largest number of manuscripts in Tamilnad and the preservation of one of the earliest manuscripts in Tanjore.

When the Northern and Southern recensions of the Epic had been compared by Sukthankar, seven groups of differences were listed by him. Before discussing these differences in detail it is necessary to examine here the possible causes for recensions especially when they are current in areas where different languages are spoken and different cultures are practised. If recension *A* is current in one culture, and if recension *B* is current in another culture, then there will be attempts made (1) to naturalize the original version, (2) to preserve the stories and incidents peculiar to that area, and (3) alteration attempted in the literary themes to suit the indigenous taste. The first one arises out of a naturalization motive. It is culture bound. The second arises from the motive of preservation and the third from literary motive. Bharatha who has given his name to the country of his birth and to the Great Epic of India is an illegitimate child in the Northern recension of *Mahabharatha.* But the Southern recension legalizes the marriage of Dushyanta and Sakuntala by introducing the royal Purohita who secretly performs their marriage. This addition is typical of the cultural attitude prevalent in the South that an illegitimate child cannot be a hero. This is an illustration of the naturalization motive. The preservation motive is well illustrated by the story of drinking of the poison that exuded from the Snake Vasuki by Lord Siva very well known in Tamilnad, preserved in Adi parvan of the Southern recension.

The literary motive can be sub-divided into themes, techniques and appeal. Among the themes war is one of the earliest themes popular in Tamilnad. Bhima's war against Baka the demon, found only in the Southern recension is a typical illustration of this. The long list of names of the sons of Dhrtrarastra to give a sense of realism and specification is found only in the Southern recension. It will illustrate the technique of presentation which is a sub-division of the literary motive. The dialogue which is a powerful technique of presentation, popular in the Tamil epics is also adopted. The farewell scene of Krishna when he leaves for Dvaraka is an example. This dialogue is found only in the Southern recension. The appeal which is the third sub-division under the Literary motive is conditioned by the situation which is potent enough to touch the chords of sympathy or anger, love or revulsion, in the listener. The wailing of a widow offers such a situation for the poet, to work up the emotions of the audience. This common South Indian situation finds a place in the Southern recension. The death of Paandu

and the many funeral orations found in the Southern recension will illustrate this. The motives can be diagrammatically represented in the following way:



With these explanations if we examine the seven groups of differences found between the Northern and Southern recensions, the first group which is about the variations in isolated words or phrases like the availability in the Southern recension *l* for *r* in the Northern recension, *a* for *as*, *l* for *l*, *c* for *t* etc. is about the linguistic peculiarities found in the two recensions. The seventh group is about the omission of a story found in the Northern recension but not in the South. That story is about the sacrifices performed by King Svetaki, which is suspected to be a later addition in the Northern recension. Therefore this group is not of any significance to our purpose. The remaining five groups if examined closely will furnish ample proof for the three motives listed by us. This group two is about larger variations between continuous passages, as a whole, the total extent remaining approximately the same. Under this group are included the long lists of names of the hundred sons of Dhrtrastra (Ady. 108), of ancient kings (Ady. 1), of serpents (Ady. 1), of kings present in Draupadi's Swayamavara (Ady. 177). We have classified these under the techniques of presentation, a sub-division of literary motive.

His second group has expansion of the text without materially altering the nature of the contents or the course of the narrative. It has six sub-types. The first sub-type (a) is about the multiplication of the items in a list. Garuda has been identified with all major gods and with everything pre-eminent in the world (Ady. 20). Addition to the list of sciences in which the inmates of the Ashrama of Risi Kanva were proficient (Ady. 64), the list of evils that attend on anger (Ady. 74), list of edibles furnished by the Kamadhenu of Vasistha (Ady. 165), and items of dowry of Subhadra (Ady. 213). These have been brought under the technique of narration by us. The second sub-type (b) is repetition of stories, motives or discourses or their anticipation. This includes the story of a maiden who prayed to Mahadeva for a single husband, five times, was given the

boon of five husbands at a single time. This story said to be most common in South India is repeated thrice (Ady. 157). This has been brought under the preservation motive by us. The miraculous birth of Krishna and Dhrstaryumna is due to the naturalization motive of ours. The anticipatory passages such as Amba's plight, the conversation between Bhisma and his stepmother Satyavati, Surya's warning to Karuna are repetitions of passages which occur in the later Parvans motivated by the need to present all stories in the first Parvan itself.

The third sub-group (c) is about the correct and complete observance of the Brahmanic ritual in the proper occasion. Bharata's birth after a legalized marriage (Ady. 68), Santanu's birth (Ady. 92), the births of Dhrtarashtra and Pandu (Ady. 100), and later of Pandavas themselves (Ady. 115) are due to the naturalization motive of ours.

The fourth sub-group (d) is about the expansion of the existing scenes by the addition of speeches or by detailed descriptions and by other digressions which we have brought under the technique of narration. They are the humiliating experience of Bhisma at the court of the king of Kasi, Surya's persuasion of Kunti to have sexual union with him, the funeral oration of the death of Pandu, a verse worshipping Surya when Vasista presents himself before him, discomfiture of each of the suitors for the hand of Draupati, the list of presents given by Drupada to the Pandu brothers, the farewell oration by Krishna, Yudhistra and Kunti when Krishna left for Dvaraka and the farewell of Arjuna to Citrangada. The story of Lord Siva drinking up the poison, exuded from Vasuki found under this sub-type is treated by us as an instance of the preservation motive. The details of the fight between the Kauravas and Pandavas and a titanic struggle between Bhima and Baka have been treated under the literary theme by us. The inclusion of stories of Nalayani and Bhaumavi to justify the polyandrous marriage of Draupati, is due to the naturalization motive. These also find a place in this subsection.

The next sub-group which is the fourth (d) is about the addition of little ethical and sententious maxims to which the South is particularly partial. We meet with repetition of old proverbs. This is treated by us under appeal which is a sub-section of the head, literary motive.

The last sub-group (f) which deals with the addition of passages which have a certain amount of sexual appeal can be treated under the appeal of literature. The additional description of Hidimba, Sakuntala and Ambe are mentioned under this sub-section.

His fourth group is about additions which alter the purport of the fable as narrated in the Northern recension. Some of the items included in this group have been listed in other groups. The legitimization of Bharata's birth is already listed by him under group two. Yayati's marriage with Sarmista by Purohits, Arjuna's marriage with Subhadra to

legitimize Abhimanyu and the regular marriage of Parasara with Matsyagandhi are due to the naturalization motive mentioned by us.

His group five is about filling out lacunae. The account of Drupada's birth due to the perturbation of his father at the sight of beautiful Aparas is found in the Southern recension. This has been brought under the technique of narration mentioned earlier by us.

His group six is about the multiplication of fights and battle scenes where the influence of PuRam (war) themes of Tamil is perceivable. The battle between the Kurus and the Pandus to capture Drupada and the fight between Bhima and Baka listed already by Sukthankar in group two, are brought under literary motive by us.

The total number of additional lines found in the Southern recension is 2250, nearly thirty percent. of which are for improving the narrative techniques. Nearly sixteen percent. are for introducing themes popular in Tamilnad, like fights. About fourteen percent. of the lines are for literary appeal. For preservation about twenty percent. of the lines are added. For naturalization also about twenty percent. of the lines are introduced.

According to Sukthankar, the Southern recension exhibits precision, schematization and a thoroughly practical outlook. As against this, the Northern recension is distinctly vague unsystematic sometimes, even inconsequent, more like a story rather naively narrated.[3] He has not explored the causes for such differences.

Recensions vogue in a different cultural and linguistic area are like loan words which have been assimilated into the borrowing language. They are popularly called tatbhavas. The sound pattern and the grammatical structure of the borrowing language will exert their influence to naturalize the foreign elements. A detailed study of the borrowing language will throw light on its sound pattern and grammatical structure. A comparative study of the assimilated loan words (tatbhavas) will confirm the sound pattern and the structure of grammar arrived at independently by an analysis of the borrowing language. In certain areas especially when the description is about the past stage of a language, the study of the assimilated loan words will supplement details regarding sound and structure as it has been realized by a section of historical linguists. If the analogy between tatbavas and the recension is taken seriously, the recension can help literary theorists to confirm and supplement details in their branch of investigation.

An analysis of Tamil literature will show that in the early period the predominant themes were love and war. Uninhibited description of sex is witnessed in early poetry. During the medieval period the bhakti themes and ethical motifs were predominant. However the early

[3] V. S. SUKTHANKAR, "Prolegomena", p. xxxvi.

themes of love and war have not fallen into disfavour even in the medieval period. The numerous Paranis (war songs) and Kovais (love songs) of this period will substantiate the existence of the ancient themes. Their influence on the literary taste of the Tamil listeners is obvious. The differences in the southern recension of Mahabharata which we presume are based on the Grantha manuscript secured from Tanjore confirm the literary themes prevalent in Tamilnad. The purpose of this paper is only to draw the attention of the possibility of the influence of Tamil themes and literary outlooks on the recension of the *Mahabaratha.* For confirmation of my statements a detailed examination of the contents of the Southern manuscripts is necessary.

THE FOLK MOTIF IN *SILAPPADIKARAM*

N. VANAMAMALAI

INTRODUCTION

0.1 The common motif of the Sangam Poetry is Aham and Puram, love and war. Aham poetry has gone through different stages of development. Puram poetry has for its theme war and victory in war. Premarital love and married life are the themes of a large collection of 'Aham' poetry. Every theme external to love is included under the classification 'Puram'. Hence heroes of Puram poems are kings and military leaders. As poets and Panars (folk musicians), depended for their livelihood on kings, they composed poems praising the valour and generosity of their patrons. These two types of poems are considered to be classified themes.

0.2 The learned poets attached to courts looked down upon the rural folk, frowned upon folk songs, and considered folk songs beneath their notice. But even in the Sangam age there lived free lance poets who had intimate links with the common folk and sympathized with their life. They interpreted the life of the people to the kings and demanded justice for those who suffered. There are poems calling on kings not to wage wars but to turn their attention to improve facilities for irrigation in their dominion. Avvai, Paranar and Kapilar and a host of other poets raised their voice against injustice, cruelty and war and advised kings to rule over their kingdoms tempering justice with mercy.

TOLKAPPIAR AND FOLK SONGS

0.3 Folk songs existed even during the Sangam period. The illiterate and unsophisticated rural folk expressed their love, happiness and sufferings in their own indigenous creations of art. It consisted of songs and dances. These forms of art and literature were recognized by Tolkappiar. Folk songs were classified as a type of poetry called Pannathi. Several folk dances are mentioned in Sangam poetry, such as Thunangai, Vallai, Kuravai etc.[1] Dr. Swaminatha Iyer has listed 56 types of folk songs.[2] At least a few of them were extant in the Sangam age. Tolkappiar has mentioned a few of these types and attempted to define them.

[1] DR. U. V. SWAMINATHA IYER, *Sangat Tamilum, Pirkalath Tamilum.*
[2] Ibid.

We are not now in a position to know what the themes of these songs were or to identify them in modern folk songs.

VARIPPADAL IN FORM OF FOLK SONG

0.4 Commentators of Tolkappiar and *Silappadikaram* have thrown light on the existence of a large volume of folk songs in their period. 'Varippadal' which was very popular in those days drew their attention. They classified Varippadal according to form and content. We shall refer to this type of folk song later on.

THE THEME OF THE FOLK SONG

1.1 What is the folk song motif, distinct from the classical literary motif? Wordsworth in his *Solitary Reaper* makes surmises about the theme of her song as he could not understand Gaelic, the language of the song.

"Will no one tell me what she sings?
Perhaps the plaintive numbers flow
For old unhappy, far off things,
And battles long ago."

"Or is it some more humble lay,
Familiar matter of today?
Some natural sorrow, loss or pain
That has been and may be again?"

TWO TYPES OF FOLK MOTIFS

1.2 These stanzas point out two types of themes common in folk songs. One type of folk song tell us about events that happened in the distant past that still linger in folk memory.

FOLK MEMORY. Mostly they are unhappy events that brought misery and destruction to the village. This type of song takes the form of the ballads, singing about battles and folk heroes who took part in those wars. We may not learn about these battles and heroes from history books but folk memory still preserves them.

EVERYDAY THEMES

1.3 The other type of song is more common in folk literature of all countries. The theme is an ordinary event of everyday life. It may be a personal loss like the death of a dear one, a natural loss like a drought, famine or destructive flood, or pain, like the pangs of starvation or pain of illness.

CLASSIFICATION OF FOLK MOTIFS

1.4 A classification of the types of folk motifs has been attempted by the folklorists of Tamilnad. K. V. Jegannathan[3] thinks that there are 12 types: (1) Themmangu, (2) Thangarathinamae, (3) Rajathi, (4) Dialogue between man and woman, (5) Songs of labourers, (6) Song of the thiefs, (7) Family, (8) Lullabies, Children's songs, (10) Dirges (Pulambal), (11) Kummi, (12) Gods, (13) Miscellaneous songs.

CLASSIFICATION NOT CORRECT

1.5 K. V. Jegannathan has not followed any single principle of division. His classification is on the basis of three principles of division, 4 to 10 being on the basis of content, 2 and 3 merely taking into account the refrain of the song 'Thangarathiname' and 'Rajathi' and 1 and 11 on the basis of form. Motifs of the same nature overlap, in this classification. The same form is used to elaborate different motifs. Hence this classification is not logical.

CORRECT CLASSIFICATION

1.6 Since our concentration in this essay is on motif or content of the folk songs and their inclusion in *Silappadikaram,* and not on form, we must adopt only one principle of division, namely classification according to content. If our interest lay in ascertaining the nature of musical melody, we may adopt classification according to form or rhythm.

(a) GEOGRAPHICAL CLASSIFICATION, (b) CLASSIFICATION BASED ON CONTENT

1.7 (a) Another principle of classification adopted unconsciously by folklorists is geographical. This is also not helpful to our purpose. Since many motifs such as Lullaby, Dirge, Love, etc. are common to all geographical regions of Tamilnad, inspite of slight regional variations, the classification useful to our purpose is one that is based on content.

(b) Hence the principle I would adopt to classify folk motif is based on folk life: human life from birth to death with all its simple joys and sorrows set in the rural environment. Songs associated with birth and lullabies will form the first type. The child grows up and plays with children of its own age. Songs sung while they play and those associated with childhood will form the second type. Youth is the stage of love and songs of love will form the third type. The village youth has to work choosing some occupation. Songs of labour will form the fourth type. Marriage and labour puts the youth into active relations with the society. Hence songs about social problems and married love form the fifth type. Death and loss of a prop of the family is the theme of the dirge. The sorrow and grief associated with death form the sixth type.

[3] *Malaiaruvi — an anthology of folk songs,* ed. K. V. Jegannathan.

Folk religion is based on fear of Gods and gratitude to them. Hence songs of prayer, invocation and fortune telling form the seventh type. This classification based on the contents of the folk songs exhausts the various genre of folk poetry.

FOLK MOTIF, INTIMATE THOUGHTS AND FEELINGS OF RURAL LIFE

1.8 Folk songs deal with motifs of intimate feelings, hopes and fears of the village folk. Hence farsighted vision, philosophical speculations, and other themes far removed from their spheres of activity are not to be met with frequently in folk poetry. Exalted themes such as integration of cultures, religious motifs, ethical motifs and political ideas are left to be treated by classical and epic poets.

TWO STREAMS OF LITERATURE

1.9 Referring to this Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundram remarks, "Learned people as the custodians of literary traditions have no sympathy for folk songs. Therefore these folk songs have not in all cases been preserved. But sometimes because of universal sympathy of certain poets, the folk song motif entering into the main literary streams, rejuvenates and enriches it. This influence was noticed in Sangam literature, *Silappadikaram* and *Thirukkural.*"[4]

FOLK MOTIF IN LITERATURE

1.10 Though a detailed and deep study of this process of integration is worthwhile and may be taken up later, the present writer wishes to limit his attention at present to the impact of folk motif on *Silappadikaram,* the first of our epics.

In the book we have referred to above, T.P.M. has this to say about the influence of folk motif on *Silappadikaram.*

FOLK MOTIF IN SILAPPADIKARAM

2.1 "Another important characteristic feature of this epic (*Silappadikaram*) is that the folk motif is used very extensively on important occasions. There are songs of the sea shore (Kanal Vari), the song of the dance of the hunters (Vettuva Vari), the dance of the shepherds (Aaychiar Kuravai), the song and various kinds of folk songs as the song of the swing (Usal), the song of the ball (Kantuka Vari) coming in the Valthukkathai. There are other parts like "Tunpamalai" where the heroine gives expression to her sorrow and desolation at the unjust slaughter of her husband."[5]

[4] T. P. MEENAKSHISUNDARAM, *A history of Tamil Literature,* pp. 152-153.
[5] Ibid., p. 38.

EPIC MOTIF

2.2 The motif of *Silappadikaram* is to tell the story of Kannagi and her husband, both hailing from the Peruvanigar kudi (wealthy and influential merchant class) in Puhar. The fortunes of their life is the main theme of the epic. This theme is set in the social environment of the days of the epic. The poet projects into the poem the dreams and aspirations of the flourishing trading community to bring about cultural unity of Tamilnad, so that their trade will spread over a large area. They desired peace and freedom to trade without restrictions such as tarif and political boundaries. They were successful to an extent thus rendering good service in breaking the isolation of the three political divisions. These aspirations find allegorical reflection in the division of the epic into three Kandas (parts) the scene of which changes from Puhar to Madurai and finally to Vanchi, the capitals of the crowned monarchs of the Cola, Pandya and Chera kingdoms. The story moves along, integrating the cultures of the people in all the three divisions of Tamilnad. Though the movement for cultural integration came from the wealthy merchant class, the poet in his universal sympathy for all classes sets out to blend and unite cultures in different stages of development known to him, into the mainstream of his epic. Thus it is that folk motif enters into the epic loosely linked to the main events of the story. Elango had not intended *Silappadikaram* to be merely the story of Kovalan and Kannagi but as the mirror image of the cultures of the peoples of different geographical regions and political dominions. He felt that his mission was to preach common ethical concepts acceptable to people belonging to different religious persuasions.[6] To achieve his aim he has portrayed the life and culture of various communities of people including tribal folks inhabiting Tamilnad and brought them into contact with the hero or heroine, who represent a higher type of culture with no prejudice against the lower stages of culture with which they come in contact. Their tolerance to the cultures of Vettuvars, Aaychiars, and Kunravars is just an example set up in the epic for representatives of a higher stage of culture to follow.

RELICS OF FOLK TRADITION

2.3 Now we shall proceed to examine a few folk motifs in *Silappadikaram* and try to compare them with folk motifs in folklore itself. Such a comparison is possible, because folk motifs are older than written literature. Most of the old traditions are preserved or relics of them still remain in folk poetry. The village life, imprisoned in the self-sufficient village commune system and hereditary division of labour based on caste system, has contributed to stability of the rural society. The peasant struggle and the revolt of the lower caste folk against social and economic

[6] *Silappadikaram* — *Noorkatturai.*

oppression had caused a mere ripple on the calm life of the society, the foundation of which remained the same for thousands of years — until the British conquest. Folk songs give us information about customs, manners and religious practices of the rural folk for centuries, though they also contain references to more recent happenings and changes. It is the task of the folk researcher to sift this complex of information and select such of them as are relevant to the period of the epic.

MANGALA VALTHU

2.4 Let us begin with the opening lines of the epic "Mangala Valthu Patal." Other epics begin with a prayer to the particular God who is considered to be the supreme being by the religion of the poet. Thus Kambar opens his epic with a prayer to Vishnu and Konguvel to Arukan. *Silappadikaram* differs from later epics in that its prayers are not to gods of Hindu mythology or to Buddha or Arukan but to deified objects and forces of nature. It echoes the prayers of the rural folk to the Gods of nature whom they believe command the winds, rain and weather. These gods appear to be the prototypes of those in Greek or Roman mythology.

HERE IS PRAISE TO THE MOON

Praise the Moon, praise the Moon
Like the white umbrella of Chenni garlanded with kongu (flowers)
Protects the wide beautiful world.

HERE IS PRAISE TO THE SUN

Praise the Sun, Praise the Sun
Like the Kaveri ruler's wheel (of command)
Circulates round the Mount Meru.

HERE IS THE PRAISE TO THE RAIN

Praise Great Rain, Praise Great Rain,
Like his grace it gently drops down.[7]

These opening lines of the epic has borrowed the folk motif of praise and thanksgiving to the forces of nature that make possible our lives here on earth. These forces are deified according to folk tradition. Folk

[7] *Silappadikaram Valthukkathai,* lines 1 to 9.

songs with such motifs are extant even to-day. Compare the following folk song, with the opening lines of the epic:

> "Our boys who drove the ploughshare
> with their hands
> now stand with weary hands
> Show mercy to them God of Rain.
> Our boys who drove the ploughshare
> are burdened with care
> Show mercy for that, God of Rain."

As the rain falls the hearts of the rural folks fill with joy as water fills tanks.[7a]

> Falls rain, Falls rain,
> Rain that failed falls now.
> Good rain falls. To make land
> wealthy, falls rain.

Again another song is in the form of an invocation to the God of Rain.

> May our misery end, May dark Rain fall
> Dispel gloom in our hamlet,
> May good rain fall.
> May summer rain fall, May
> our people prosper.
>
> Oh The King of the sky rain, Oh
> the Great God of the skies,
> Oh, the Great God of the skill
> command rain to fall.[8]

Such feelings and sentiments are quite common in Tamil folk songs through the centuries. This motif is adopted by Andal in her *Tiruppavai* and *Naichiar Tirumoli.*

WEDDING CEREMONIES

2.5 A detailed description of ceremonies with an exaggerated gusto is a folk motif. Thus we have folk songs in the genre of Mangala Valthu, otherwise named Kalyana Valthu or Kannala Valthu. I have included two songs of this type in my anthology of folk songs. (*An anthology of folk songs,* edited by N. Vanamamalai.) One of them was collected from Tirunelveli and another from Coimbatore. The themes are similar. They describe the various ceremonies the bride and the bridegroom have to go through before they are proclaimed man and wife,

[7a] *Tamilnattu Pamarar Padalgal,* ed. N. Vanamamali, p. 65.
[8] *Ettil Elutha-k-kathai,* ed. P. Thooran, p. 45.

the ornamental pandal in which the celebration is held and the part played by womenfolk in the ceremonies. The marriage celebration of Kannagi and Kovalan is strikingly similar to those in folk songs: Cf. the following:

Now, folk song:

> Planting plantains (they) adorned the entrance.
> Planting palms (they) adorned the pandal stand.
> They walk right to the grinding stone, before the Pepul tree
> By God's grace tie the holy jewel.
> By God's grace round the girl's jewel's neck[9]

then follows blessings by the elders assembled there. Compare this with the lines in the epic:

> Under the blue canopy and pearl adorned Pandal
> Led in the ceremonies by the old Parpan,
> They walked around the holy fire.

BLESSING

2.6 The difference between the folk songs and the epic is found in the last portions of the blessings. The elders bless the couple both in the epic and the folk song wishing them long wedded life, never permitting anything to loosen their embrace and never to know misery in life. The epic then ends the blessing with wishes for the long life and success of the Cola king. The folk song is the expression of the thoughts and feelings of the rural folk tightly shut up in the self sufficient village communes, and hence their thoughts only now and then strayed outside their village or region. But the epic poet has a wider vision which he projects on the large canvass of the epic. Hence he wishes the Cola king victory all over India. Elangovadigal dreamed of the unification of the whole of India under the benignant rule of Chembian. "May his wheel of command roll up to Himalayas and Meru and may he rule in unrivalled supremacy over the world."[11]

PRAISE OF THE BELOVED IN FOLK SONG

3.1 After the marriage Kannagi and Kovalan live in happiness. Kovalan grows poetic in describing Kannagi. The passage describing her is very similar to the description of a beloved girl by her lover in a folk song.

[9] *Tamilnattu Pamarar Padalgal,* pp. 319; 329.
[10] *Silappadikaram, Valthu Patal,* lines 49-51.
[11] Ibid., closing lines.

KOVALAN TO KANNAGI:

"Spotless gold, Right ringed pearl,
Blameless seed, Sugarcane, Honey,
Invaluable statue, Elixir of life etc."

FOLK SONG. LOVER TO HIS SWEETHEART:

Enough to cast eyes on you
My sins will clear away
Oh my gold, solid piece of sugar,
Sugar cane, Enough if I touch you.
Are you a well developed pearl?

The objects of comparison in the epic and the folk song is in every detail identical. The heroine is compared to gold, sugar-cane, sweet honey and solid piece of sugar and pearl. Thus the folk motif of rural love has attained the status of epic love in this passage.

IN EPIC

3.2 Kovalan leaves Kannagi and goes to live with Mathavi. He lives almost a married life with her who is passionately attached to him. Kannagi pines in her loneliness and her unreciprocated love. But never once does she wish harm to Mathavi or Kovalan. She bears her cross patiently. The epic heroine shines in contrast to her counterpart in folk poetry who can never contain themselves when they are in a similar situation. Deserted by her husband a wife rails at him and at his sweetheart.

"You took me to see Papanasam
And presented me with a burden
That I bore for two months
Such was your love for me
Now you have left me and
Married a second wife.
As you walk to her house
Will not a flower snake bite you?"[12]

Again,

"He walks away never casting a look at me
It is because of that prostitute's daughter.
I am as beautiful as a ripe fruit
And she is as dirty as cow dung,
Should he go to her at midnight?[13]

[12] N. VANAMAMALAI, op. cit.
[13] Ibid.

DIFFERENCE

3.3 Folk heroines are unsophisticated and petulant. They cannot conceal their feelings in the depth of their hearts nor blame fate for everything. But Kannagi is intended to be the goddess of chastity and the poet brushes aside folk tradition and establishes an epic tradition following an anecdote of former Kannagi, wife of Pekan, both of whom figure in the poems of Kapilar and Paranar.

KANAL VARI

4.1 'Kanal Vari' or the song of the sea shore integrates folk motif of the sexual love among fisherfolk and the classical love themes of Neythal thinai.

CONTEXT

4.2 Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaram summarizes the theme of the 'Kanal Vari', (chap. 7 of the epic) in these words: At the end of a great national festival to which all throng from the Himalayas downwards to witness the wonders of the Cola city, one of these wonders being Mathavi's dance, they go to the beach of that city. Kovalan sings extempore, musical compositions of 'Akam' poetry to the accompaniment of the musical instrument of 'Yal', compositions of a loving hero pining for the company of his lady love. Mathavi with a wounded heart mistakes this composition as giving expression to his love for another woman. What an atmosphere of suspicion! She sings another composition as though she is in love wtih another. Kovalan's erstwhile suspicions are aroused. Perhaps the loss of all his wealth in this life of pleasure, gives additional strength to this suspicion. He leaves Mathavi for good, though Mathavi refuses to believe that this is the final separation.

VARIPPADAL — TYPES

4.3 These songs are introduced to bring about the separation of Kovalan from Mathavi and his return to Kannagi. These songs are classified under the generic type of folk songs called Varippadal. A few of them are enumerated as follows:

> Kanal Vari, Aru Vari (song of the river), Charthu Vari, Mukhamil Vari, Nilai Vari, Mari Vari, Thinai Nilai Vari, Mayangu Thinai Vari, Sayal Vari, Vettuva Vari (songs of the hunters), Aaychiar Kuravai (songs of the shepherdesses), Corsool Vari (song of going round the town), Ammanai Vari (song of the children playing with metal balls), Kanthuga Vari (song of the ball), Vellai-p-pattu (song of husking grain).[14]

These songs are classified by Tolkappiar as Pannatti.

[14] K. V. JEGANNATHAN, *Malaiaruvi;* Intro. *Oriental Manuscripts Series 17,* p. 12.

DEFINITION OF ADIYARKKUNALLAR

4.4 Vari is the name which denotes in common a type of dance and song. Its motif is clearly of folk character. Adiyarkkunallar comments on this: "Vari describes the nature of the land where the hero is born and the occupation of the people of the land."[15] According to this definition of Vari, Kanal Vari or song of the seaside falls within the Neythal division of land. The occupation of the people of the land is fishing. These people live on the seashore. Hence the imagery is the seashore, fish, the vegetation on the seashore and the life of the fishermen. The rhythm varies, corresponding to the notes of the song of the peasants sung while they draw water to irrigate their fields, the song of the fisherwomen sung while they dance their folk dances etc.

MOTIF OF KANAL VARI

4.5 Hence the motif of Kanal Vari is the passionate sexual love of the fisherfolk. It finds expression during the absence of the love-partner on his fishing trips. The man may sing in his boat to wear away the weariness and in fear of his perilous job. The woman may sing pining for his embrace and concern for his safe return. The song will express feelings of lovers while they live alone in separation with the hope of being united. These folk motifs correspond to poems in Neythal Thinai which express thoughts and feelings of lovers who are parted by circumstances beyond their control. Such separation is common among fisherfolk, who are also boatmen and mariners.

FOLK SONGS OF FISHER FOLK

4.6 Folk songs collected from among fishermen, boatmen and other folks living near the seashore are of several types. The most common among them are 'Amba' Pattu sung by Roman Catholic Bharatha fishermen near Tuticorin, Kappal Pattu sung by all rual folks, Thone Pattu (Boat song) sung by fisherfolk living near river banks and 'Ailasa' — sung by all working peoples. The common motif in all these songs is the same — love, pining for fulfilment.

EPIC AND FOLK SONGS OF FISHER FOLK

4.7 This folk motif is adopted by the epic poet and blended with the Sangam literary tradition of Neythal Thinai with ease and felicity and transmuted into the best lyrical poetry available in Tamil epics. Even here the poet never loses sight of his vision of a great Tamil Empire. Kovalan begins his song with a reference to the ruling Cola monarch and praises river Cauvery for her patience and charity. The conquests of the Cola ruler over the territories of Ganga and Kanni (Cape) are spoken of as his marriage with two queens Ganga and Kanni. The

[15] *Silappadikaram*, editorial comment, chap. 6.

song extols the supreme patience of Cauvery, which is likened to the Cola's wedded wife. Mathavi thinks that Kovalan refers to his own life with her and speaks of Kannagi as Cauvery. Then the song goes on to describe a beautiful maiden, walking along the seashore, like a goddess descended from heaven. Seeing this woman, the hero is smitten by love. He desires her embrace to cure his love sickness. He then describes her beauty and calls her the God of death in the disguise of a woman. Her elders cast the net and caught fish that suffered pangs of death. She cast her eye on him and inflicted suffering like pangs of death. She calls upon the swan not to imitate her gait for it could never succeed in doing so.

4.8 Mathavi throughly misunderstands him. He also begins to sing in the same vein. She sings in innocent jest. She sings of her lover who had showered his love on her but had left her in sorrow. She assures her invisible lover that she could never forget his words to her assuring her of his quick return. How could he forget her eyes glowing with love as she stood bidding goodbye to him? She begs him to return soon.

4.9 Love songs of the fisherfolk are met with infrequently in anthologies of folk poetry. But we have pictures of love lorn maids standing on the seashore wondering whether her lover or husband would return alive. Such is the danger of their occupation. We have a few dirges in which women whose husbands are dead compare themselves to women on the seashore, disappointed to find that the ship they had expected to reach ashore safely had been wrecked on the perilous rocks off the shore. We have references to maidens of the fisherfolk awaiting the return of their lovers after sunset, gazing out at the sea and counting the lanterns on boats moving towards the shore. The theme of Kanal Vari as well as a few poems in Sangam literature concerning the life of fisherfolk, is drawn from folk motifs.

4.10 The imagery of the land being separated by the boundless ocean has been thought appropriate as an imagery to set in the feelings of separation of two lovers. Here the sea and Kanal Vari is not a mere imagery. It becomes the turning point of the epic. Kovalan has now to return to Kannagi and his "Manai Aram" (family ethics) the sacredness of married life. Further, the story now turns to the metamorphosis of Kannagi from 'Puhar Kandam' the gentle, patient chaste woman to the Kannagi of Madurai-k-kandam, the righteously indignant, justice-seeking revolutionary.

VETTUVA VARI

4.11 Kovalan, Kannagi and Kavunthi Adigal (the woman Jain ascetic) proceed towards the Pandya Kingdom. On the way they witness the dance of the hunters and hear the prophecy of the greatness of Kannagi spreading from Konku country to Chera country, to the whole of Tamilnad and even to the whole country.

5.1 Now we shall turn to Vettuva Vari, the second chapter of Madurai Khandam. The forms of worship that the rural folk offered to the folk deities are in the nature of (1) appeasement, or (2) thanksgiving. When they suffer, they believe that it is due to the anger of a particular god or goddess. When the whole community suffers they seek to appease the presiding deity of the community by offering worship to it. In tribal communities, this is always accompanied by dance and song.[16]

In the epic the Eyinars or Vettuvars are highway robbers. They did not thrive in their ancient profession. They had become as gentle as jains or Brahmins. Their wives and children were starving. Their chief priestess called Salini told them that they had forgotten to be thankful to the grace of the goddess Aiyai. They should celebrate a festival in her honour performing rituals to appease her.

RITUALS AND WORSHIP

5.2 How did they prepare for the celebration and rituals? They adorned a maiden of their tribe as Aiyai. They did her hair into a bob and around it wound a rope of grass in the shape of a snake. A boar's long teeth were set in the hair in the shape of a crescent moon. Tiger's teeth were slung into a chain and worn round her neck. Lion's hide was girded round her waist as a robe. They gave her a bow and set her upon a deer.

5.3 They placed before the maiden offering of cooked rice, spices and meat. Mountain lasses carried and laid before her burning incense, flower garlands and wet seeds. Men came behind them carrying drums, flutes and other musical instruments.

5.4 Now the priestess came forward, bowed before the maiden representing Aiyai and told a prophecy. I have already mentioned what it was.

DESCRIPTION OF AIYAI

5.5 In their praise of the goddess they attribute to her stories and traits of Siva and Vishnu.

> One with an eye in the forehead,
> The eyelids never move
> Pearl lipped smiles,
> One with dark neck, because he swallowed poison
> The one who churned the ocean with a mountain bound by a snake
> One who holds a trident and wears the hide of an elephant" etc.
> Amari, Kumari, Samari,
> Sooli, Neeli, the younger sister of Mal.

[16] VERRIER ELWIN, *The tribal world of Verrien Elwin.*

(You) hold the chakra and sangam in both your hands
Red eyed Mal riding on the bullock
Wear river Ganga on you hair
And occupy a part of the brow eyed one.
Take the shape of a woman praised by the Vedas.[17]

DESCRIPTION OF MARI IN FOLK LORE

5.6 This conception of Aiyai corresponds to female folk deities of the present day. Mariamman is praised in long folk songs and we glean a description of the goddess from folk songs now extant. The folk song 'Muthu Mari' refers to Mariamman,[18] as the wife of Adhi Sivan.[19] It also calls her the younger sister of Narayanan.[20] Her mount is the lion (note the difference from the Epic where it is a deer). Another folk song Mariamman Pattu, calls her Kannan Rajagopalan's younger sister.

OFFERINGS TO AIYAI

5.7 The epic describes the offerings of the Eyinars to their goddess Aiyai. They consist of the produce of the forest and forest animals. So also the folk song enumerates the offerings of the rural folk to Mariamman. Flowers are most liked by the goddess. Then they offer salt, oil, seeds of all kinds of grains, beans, black gram, cotton seed and other things depending upon their availability. The tribal folk in the western ghats offer liquor, sheep, tobacco and the produce of the mountains.[21]

FEMALE DEITIES

5.8 There is general agreement among anthropologists that worship of female deities was widely prevalent among ancient tribes. The manner of worship and ritual that form part of it are relics of an ancient form of society that is no more. But the poet throws light upon the existence of such a society in his days in his description of the Eyinars. The description is not imaginary but drawn from real life. Hence the folk motif here, is only a realistic description of a tribal society whose contact with the civilised world around them was through marauding assaults and highway robbery. We find societies in just such stage of development, except that they do not indulge in pillage in the interior mountain vastness of the western ghats. The Eyinars do not intend any harm to their guests, even today tribals do not attack any stranger without provocation.[21a] The poet excites the sympathy of the reader towards these outcastes of society, who have taken recourse to banditry to earn their livelihood.

[17] *Silapaddikaram,* Vettuva Vari.
[18] *Malaiaruvi.*
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid.
[21] *Forgotten songs of India.*
[21a] ANNAKANNU, *Melmalai Makhal.*

AAYCHIAR KURAVAI

6.1 Kovalan is slain by the soldiers of Pandian Nedunchelian. Kannagi is staying with Mathari, the shepherdess under whose care she had been left by Kavunthi Adigal. Mathari and other shepherdesses see omens which forecast evil to their community. The milk has not turned sour. The humped bullock sheds tears. The sheep do not bounce in joy. The cows tremble with heads bent low. The bells fall, the bell-cords around the necks of the cattle having been broken.

6.2 These omens are interpreted as foreboding evil. The shepherdesses decide to worship Mayavan (the dark one, Krishna) in the dance called Aaychiar Kuravai. It was a dance first perfomed by Mayavan with his sweetheart Pinnai.

6.3 Singing a song they prepare for the dance. The purpose of this dance ritual was to please Mayavan and to pray to him to protect their cattle. We have noted earlier in this essay that folk worship is always accompanied by song and dance. The theme of this dance was one of the stories of Vala Charitha.

KRISHNA IN FOLK LORE

6.4 These stories were once prevalent in Tamilnad, a few of which were later incorporated into Bagavatham. Many of them were of folk origin. Krishna was first a folk hero of the shepherds and then deified and later became the author of a philosophical discourse.[22] This course of development of Krishna from the status of folk hero to that of divinity is traced by many a scholar. The stories of Krishna were known to the people of Tamilnad. These stories picture him as a destroyer of evil and ghosts, a protector of cows and cowherds, a mischievous child pestering women folk with his innocent pranks. Of his numerous sweethearts, Nappinnai or Pinnai was known to the Sangam poets. Later poets also sing of him as a child and a lover.

KURAVAI

6.5 Seven maidens stand in a circle and begin to dance to the rhythm of a song in praise of Krishna. They sing of his valorous exploits and his love for the shepherdess Nappinnai. They long to hear the sweet music of his flute which will dispel gloom and evil. This part of the Vari can be sung and also chanted.

DEPARTURE FROM FOLK MOTIF

6.6 At this point the poet, departing from folk motif, introduces a prayer to the three kings of Tamilnad, Pandya, Cola and Chera. They are referred to as incarnations of Mayavan. Pandya is called the protector of cows and the slayer of a giant who took the form of a Kurunthu

[22] "Historicity of Krishna", *Heritage of India*, vol. I, Bhavan's Publications.
[23] "Aaychiar Kuravai" *Val Vari Valthu*, canto 17.

tree. Cola is called "the one wielding the weapon 'chakra' ". Chera is called "the one who churned the sea". The epithets and exploits attributed to these kings are those of Krishna in folk stories surviving to this day. The idea is that the kings are expected to protect them and their cattle wealth.

6.7 They conclude their song with a prayer "May the God whom we worshipped to-day protect our cattle from evil." This is a folk prayer. To this is added a prayer for victory for the king.[24]

TAMIL FOLK SONGS ON KRISHNA

6.8 Songs of this type are sung by Brahmin girls during the Kolattam festival. The songs have for their theme the exploits of the divine child Krishna. He is pictured in these songs as an enemy of evil spirits, giants and Indra, who in his anger with shepherds pours down heavy rain to destroy their cattle. Krishna holds up a mountain under which the cattle take shelter. Krishna protects shepherds from the attacks of their enemies, and their cattle from cattle stealers. His amorous escapades with shepherdesses and his pranks on the shepherds and the complaints about his mischief to his mother are a few of the themes found in these songs. On the last day of the festival a miniature image of a cow is taken around the streets in procession, followed by girls, singing songs and dancing the Kolattam dance.

6.9 This festival, dance and the cow taken in procession, suggest that it is a relic of the Aaychiar Kuravai. The girls also sing that they are shepherdesses who are pestered by the pranks of child Krishna.[25] This and other folk songs date back to ancient times. Sangam literature of the Mullai division speaks of festivals in honour of Krishna and Balaraman, the elder brother of the former. At those festivals, dances were performed and folk dramas were staged. The stories of the childhood of Krishna and Balarama are referred to in the epic as 'Vala Charitha Natakam',[26] which are a collection of folk stories and myths about the two shepherd heroes.

THUNPA MALAI — GARLAND OF SORROWS CONTEXT

7.1 Kannagi is unaware of the death of her husband. She gives expression to her anxiety in these words:

> Unable to see my lover my mind is sunk in confusion.
> My breast heaves harder than the bellows
> If my breast heaves harder than the bellows,
> What did the strangers talk, my friend?
> Shivering sickness overwhelms me at mid-day,

[24] "Aaychiar Kuravai", last 5 lines.
[25] K. V. JEGANNATHAN, *Machu Veedu.*
[26] "Aaychiar Kuravai", Intro. Rose.

My mind cries out to my lover whom I cannot see
If my mind cries out to my lover whom I cannot see
What did the world say, my friend?

7.2 The news of the death of Kovalan is broken to Kannagi all of a sudden. But she is not overwhelmed with grief. She shudders to think of her life as a lonely widow held in disgrace by the whole society. Her indignation flares up and she puts herself to question.

Shall I suffer widowhood with all its pains,
While the king has erred and the world speaks ill of him.

WIDOWHOOD

7.3 The thought of widow's life of asceticism brings despair to her mind. The widow dips herself in many holy rivers and wanders about with pain in her heart, waiting for death. Her heart is burdened with care and as she awaits death, tears drip from her eyes, day and night.

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR HER SUFFERING

7.4 Her husband had been unjustly convicted and slain at the command of the king. She desires to prove the innocence of her husband and asks the Sun God to answer her question:

"Is my husband a thief?"

The Sun God answers so that all shepherdesses might hear:

"He is not a thief. This city will be devoured by the bright flames of fire."

This chapter bears the title: "garland of sorrow", 'Thunpa Malai'.
The songs of mourning known as Oppari express the despair and grief of bereaved wives. The folk motif of Oppari finds reflection in Thunpa Malai, wherein Kannagi describes the sufferings of widows.

DIRGE IN FOLK SONG

7.5 A folk heroine laments the sudden death of her husband in a riot.

"As I stood near the tank bund
Like a song bird — Not thinking
I am a song bird.
They shot me with a bullet.
As I stood near the river bank
Like a swan
Not thinking I was a swan
They wounded my heart with an arrow."[27]

[27] *Tamilar Nattu-p-patalgal*, p. 558.

The suffering of widowhood is described by a woman who has lost her husband.

> Carrying a pot of milk
> Carrying a non-crowing cock,
> If I go to the holy river
> The brahmins bathing in the river
> Will call me a sinner and wretch.
> "Close the doors of the temple
> The sinner approaches" —
> They would say.[28]

The widow suffers for her sins in a previous birth. Even the holy waters cannot wash them off. She suffers indignity from all sides and leads a miserable life till death puts an end to it. Such themes recur frequently in Oppari (songs of lament).

DEPARTURE FROM FOLK MOTIF

7.6 But in Thunpamalai, besides the familiar theme of grief and thoughts of the sufferings of widowhood, we have Kannagi fixing the responsibility for the death of her husband on the king. While the unjust king lived and ruled without punishment for his misdeed, why should she suffer for his wrongs? This thought rouses her indignation. She seeks justice and destruction of the rule that brought this grevious wrong on her.

TRANSFORMATION OF KANNAGI

7.7 This thought transforms her into a heroine fighting for justice against the might of the Pandya rule. Again, this transformation produces the revolutionary heroine of the epic for the first and the last time in Tamil literature.

In Oppari, the heroines never revolt against fact. They succumb to it and the passion they express is despair. It is understandable because a wife was but a shadow of her husband in feudal society and when the object fell, the shadow disappeared too.

EXAMPLES FROM FOLK LORE

7.8 But we have an example of a ballad of revenge in which a courtesan killed by her lover, takes revenge upon him in her next birth. This is the story of Palayoor Neeli. This is a lone example of a woman avenging herself upon the lover who murders her treacherously. This story appears to be a very old one. The story is told in the Jain epic Neelakesi. Apart from this story in folk lore, there is the story of a woman who killed her husband when he tried to murder her. This is

[28] *Neelakesi,* Intro. A. Chakaravarthi Nainar.

the story of Kundalakesi,[29] the Buddhist epic. These are stories of revenge. (Kundalakesi is of later date.)

POINT OF DIFFERENCE

7.9 However they are stories of individual revenge. But Kannagi's desire was to end the injustice of Nedunchelian not merely by having her revenge upon him but by destroying the type of Government which bred injustice and the capital itself which allowed it to go unchecked.

> "If it is true, I am chaste,
> I shan't allow this rule to exist
> I shall destroy Madurai too."

Hence Kannagi is not merely taking revenge for her personal grievance but to prevent injustice to any individual in Tamilnad and to bring home to the rulers of Tamilnad that failure to render justice to the people will be severely punished with death and loss of the throne.

KUNRA KURAVAI

8.1 The folk motif of the dance and song of the mountain tribes is adapted with Kunrakkuravai in Vanji-Kandam. Kannagi destroys Madurai with fire and walks towards the Western ghats. She climbs up the hill Tiruchengunru and stands underneath a Vagai tree. The tribal folk inhabiting the mountains of the west, approaching her ask her who she is. She tells them the story of the destruction of Madurai. Kovalan descends and takes her to heaven. This miracle inspires the hill tribes to worship her as the goddess of the hill. They sing and dance Kunrakkuravai in her worship.

MOUNTAIN TRIBES IN THE EPIC

8.2 The epic calls the tribal people Kunravar (mountain people) and Kuravar. Their chieftains are Malainadan (the ruler of the mountains), Verpan (the ruler of the mountain slopes). The life, customs and manners of the hill tribes of the Western ghats are described in the book *Melmalaimakkal*.[30] A few of their songs of invocation, and prayer are included in the book.

IDENTIFICATION OF THE TRIBES

8.3 The different tribes of the mountain folk are in varying stages of social development. Names of some of these tribes are identical with the generic name of the mountain tribes Kunravar and their chieftain "Kunnuvar" or Mannadiar. They are at the highest stage of development of all the mountain tribes in the Madurai District. Kunnuvar is a

[29] ANNAKANNU, *Melmalai-makkal*.
[30] Ibid., chap. on Kunnuvar.

corruption of Kunravar. Mannadiar or Mannadi sounds similar to Malainadan. They bear the title of 'Malaiarasar', which is the same as Malainadan. The name Mudavans suggesting that this tribal people were oldest inhabitants of the mountain connotes the same meaning as 'Moothilar' in Sangam poetry (oldest inhabitants). The occupation of the hill tribes varies from food gathering and hunting to subsistence agriculture.

PICTURE OF THE HILL TRIBE IN SANGAM LITERATURE

8.4 The Sangam literature gives us a picture of the life of the mountain tribes in poems of Kurinchi Thinai. The *Perumpanaruppadai* and *Malai Padu Kadam,* give a picture of the life of the inhabitants of the mountains. Sangam poems abound in instances of mothers of maidens who suffer from love-sickness, inviting the tribal priests to appease the God of the mountains and to perform rituals to cure the girls of their illness. This priest is called Velan. He carries a spear and performs a dance before he prophesies the future happiness of the girl. The God of the mountain is 'Seyon' whose priest is Velan. *Tolkappiam* refers to the God of the mountain by this name. *Murugarruppadai* describes the worship of 'Ceyon' in different shrines of Murugan in the mountainous regions.

LIFE OF MODERN HILL TRIBES

8.5 Even to-day the chief God of the mountain tribes is Murugan. All the hill tribes of the Madurai District pay homage to 'Poomporainathan', an image of Murugan, installed in the temple at Pooporai or Poomkunru, ten miles to the west of Kodaikanal. This temple contains old inscriptions and was consecrated in a song of Arunagirinathar. The deity of this temple Murugan claims universal homage of all the tribes of the mountains in Madurai District.

KUNNOOTU FESTIVAL OF HILL TRIBES

8.6 They celebrate a festival called 'Kunnootu' (literally, feeding the mountains). They make offerings to the gods of the mountains invoking their blessing on the people inhabiting the mountains and sing and dance as part of the celebration. The themes of the songs express the desires of these people for a happy prosperous life and the prayers of maidens to be granted good husbands. Annakannu notes the close similarity in the themes between Kunrak-kuravai and the Kunnootupattu.[31]

KURAVAI AND KUNNUPATTU

8.7 The points of similarity between the Kuravai and the Kunnupattu may be noted briefly.

[31] Attar — a spice.

KUNNUPATTU

(1) The God to whom worship is offered is Velan. He is denoted as Velan and not by any of his other names, Murugan, Subramaniam or Kandan.
(2) The dance is performed to the rhythm of a song with the accompaniment or drums, flutes and other musical instruments.
(3) The theme is the desire of a maiden to be married to a good husband.
(4) The song closes with an invocation and prayer to bless the dancers, with wealth and prosperity.

SONG

To illustrate, I shall quote extracts from a Kunnootupattu sung by the Mannadis.

(1) Attar and Rose water
Where does it smell sweet?
On the body of Velavar
It Smells sweet.
(2) Sandal and Kumkum
Where does it smell?
On Shanmuga Velavar
It smells sweet.

The reference in these songs is to the God of the mountains, Velavar. Then follows an amorous theme. It is in the form of a dialogue between a lover and his sweetheart.

Man: Moon in Masi month,
Spotless moon
To go to Mathur·
Will you, Moon?
Woman: Not to Mathur,
I wither near the cattle fence,
What is your quarrel
With that cattle fence
I shall wither till my lover approach it.
Man: Moon at the zenith of the sky,
Unhidden Moon,
Shall we go to our hamlet,
Will you go with me, Moon?

Woman: No, not to our hamlet,
I pine alone in the hamlet
What is your quarrel
With the stone at the bounds of our hamlet.
Till my lover approaches
I shall pine away.

THE PRAYER EXPRESSING THEIR WISH

A shower of rain every month
May it rain Mannadi?[32]
For each flock slay a sheep.
A shower on our village,
May it rain Mannadi?
For each village
Slay a sheep.

CUSTOM

8.8 Annakannu mentions a custom of the Kunnavar prevalent even today, of going in a procession to a water-fall or stream to take holy bath before they arrive at the temple of Poomporainathar bringing 'Devapotti' (the holy box containing the offerings).

KUNNAVAR IN THE EPIC

8.9 Now we shall turn our attention to the Kunrakkuravai in the epic and note the similarities between it and Kunnootu Pattu.

The hill tribes take a bath in the water-falls, mountain lakes before they approach Kannagi standing under a tree.

They see her ascending to heaven with her husband.
They bring offerings of flowers, and incense.
The musical instruments they bring are mentioned:
"Thondakam, Parai and bells."

RITUALS

8.10 The song describes the water-fall in which the men and women take their holy bath. The song then turns to the amorous theme. The women pine for their lovers who had left them after a blissful union. (Compare this with the themes of the Kunnuppattu.) Then they perform the Kuravai dance. It is entirely a woman's folk dance. They praise the spear, the holy weapon held by Velan. It is the weapon that killed Sura (the giant) and other giants, and destroyed Kuruku (the giant who transformed himself into a hill to escape death at the hands of Velan).

[32] Mannadi from the context refers to Velavar.

PRAYER

8.11 Then the song proceeds to mention a Veriattu (an inspired dance of the Velan) of the Velan to cure a maiden of her love-sickness. It ridicules his ignorance of the cause for the sickness. The girls pray to the Velan to grant them their desire to be united in marriage to the lads who had captured their hearts.

> As the commons where Velan dances,
> If the son of the god of the banyan tree
> With his consort appears on the blue bird
> We shall pray to him to grant us marriage with the chieftain
> of this mountain.[33]

They then praise Kannagi and pray to her to grant their heart's desire.

PRAYER FOR THE KING

8.12 They end their song with the words:

> Thus we sing and dance.
> Witnessing this, my lover came,
> Partook happily of our feast and
> may he live long!
> May the king of the Kutavars
> who rules over Himalayas
> and Kolli mountains live long.

REMARKS

8.13 Thus the folk dance and song of an ancient tribe which still persists with certain variations, has been the model upon which the Kunrakkuravai is based. The similarities between the folk song and the Kunrakkuravai points to that conclusion.

8.14 The epic motif is introduced in the prayer to Kannagi the heroine and good wishes to Cheran Senguttuvan, the ruler of the country in which the event takes place. Otherwise the folk motif pervades the whole chapter.

8.15 Vañjikkandam is the part of the epic where Kannagi, the human heroine of Madurai-k-kandam, becomes the goddess of chastity, worshipped first by the people of the mountains and then as her fame spread far and wide, by the king of the country. Later she came to be worshipped by many other kings. Thus the pattini cult spread throughout South-east Asia.

[33] *Silappadikaram*, canto 23, stanzas 13-29.

VALTHUPPATAL

9.1 The songs of blessing or Valthuppatal have drawn upon motif and form of play songs of children. The song about Cheran is in the form called 'Ammanai', a song still sung by girls when they play at Kalangu (metallic bells). It is in the form of questions and answers. The song about Pandian is in the form of 'Kanthuka Vari', the folk form of which is Poompanthu Pattu (song of the ball). The song about Chera is in the form 'Oosal Vari' (Oonchal Pattu) the song of the swing. There are three songs in the form Vallaippattu (the Ulakkai Pattu), the same that peasant maidens sing while husking grain.

Here the epic theme of blessing to the three monarchs is integrated with folk motif and form.

FOLK STORIES AND THE EPIC

10.1 Stories which were current in folk lore are mentioned in the epic.

The stories of Devanthi in canto 9, Mangattu Parpan's description of the way to Madurai, in canto 11, the story of the exploits of thiefs narrated by the goldsmith in canto 16, the stories of the seven chaste women of Puhar in Canto 21 are all folk stories which must have been prevalent in the regions referred to in the epic. Devanthi was the wife of a god Pasanda Chathan who took human form to save a woman devotee from blame of having caused the death of her co-wife's child. He grew into manhood, and married Devanthi, revealed his real form and bade her to come and live in his temple. Such stories of gods marrying chaste women, themselves suffering for their devotees and saving them from blame or punishment are common in folk myth. The stories of Bhoothathan, Aiyappan and a few Sasthas are reminiscent of the story of Pasanda Chathan. Evil spirits devouring children or dead bodies of children and good spirits restoring these children to parents is a commonly recurring theme in folk myth. The theme of an old folk play 'Kousika Natakam' is the story of a devotee of Vishnu being saved by god from the clutches of an evil spirit who threatens to devour him, appearing in human shape and offering himself as the victim in his stead.

The description of the way to Madurai through a dangerous cavern guarded by a female spirit, who would allow men to pass only if they solved the problems set by her, is a theme common in a type of folk tales known as problem stories. Such stories are found in the jatakas and in a long folk ballad in Tamil "Tamil Ariyum Perumal Kathai".

10.2 The stories of chaste women are drawn from folk stories of the type which must have been known among people of Puhar region. The heroines of these stories are women of Vanigar community, who had to endure long separation from their husbands living abroad engaged in trade. Such stories are found in later works as *Pattinathar Puranam* and

Nagarathar Puranam both of which embody many folk stories about their community in literary form.

FOLK SONGS MENTIONED

11.1 Certain types of folk songs are mentioned by Elango in canto 10, in which he describes the scenes Kovalan and Kannagi see on their way to Madurai. They listen to the song of the peasant women sitting on the bunds of fields. He calls it 'Virunthil Pani'. Peasants sing as they drive the bullocks drawing the plough share. This is called 'Er mangalam' and the song sung while measuring grain is called 'Mukavai-p-pattu'.

FOLK DANCES

12.1 Mention is also made of two kinds of dances, Veththial and Poduviyal, the classical dance and the folk dance. Here dances of the Poduviyal type are not real folk dances, since only the professional dancers like Mathavi perform them, with elaborate make up and accompanying instruments. They are folk themes and forms transmuted into classical art. A detailed investigation into this subject is beyond the scope of this paper and must be left for the consideration of a more competent scholar well versed in music and dance.

DREAMS IN THE EPIC

13.1 Dreams forecasting evil or good fortune are introduced to arouse interest in future events or to provide an appropriate atmosphere. This is a folk motif adapted by Elango and Kamban. We have in the epic the dream of Kannagi in canto 9, 'Kana Thiram Uraitha Kathai' and the dream of Pandi Ma Devi in 'Valakkurai Kathai' — canto 20. These two dreams forecast evil. These dreams occur to women whose husbands are going to die soon. Even today our folks believe that bad dreams forebode evil.

CONCLUSIONS

14.1 We are now in a position to come to certain conclusions about the use of folk motif in *Silappadikaram.*

As I have pointed out earlier the aim of the poet as he himself expresses in the epilogue is:

(1) to portray the culture flourishing in the five divisions of Tamilnad and the two dialectical divisions of Tamil language;
(2) to formulate an integrated ethical way of life (Aram, Porul, Inpam) to the whole of the Tamil people;
(3) to express these noble ideals in forms of art such as Padal, Ezhal, Pann, Pani, Arangu, Vilakku, and (b) Vari, Kuravar and Chetham;

(4) he would portray the entire culture of the Tamils in his epic in miniature, as the reflection of a huge mountain in a hand mirror.

14.2 The poet was aware that there were two types of cultural currents in his days, the classical and the folk. He set himself to integrate the two in order that he might enrich the cultural heritage of Tamil Nad. Not merely did he portray it, but lifted them up to a higher plane by integrating the two currents of culture.

14.3 How has he achieved this aim?

(1) The epic motif of the integration of the Tamil Nad, culturally, emotionally and politically is interred with the profuse humanism of folk culture.
(2) The folk aspirations towards a simple happy life expressed in their ceremonies and folk art are looked upon with sympathy and understanding by the hero and heroine of the story. This is brought about by bringing about contacts between them and the folks as in Vettuva Vari, Aaychiar Kuravai and Kunra-k-kuravai.
(3) The simple beliefs, hopes and fears of the folk are brought into the epic in the conversations of the epic characters as in the conversation between Devanthi and Kannagi.
(4) The folk culture in its pure form is witnessed by the epic characters with sympathy and appreciation.
(5) The classical forms of art draw upon folk motifs and forms as in the Poduvial and the Varikkoothu of Madhavi. Thus folk motif and form enrich the main current of classical art.
(6) The folk motifs of folk songs are integrated with the poetic tradition of the past as Kanal Vari with Neythal Thinai.
(7) The folk gods and goddesses are identified or related to Puranic gods as in Aaychiar Kuravai or Vettuva Vari. This attempt makes for bridging folk religion with the religions of the sophisticated people.

14.5 *Silappadikaram* is the epic reflecting the first glorious movement of the cultural movement of our country. This movement aimed at the integration and enrichment of the two streams of culture. The epic has succeeded to a large extent in achieving this aim.

TREATMENT OF DREAMS IN *CILAPPATIKAARAM*

S. V. SUBRAMANIAN

Dreams have always puzzled men from time immemorial. Philosophers and thinkers have tried to understand and explain the nature of dreams. Our ancient thinkers have divided a man's state of consciousness into three stages: (1) caakkiram (alertness); (2) coppanam (dream state); (3) cuḻutti (deep sleep). Dream is a state in between alertness and deep sleep. Rokhlin also says that "dreams appear only when sleep is not sufficiently deep".[1]

The ancients considered dreams divine and their interpretation a divine art. Homer spoke of dream as a messenger of god. Socrates considered dreams to be divine admonitions that have to be obeyed.

Aristotle and Hippocrates questioned the divine nature of dreams. Aristotle in his latter writings tried to give a psycho-physiological explanation of prophetic dreams. The dream books of Artemidorus of Daldis contain many psychological hints that strike one as surprisingly modern. His work had a decisive influence on all subsequent dream literature. Kant suspected that ideas in sleep were clearer and broader than even the clearest in the waking life.

In interpreting dreams symbolic and cipher methods were followed. Symbolic method envisages the dream content as a whole and seeks to replace it by another content, which is intelligible and in certain respects analogous. Cipher method treats the dream as a kind of secret code in which every sign is translated into another sign of known meaning, according to an established key. Freud's method is psycho-analysis. He says, "I on the contrary hold that the same dream content may conceal a different meaning in the case of different persons or different conections.[2] According to Freud, 'dreams are wishfulfilments'. A Hungarian proverb cited by Ferenczi makes this very clear, 'the pig dreams of acorn, the goose of maize'. The idea of wishfulfilment is found in Sangam literature. The crow dreams of a special kind of fish (*Akam* 170: 10-12).

[1] L. ROKHLIN, *Sleep, Hypnosis, Dreams*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow.

[2] FREUD SIGMUND, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, trans. Dr. A. A. Brill, Carlton House, New York, pp. 9, 10, 11.

The chafer dreams of the rut flowing from a must elephant (*Akam* 132: 10-13). The bat dreams of the taste of the fruit of *emblic myrobalan* (நெல்லிக்காய்) (*NaRRinai* 87:1-4). The deer dreams of a kind of fragrant grass (*PatiRRuppattu*: 11:21-22). The Freudian idea is reflected in *Kalittokai* also:

> ஓர்த்த திசைக்கும் பறைபோல் நெஞ்சத்து
> வேட்டதே கண்டாய் கனு கலி. 92:21-22.

Tolkappiyar considers dream in both psychological and physiological levels (1061-6; 1143-1, 1206-5, 1216-5).

Alder saw dream as 'a tentative feeler towards the future'. For him the dream 'indicated an attempt to face an actual difficulty in the life of dreamer'.[3] Maeder rejects the Freudian concept that all dreams are wishfulfilments. He says, "we must reject the rigid formulation of the dream as a wishfulfilment, and as a mere infantile interpretation of events, and we must recognize that there are dreams (as well as other mental phenomena) in which a progressive movement of libido produces a picture of a desired end, or even an attempt to realize it. The future, too can occupy us unconsciously, just as the past." The dream is the means by which during sleep the unconscious communicates with the conscious as the organ of perception 'for the purpose of exerting' suggestive and quiet influence on the conscious ego. Maeder's conception was unreservedly accepted by C. G. Jung. He writes, 'it is a pre-combination of probabilities. The fact that it is occasionally superior to conscious pre-combination is not surprising for the dream is due to a fusion of subordinate elements. It combines all those perceptions, thoughts and feelings which have escaped consciousness because of their weak emphasis.' According to Albert Mordell, the dreams express our innermost thoughts. 'In sleep we reveal the secrets of ourselves. Wicked dreams are dreamt even by virtuous people. Since material is drawn from psychic life of our infancy and primitive ancestors.'[4] Some people are uttering words when they are dreaming (*Kali.* 24; *Perunkatai* 3:9: 150-181). They may not be clear. The language of dreams is more pictorial than linguistic.

In Tamil Literature, dreams are used as wishfulfilments or to forecast future events or as uḷḷuRai or as an omen. In ancient Sangam poems dreams are used as: (a) wishfulfilments, or (b) as uḷḷuRai, or (c) as omen:

(a) *PuRam.* 188; *AinkuRunuuRu* 234; *KuRuntokai* 30, 147; *Akam.* 39, 132, 170; *Kali,* 126, 128, 142;

[3] MEDARD BOSS, *The analysis of dreams,* trans. Arnold J. Pomerans, Rider and Company, London, 1957, pp. 40, 41, 46.

[4] ALBERT MORDELL, *The Erotic Motive in Literature,* Collier Books, New York, 1962.

(b) *Akam.* 132, 170; *Kali.* 49;
(c) *PuRam.* 41; *Akam.* 141.

Only in longer poems, dreams are used to forecast future events. Tiruvalluvar represents dream as wishfulfilment in the Chapter 'kanavu nilai uraittal' (122).

Bowra considers dream as a device for narration. He says 'dreams play a large part in starting heroic poems. They have several advantages. They are interesting in themselves and present incidents unlike those of ordinary life; they create a sense of destiny or of issues which have to be faced; they often come at important moments and decide the course which the action takes.'[5]

In longer poems the simplest kind of dream is that which gives a literal forecast of the coming events. In *Perūnkatai* the dreams of Utayanan (4:5:66-84; 5:1:76-110) and the dream of Vaacavatattai (5:1:142-155) forecast the coming events and they are also wishfulfilments. The dream of Vicaiyai in *Ciivakacintaamani* also forecasts future events (219-225). The dream of Tiricadai in *Kamparaamaayaṇam* (Cuntara kaaṇṭam-Kaaṭcippaṭalam 39-41, 50-53), the dream of Jains in *Periyapuraanam* (2535-2539), the dream of Katiija in *CiiRaappuraaṇam* (vilaatattukkaaṇṭam, Katiija Kanavu Kaaṇpaṭalam — 15, 23, 24) the dream of aaṇaran (Joseph) in *Teempaavaṇi* (Cittirakuuṭappaṭalam — 59) are those forecasting the future events. In *Manoonmaṇiiyam,* the dream of the heroine also forecasts the future event (Act I, Scene IV, 12-22). The whole story of *Manoonmaṇiiyam* is centred round the dreams of Manoonmaṇi and Purucoottaman. The dream of Maayaadevi in *Aaciya cooti* (1:5-8) also denotes the future events. To interpret dreams, people were specially engaged in king's palaces (*Perunkatai* 4:5:92-122; 5:1:111-118).

Cilappatikaaram is the first and the best epic in Tamil. The author Iḷankoovaṭikaḷ gives three reasons for writing the epic:

(1) Dharma will become the God of Death to kings who swerve from the path of righteousness,
(2) that it is natural for great men to adore a chaste lady of great fame, and
(3) that destiny will manifest itself and be fulfilled.

Though destiny is one of the three motives, it is the most important motive and is the basis for all action.

According to Bowra 'dreams give a sense of destiny'. He adds that 'when the poet has enough space at his disposal and wishes to tell a story which in his view illustrates the power of fate, he may well make use of dreams and even accumulate them to add to this effect.'

[5] C. M. Bowra, *Heroic poetry,* Macmillans, London, 1961, p. 291.

The three dreams in *Cilappatikaaram* are used to give a sense of destiny. They also give a tempo to the epic. The dreams of Kaṇṇaki and Koovalan depict their characters also. The three dreams occur at 'important moments'. The first dream occurs at the first turning point in the KanaattiRam uraitta kaatai, i.e. Koovalan and Maatavi were together for many years. They were parted by fate. At that moment the readers are anxious to know what will happen to Koovalan. The dream gives us the future of Koovalan and Kaṇṇaki. It also gives the second important moment that is the murder of Koovalan and also the final important moment the end of the king. Kaṇṇaki's dream occurs at an important moment and points out other important moments in the epic. The dreams of Koovalan and Paanṭimaateevi occur at important moments; Koovalan's dream before his death and Paantimaateevi's before the death of the Pandya king.

Kaṇṇaki dreamt thus:

> "My heart will still be pained; for I have had a dream. It was thus. We went hand in hand to a great city. There some people belonging to the city said something which was unbearably unjust. Some crime was thrown upon Koovalan. It stung me like a scorpion bite. Hearing it, I pleaded before the protecting king. The king as well as the city would witness a great calamity. I shall not say more because it was a bad dream. O lady! with close fitting bangles! if you listen to the evil deed done to me and the happy results achieved by me and my husband you will laugh."[6]

As a Hindu wife, Kaṇṇaki may like to go to Heaven with her husband. That may be her wish. Secondly, Koovalan took Maatavi to many places. Kaṇṇaki would very much like to go with Koovalan. These two wishes are seen in the phrases, "the happy results achieved by me and husband" and "we went hand in hand to a great city". Here this dream gives the wish of Kannaki. It denotes the crisis of the epic, forecasts the coming events and shows her character. She thinks only of herself and her husband. This shows her single minded love for her husband. She did not think of her dream until the death of Koovalan. When Koovalan was murdered, she remembered her dream and the dream impelled her to meet the king and to prove her husband's innocence. Ilankoo put it this way: "As she stood up, she recollected her terrible dream, and her long carp-like eyes were overflowing with tears. She stood and remembered it. Wiping away, her tears, she went to the front gate of the king's palace."

[6] V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR, *The Cilappatikaaram*, trans. Oxford University Press, 1939.

Koovalan's dream:

> "Half awake in the middle of the dark night I dreamt thus: through a low person in this city, well defended by the righteous monarch this girl with five plaits of fragrant hair suffered great agony; stripped of my robes by some stranger I mounted a horned buffalo (animal). Later in the company of this handsome lady of the charmingly curled hair, I attained the great status of those who have renounced attachment. I also saw Maatavi, yielding her daughter Maṇimeekalai to a Buddhist saint of great glory, thereby making the god of love fling his flower dart on the barren ground and sob helplessly. I anticipate some imminent trouble."

He relates his dream to Maatalan, when Kavunti and Kaṇṇaki are with him. Koovalan dreams of three persons, Kaṇṇaki, Maatavi and Manimeekalai. He thinks they belong to his family and wishes to express it in the presence of Kaṇṇaki before his death, so the author makes an opportunity to reveal his feelings through his dream. But Kaṇṇaki saw only her husband. This denotes the difference in their character. The god of love made Koovalan suffer greatly. It may be Koovalan's wish that the God of love should suffer. So in his dream Maatavi makes the God of love suffer by making her beautiful daughter a Buddhist nun.

He relates his dream in an artistic manner with epithets. This reflects his artistic nature or his love towards art.

Here the horned animal 'கோட்டுமா' has to be explained because it may denote an elephant, a pig, buffalo, deer, bull, i.e. any animal which has a horn. But 'கோடு' denotes any horn of animals or the lengthy teeth of animals like fish, pig etc. 'மா' generally denotes all animals, speccially horse, elephant and never a buffalo upto the time of *Cilappatikaaram.* 'kooṭu' denotes the tusk of an elephant or the teeth of pig or fish or the horn of a buffalo. The phrase 'kooṭṭumaa' — denotes elephant in *PuRam* 69-10 and pig in *NaRRiṇai* 75-6, and not a buffalo. Here the commentator Aṭiyaarkkunallaar gives the meaning buffalo, only then it will be acceptable to the dream interpretation of our ancient method; that is if a man dreams of riding on an elephant he achieves good things in his life. And if he dreams of riding on a pig, that will cause him some suffering through the king. And if he sees himself riding on a buffalo it denotes his death — because Yama has a buffalo as his vehicle. These things have been interpreted according to the 'cipher method'. We have a 'book on dreams'. It can be used as a key book for interpreting dreams.[7]

The third dream is the dream of the queen of the Pandya king. Her dream is: "Alas! I saw, I saw (in my dream) the sceptre fall and the

[7] PONNAVAN, *Kanaa nuul,* Chentamilppiracuram, 2, 1920.

umbrella. The bell at the palace gate shook itself and tinkled as it quaked. Alas! I also saw, I saw the eight cardinal points agitate; darkness swallowed the sun. Alas! I also saw, I saw iridescent rainbow in the night, a meteor glowing with heat fell by day alas!"

The queen sees unnatural things like meteor falling by day, the iridescent rainbow by night; darkness swallowing the sun; the agitation of the cardinal points. At the same time, she sees things which can happen rarely like the palace gate bell quivering, the sceptre and umbrella falling down. These denote danger to the king and the country. These unnatural events may be considered as bad omens.

All the three dreams are prophetic in nature. The first two dreams are about persons. The third dream is concerned with the state and the crown. The dream of Paaṇṭimmateevi has significance only at the superstitious level. The dreams of Koovalan and Kaṇṇaki actually foresee the future. Koovalan sees his own end and the renunciation of his beautiful daughter Maṇimeekalai. Kaṇṇaki not only sees the future but is also impelled by the dream to argue with the Pandya king and to burn Maturai. It provides the motive for action. It is like a divine command, the command of the unconscious to the conscious ego.

Thus dreams played a good part in the *Cilappatikaaram.* They enhance the beauty of the epic by revealing the characters of the dreamers and enforcing destiny by occurring at important moments. It gives a tempo to the epic in narration.

THE RITUALISTIC ORIGINS OF TAMIL DRAMA

K. Sivathamby

INTRODUCTION

The richness of the cultural tradition of the Tamils is expressed in the concept of Muttamiḻ, which classifies Tamil into three sections — Iyal (Literature), Isai (Music) and Nāṭakam (Drama). Scholars are of opinion that this classification, which traditionally is believed to have been there from times immemorial, is not mentioned prior to 5th century A.D.[1] But the late date of this classification should not be taken to mean that activities in each of these spheres were not there earlier.

SOURCE — THE PROBLEMS IN HANDLING THE SOURCE

Cankam literature teems with references to the dramatic activities of the Tamils. But the form in which these collections are existing, and the order in which they are referred to, do not enable us get a historial view of the development of any one institution, let alone Tamil drama.

Cankam literature is found in two anthologies — *Eṭṭuttokai* and *Pattupāṭṭu*. The *Eṭṭuttokai* poems are generally collections of single poems into anthologies and eight such anthologies form that collection. But all the anthologies do not reflect the same age. The culture depicted in *Kalittokai* is definitely of a later period. Within each anthology, the poems are not placed chronologically. *Pattuppaṭṭu* works, eulogies on chieftains and kings, reveal an advanced political, economic and social background. All the works have been written with the consciousness of a literary convention which the poet dared not overstep.

Insofar as the history of drama goes, *Pattuppāṭṭu* poems which are acknowledgedly of a later period than most of the *Eṭṭuttokai* poems, contain references to a phase in the development of drama which is definitely much anterior to the phase depicted in *Eṭṭuttokai* poems. *Patiṟṟuppaṭṭu* the eulogistic poem which often mixes fact with fiction, and *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* which mingles the Subrahmanya cult of North India with the indigenous cult of Murukan, the lord of the hilly tract,

[1] S. Vaiyapuripillai, *Ilakkiyaccintanaikal*, Pari Nilayam, Madras, 1956, pp. 162-167.

A. V. Suppiramaniaiyer, *Tamil Araicciyin Valarcci*, Amuta Nilayam, Madras, 1959, pp. 53-55.

contain references which reveal the origins of Tamil drama much better than *Naṟṟiṇai* and *Kuṟuntokai* which contain poems of a much earlier phase.

It therefore becomes essential to have a clear idea of the evolution of drama as seen in other countries and cultures before we interpret the references in Cankam literature and trace the history of Tamil drama from its origin to its early development.

ORIGINS OF DRAMA

It is generally accepted by all, that drama had its origins in the religious rituals of the primitive communities.

"It bears on the face of it the marks of its origin in magic."[2]

"Imitation, mysterious identification of the imitator with the being initated, assimilation of the individual experience into the collective experience of the group; these distinguishing features of the primitive magic dance contain in germ the essence of theatrical art."[3]

Lord Raglan, in his study of the emergence of the hero in the traditional narratives, marks out the component units of ritual drama. Ritual drama, he shows, is based on a myth, and that myth must be in a narrative form. There is personification. "The chief actor in a ritual drama pretends to be a god or hero in order that he may be able to exercise that power which that God or hero is believed to have exercised."[4]

Religious ritual, which has within itself all the characteristics of drama, is thus practised, and out of it emerges the popular drama. The transition from the stage of ritual to that of art is well explained by Jane E. Harrison in her study of the emergence of Greek Drama as a popular entertainment from rituals. "We know from tradition that in Athens ritual became art, a *dromenon* became the drama, and we have seen that the shift is symbolised and expressed by the addition of the theatre or spectator-place to the orchestra or dancing place. ... There seems, at Athens, to have been two main causes why *dromenon* passed swiftly, inevitably into the drama. They are, first, the decay of the religious faith; second, the influx from abroad of new culture and new dramatic material."[5]

With the change in the life of the people who performed these rituals, comes the change in the meaning and function of the ritual. After the change only the ritual mould remains."[6]

[2] G. THOMPSON, *Marxism and Poetry*, Peoples Publishing House, Delhi, 1954, p. 39.

[3] JULIUS BABA on "THEATRE" in the *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences.*

[4] LORD RAGLAN, *The Hero*, pt. III, Thinkers Library, London, 1949.

[5] JANE ELLEN HARRISON, *Ancient Art and Ritual*, Home University Library, London, 1951, pp. 136-138.

[6] For Origins of Drama, also see:

GEORGE THOMPSON, *Acschylus and Athens*, Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1941.

J. E. HARRISON, *Prolegomena to the study of Greek Religion*, Cambridge

AKAM, PURAM DIVISIONS IN TAMIL LITERATURE

The references in Tamil literature relating to the origins and early development of Tamil drama should be read in the light of the general principles outlined above.

In employing Cankam literature as a source for any study, we must take into count its chief characteristic, viz. the division into Akattiṉai (poetic tradition which deals with subjective experience — love and family life) and Puṟattiṉai (poetic tradition which deals with the objective experience — military exploits, raids, royal achievements etc.). Poems which deal with these themes are called Akam poems and Puṟam poems respectively. There was also the grammatical prescription — done so, after an exhaustive study of the texts — of what should form the background of the poems of each of these divisions.[7] The references relating to Tamil Drama are seen in both divisions.

RITUAL DRAMA MENTIONED IN PURAM TRADITION

Puram denotes the political organisation of the early Tamils. The further classification of the Puram activities in relation to the five ecological units (hill country, parkland adjoining forests, arable tracts, uncultivable semi-desert areas and the littoral tract) reveals to us the gradual emergence of Tamilnad from tribal units into well-knit monarchic states.

There are references to many dances in this division.

The most important of these dances is the Tuṇaṅkai. *Tivākaram,* a later day lexical work, defines Tuṇaṅkai, as "a kind of dance in which the arms bent at the elbows are made to strike against the sides". The details of this dance are given in *Patiṟṟuppattu,* a poem of the *Eṭṭuttokai* collection, dealing with the military exploits of the early Cera kings.

Tuṇaṅkai, is there described as the dance which is executed with the movement of the shoulders, on the fall of a king",[9] and the dance "that is executed, with the movement of the shoulders, in the battlefield which is heaped with corpses".[10]

The detailed description of the dance shows that it was danced by all the warriors of the victorious side, with the leader taking the prominent place.[11]

Tuṇaṅkai dance arose out of the belief in a myth. It was believed

University Press, 1922.
G. J. FRAZER, *The Golden Bough.*
E. O. JAMES, *The Beginnings of Religion,* Arrow Books, London, 1958.
W. G. SUMMER, *Folkways,* Mentor Books, New American Library of World Literature, N.Y., 1960.

[7] See Akattinai Iyal and Purattinai Iyal, *Tolkappiyam* (Porulatikaram), Kanecaiyar, Chunnakam, Ceylon, 1948.

[8] *Patirruppattu,* 13, 45, 52, 57, 77, Murray & Co., Madras, 1957.

[9] Ibid. 77.

[10] Ibid. 45.

[11] Ibid. 52.

in ancient Tamilnad that female devils ate the corpses of the dead soldiers and they danced with glee at the sight of such corpses, bending their arms at their elbows and striking against their sides, feeling immensely grateful to the one who killed those soldiers. This Tuṇaṅkai dance of the victorious leader and his men is the ritualistic imitation of the dances of the female devils.[12] It is clear from Dr. U. V. Caminata Iyer's commentary on the 26th verse of the *Puṟanāṉūṟu* that this dance was performed to appease those female devils which they thought would give them more victories.[13] There are references to such dances of the female devils in the *Puṟanāṉūṟu*.[14] These dances are also indicative of cannibalism, which arises due to the magico-religious belief "that a man who eats part of another man's body will immediately come to possess some of the qualities that belonged to him when he was still alive".[15] Variations or advanced forms of this dance are referred to in the chapter on Puṟattiṇai in *Tolkāppiyam*, and in Puṟapporuḷ Veṇbā-mālai. The dances are Muntērkkuravai, and Pintēṛkkuravai. The former is explained as that dance performed by the leader on the seat plank of the chariot, after he had won other kings and the latter as the dance of the Goddess Koṟ-ṟavai, performed after drinking the gruel prepared with the dead bodies.[16] These two dances bring out the individual heroism of the leader of the army as against the former in which the leader is one among the other soldiers. It can therefore be safely assumed that Tuṇaṅkai, which started as a cannibalistic ritual must have emerged as the ritual dance of the warrior hero performed to maintain the solidarity of the group. Such type of dances are characteristic of the "heroic age".[17]

With the coming of Vedic myths into South India (it was at a time when there was an advanced system of established monarchy at which stage an all-out effort is always made to forget the tribal past of the office of kingship) we find this ritual being used to glorify the deeds of a god. *Tirumurukaaṟṟupaṭai*, which is assigned to post-Cankam period, says that, Tuṇaṅkai was performed by the female devils in praise of Lord Subramanya, when he defeated the Avuṇar.[18]

Tuṇaṅkai at that stage becomes far removed from the world of reality and was assimilated into the Vedic mythology. With the diffusion of this once cannibalistic ritual into the Vedic myth we find its slow disappearance as a popular dance form. The assimilation takes place somewhere about A.D. 5th — 6th centuries and by that time the

[12] S. VITTIYANANTAN, *Tamilar Calpu*, Tamil Manram, Galhinna, Ceylon, 1954, p. 168.

[13] CAMINATA IYER, ed., *Purananuru*, Jothy Press, Madras, 1950.

[14] Ibid. vs. 370, 371.

[15] GARY HOGG, *Cannibalism and Human Sacrifice*, Pan Books, London, 1962, p. 19.

[16] Sutra 76, *Tolkappiyam* — Porulatikaram, Naccinarkiniyam, Kanecaiyar, ed., Chunnakam, Ceylon, 1948.

[17] JANE ELLEN HARRISON, *Ancient Art and Ritual*, p. 159.

[18] *Tirumurukarrupatai*, 46-51.

Akam and Puṟam tradition, which is characteristic only of primitive living, disappears too. The militaristic myths of the Tamils are revived only during the time of the Imperial Colas and that too only in literature. *Kalingattuparani* depicts that revival.[19]

RITUAL DRAMA MENTIONED IN THE AKAM TRADITION

The ritualistic origins of Tamil drama is well seen in the dances mentioned in the Akam tradition. Akam literature of the Cankam age refers to various dances which were enacted with piety and devotion.

VERIYATTU

The most conspicuous of all such rituals is the Veṟiyāṭṭu, the dance of the priest possessed by Murukan. The great number of references to this dance in Cankam literature reveals the importance it had in that culture.[20] "In order to appease the God, the Murukan priest or priestess is invited to offer the sacrifices of the blood of rams, roasted rice grains, and red flowers to the accompaniment of a vigorous and frenzied ritual. The priest or priestess generally entered into a trance and sang as he danced in the open space of the village common or before the temple of Murukan."[21] The contexts described in the poems indicate that Veṟiyāṭṭu was performed by the Velan to find out the ailment of the lady love whose body lost its lustre because of her anxiety regarding her lover.

This ritual has not yet lost its significance. This also arises from the myth that one falls sick when one is possessed by a spirit. In the village of Karaveddi in the Jaffna district of Ceylon, we can see even today the procedure detailed above, being adopted to cure persons of their illness. With the elevation of Murukan as a high god, Skanda, the deity worshipped is either Kāḷi or Vairavar (Skt. Bahirama) or any other village deity. The deity very often is said to reside in the trees.

The Yakum Nätima prevalent among the Sinhalese is a similar ritual. It is performed to cure diseases supposed to have been inflicted by the demons, Yakkas (Skt.-Yaksa; Pali-Yakka). The main aim of the ceremony is to drive away the evil spirit that has 'possessed' the patient.[22]

The Peykkoothu (devil dance) performed by the Pariahs of South India reveals how fervently this ritual is carried on at present. "Among them, when an individual is attacked by some malignant spirit (the spirit

[19] See my article in Tamil, "Kalingathupparani — A short note on its form and content", *Kalaimanjari*, vol. 2, Peradeniya, Ceylon, 1966.

[20] *Akananuru*, 22, 114, 242, 272, 292, 382; *Maturaikkanji*, 400-401; 613-615; *Tirumurukarrupatai*, 242; *Narrinai*, 251.

[21] XAVIER S. THANI NAYAGAM, *Aspects of Tamil Humanism*, p. 8 (Re-printed from the *Annals of Oriental Research* of the University of Madras, vol. XVII, 1960-61.).

[22] I am indebted to M. H. Gunatilaka, Lecturer in the Dept. of Sinhala, Vidyodaya University, for this information. Also see Sarathchandra, "Sinhala Folk Plays", University of Ceylon.

can be identified as some disease), the headman who officiates as priest performs a ceremony to exorcise the spirit from the victim's body."[23]

Thus we find this ritual yet meaningful. Veṟiyāṭṭu has not yet become a dramatic form. It is yet religion.

But there are certain other rituals mentioned in the Akam poems which have lost their ritualistic character.

MAGICO-ECONOMIC RITUAL DANCE OF THE FISHER FOLK

One such dance is the group ritual performed by the people of the littoral tract, when their catch is low. Commenting on the Sutra which speaks of the five different regions and the guardian deities of those regions, Naccinārkiniyar says that 'when the fisher folk found their nets did not provide sufficient reward for their toils, the fisher women assembled and danced around the horn of a shark that is planted for the purpose'.[24] This dance form is referred to as Kuravai dance. We shall soon see how this Kuravai (the ritual mould) soon becomes an entertainment form.

VATAVALLI

Tolkāppiyar refers to yet another dance which seems to have been a fertility rite.[25] The ritual referred to is Vāṭāvaḷḷi literally meaning the plant (*Convolvulus Butatis*) that will never wither away. The fact that it is a ritual dance is clearly brought out in the 370th stanza of *Perumpāṇarṟupaṭai*. It is explained as a dance in which both men and women took part. Naccinārkiniyar in his commentary states that "it had become a dance form seen only by the low and uncivilised".

Vaḷḷi is the creeper plant which is often taken to denote fertility. The name of the hill country girl whom Murukan wooed and married is also Vaḷḷi.

In view of these associations, one wonders whether this dance could have been a ritual of sexual character. Briffault in his contribution to *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences* on "Fertility Rites" says that "Sexual license is a prominent feature of agricultural festivals of seed and harvest times." The mention of the fact that it was danced by men and women and the comment that it could be witnessed only by the low ones seem to indicate the sexual licentiousness of the dance.

Whatever its character might have been, it is clear that it never become an entertainment.

[23] L. A. KRISHNAIYER and L. K. BALARATNAM, *Anthropology in India*, Bharathiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1961, p. 212.
[24] *Tolkappiyam*, Porupatikaram, Akatinai Iyal 5, Naccinarkiniyam.
[25] Ibid. Sutra 60.

TAI NEERATAL

269th poem in *Akanāṉūṟu* refers to a group dance of females performed during the last days of the month of Tai. This dance comes at the end of a month long fast observed with the aim of getting the husbands of their choice.[26]

This ritual later emerges as the Tiruppāvai and the Tiruvempāvai, and at the time of mingling with the Sanskrit cults, it was considered to be a ritual done in the honour of the Goddess Katyayam.[27]

But at that stage it becomes only a religious observance. The original dance ritual is yet retained in the Tiruvātirakkaḷi of Kerala.

This ritual which is referred to as one which was observed by girls with the motive of getting the husbands of their choice, seems to have originated as a fertility rite. Analysing the character of the festival as it is celebrated today in Kerala, Raghavan says the following:

> "As a festival Tiruvātira belongs to the class of spring festivals, the maidens welcome the spring season of Kerala in songs and dances. A well known fertility cult with the early people was the dance of the maidens, the young virgin being considered representative of the community and credited with particular magical powers. Tiruvātirakkali or the dance play of the maidens may thus well have been a fertility rite in intention and origin. The exclusively feminine character of the play also supports the idea of the fertility rite in which women are the only participants in cultures predominantly feminine as are the matriarchal societies of Kerala."[28] All these could be said of the Tai-neerāṭal too. The intention of the ritual, viz. getting the husbands of their choice, may also indicate its origin as a fertility rite.

These are some of the ritualistic dances, out of which we see the emergence of later dance forms.

FESTIVALS

A study of the festivals and the dance plays performed in those early festivals forms an essential part in the reconstruction of the history of drama. This is true of Tamil drama too.

Festivals are defined as "Collective rituals often centering round magical operations. Festivals probably spring from the early communal feast and its attendant sacrifice."[29]

[26] *Narrinai,* 26.

[27] M. RAGHAVA IYENGAR, *Araicci Tokuti,* Pari Nilayam, Madras, 1964, pp. 185-204.

[28] M. D. RAGHAVAN, *Folkplays and Dances of Kerala,* Ravivarma Archeological Society, Trichur, 1947, p. 13.

[29] CHARLES WINICK, *Dictionary of Anthropology,* Littlefield, Adam & Co., Iowa, 1958.

Briffault explains the way in which festivals give rise to entertainment forms. "Festivals originally intended to promote the activity of nature by sympathetic exertion on the part of the participants have tended to be valued for their own sake as dances, athletic contests and sports."[30]

Prof. Thompson has shown how the initiation ceremonies of early Greece led to the rise of Olympic festivals.[31]

Thus festivals become the important point of departure from ritual to entertainment.

In Cankam literature we find references to festivals which have not lost their ritualistic character and festivals which have lost their significance and were taken as occasions for social gathering. Dances were performed at both the instances.

INTIRAVILA

Of the festivals the most important was the Intira festival. Intira festival is referred to in the 62nd poem of *Ainkuṟunūṟu*. This festival later emerges as the national festival of the Tamils. *Cilappatikāram*[32] and *Māṇimēkalai*[33] testify amply to the fact that it was a festival connected with fertility rite. Intira, the Lord of Clouds, was worshipped. Both the works referred to earlier give detailed descriptions of the many dances and dramatic performances that were conducted during the festival.

ONAM FESTIVAL

Maturaikkāñci (590-596) speaks of the celebration of the festival celebrated on the Ōṇam day, the day on which Māyōn, the deity of the Mullai region, was born.

An important feature of that festival was the sham fight put on by the Maḻḻar. It must have been rituals of this type that led to the later day exhibitions of physical skill.

Ōṇam day is not celebrated in Tamilnad today. It is an important day of festivity in Kerala. Special dances are performed to mark this festivity.[34]

AGRICULTURAL FESTIVAL

336th poem in *Akanāṉūṟu* and the 364th poem in *Kuṟuntokai* refer to a dance of the agricultural region in which the hero dances with his concubine. It is well indicated in these poems that this dance was once

[30] R. BRIFFAULT, on "Festivals" in *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences.*

[31] GEORGE THOMPSON, *Aeschylus and Athens,* Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1941, pp. 112-119.

[32] *Cilapatikaram,* canto 5.

[33] *Manimekalai,* canto 1.

[34] M. D. RAGHAVAN, *Folk plays and Dances of Malabar,* p. 4.

performed by women of the courtesan class (hetæra) in which the landed proprietor also joined. But the 31st poem in *Kuruntokai,* gives the details of that dance. The dance is referred to as one in which the women embraced others. Who were these "others"? There are different interpretations. One view is that the dancing women embraced each other.[35] But Mahavidwan Raghavaiyengar takes it as the dance in which the maidens embraced their respective Mallars.[36]

The fact that it had been an agricultural festival, lends credence to Raghavaiyangar's explanation.

But the references indicate that the original agricultural significance had been forgotten.

THE TERM "TUNANKAI"

The interesting thing about these dances is that they are referred to as Tuṇaṅkai dances. Tuṇaṅkai, was the term used to denote the war dances too. This naturally raises the problem of nomenclature.

What does the term Tuṇaṅkai mean? Does it mean the physical movement involved in the dance or the content that was sought to be expressed in the dance?

Tamil Lexicon derives the word Tuṇaṅkai from 'Tuḷaṅku' meaning, "to move; to sway from side to side". Thus it becomes clear that the word refers to the physical movement. Further, the word tuḷaṅku itself may be derived from the word "tuḷḷu" — leap or jump. It will be interesting to note that the word 'tuḷḷal' denotes dance in Malayalam. In Tamil too, as *Tamil Lexicon* shows, 'tuḷḷal' refers, beside many other things to 'dance'.

Thus it could safely be assumed that Tuṇaṅkai denoted the movement peculiar to that dance and certainly not the myth or narrative which the dance aimed to communicate.

THE TERM "KURAVAI"

The same problem is seen in the case of the term of 'Kuravai' too.

Dances which have been described as Kuravai, are recorded to have been performed for both ritual and recreational purposes. As is already seen, Veṛiyāttu dances and Tai-neerāṭal dance have been referred to as Kuravai dances. But there are many Kuravai dances which were recreational and non-ritualistic in character.[37]

The definitions given to Kuravai prove that the term too meant the mode of dancing. Aṭiyārkunallār's definition of Kuravai in terms of

[35] P. V. SOMASUNDARANAR, ed., *Kuruntokai,* S.S. Publishing Works, Madras, 1955, p. 42.

[36] R. RAGHAVAIYANGAR, *Kuruntokai Vilakkam,* Annamalai University, Annamalainagar, 1958, p. 61.

[37] *Akananuru,* 20, 118, 232, 336; *Purananuru,* 24, 129; *Narrinai,* 276; *Maturaikkanji,* 96-7; *Malaipatukatam,* 320.

musical terminology shows that it was a group dance.[38]

The definition given in *Tivākaram* says that it is a choral dance. In his commentary on *Tirumurukarruppaṭi,* Naccinārkkiniyar, quotes a verse to say that Kuravai depicts love and victory. That is a vague definition. It leaves us with the only acceptable explanation that Kuravai was "a group dance performed in a circle".

The origin of the Kuravai form could be seen in the description of the ritual dance forms of South Indian tribes given by Krishna Iyer and Balaratnam.

"The ritual encircling dance is perhaps the commonest of sacred dance. The object around which it takes place is a sacred one, an idol, an altar, a sacrificial victim, a holy tree or a well."[39]

Kuravai is also an encircling dance at its ritualistic level. We find it being danced around the horn of shark and the altar of Murukan. It must have later referred to all circle formation dances.

But one important observation should be made. Kuravai is a group dance and is performed by those whose society has not lost its collectivistic character. *Cilappatikāram* will bear out the truth that Kuravai as a ritualistic dance was formed only among those communities like that of the herdsmen and the hunters, which retained their tribal form or collective character. In both the ritual and recreational forms, all the members of the community take part. It is really significant that Kuravai was not a popular dance in Marutam — the agrarian region, where through property there were class divisions. The Kuravai dances we hear of in the Marutam are the ones performed in the festivals. Even the recreational Kuravai, in Kuriñji, Mullai and Neital show group-participation.

Thus we find the dances which were originally ritualistic in character turning out to be recreational. We also note that as society developed, dancing was becoming the activity of one class of women, viz. the courtesans.

DRAMATIC PERFORMANCES

It is in that stage that we see dramatic performances being staged by a class of people called the Pāṇar and their women counterparts called the Viralis.

No study of the origins of the Tamil drama is complete without a complete knowledge of their activities.

VIRALIS

Heroic age produces bards, and in Tamilnad, during that age bardism had developed itself into an organised institution. The bard had

[38] *Cilapatikaram* (Caminata Iyer edn.), Commentary in Patikam 77-27, Kabeer Press, Madras, 1960.

[39] L. A. KRISHNA IYER and L. K. BALARATNAM, *Anthropology in India,* p. 212.

a troupe which consisted of himself and young female dancers. This female dancer was called Virali because she could exhibit the various emotions and sentiments in her dances in a very telling manner. Viralis danced to songs sung by the Pāṇars. They were such a draw in every court that there arose a form of poetry called the "guide poem of Viralis" (Viraliyārrupaṭai).[41] *Malaipaṭukaṭām*, one of the poems in the *Pattuppāṭṭu* anthology is the best example of this genre.

EMERGENCE OF "NATAKAM"

The Virali expressed in dance form what was sung by the Pāṇan (bard). Heroic ballads speak of heroic incidents. Thus the dance depicted the incidents.

In this we see the birth of Nāṭakam, which as defined by Aṭiyārkkunallār is the dance that describes a story.

But soon this entire art of 'drama' came into the hands of this class.

FEUDALISM AND THE DISPLACEMENT OF THE 'HEROIC' BARDIC TRADITION

Heroic age is only a transient age. It marks the transition from tribalism to feudalism and the transition is always fast. Heroic age leads to well defined territorial settlements, with proprietory rights and security of those rights. Militaristic exploits do not have a place in that economy. War at this stage means destruction of the means of subsistence. And it was quite natural that the bardic tradition, the finest artistic flower of that age too suffered with the change. The character and function of art changed.

In the new society they had to perform for the delectation of an audience. Cankam literature shows that many such performances were held.[42] Such ones as rope-walking too became performances of art.[43]

This era marks the fall in the social status of the artist. Along with the art, the artist too becomes a commodity and the Viralis who danced, now become concubines and hetæræ. Pāṇan, the male member of that caste group becomes the pimp.

CONCLUSION

That brings us to the end of the Cankam Period.

Collective rituals had now become artistic forms. Performance has come to be confined only to a class of people.

Post Cankam age reveals that all the dances were performed by this caste and that vedic myths have replaced the indigenous myths. Ilaṅko Aṭikal's description of Mātavi and her eleven dances shows this change.

40 *Purananuru*, 335.
41 *Tolkappiyam*, Porulatikaram 91.
42 *Por¨narārruppatai*, 1; *Akananuru*, 176; *Purananuru*, 29; *Patirruppattu*, 56.
43 *Kurinjippattu*, 42.

A MYTH — ITS DEVELOPMENT AND TREATMENT

P. R. SUBRAMANIAN

0.1 The aim of this paper is to see (i) the development of a particular myth, and (ii) for what purpose it stands in some literary works. The story of Raavana lifting Mount Kailaas on which Lord Siva was seated is a 'myth'[1] and is to be treated here. This article begins with the myth's first appearance and its development and purpose in *Naavukkaracar, Naanasampantar, Suntarar Teevaarams* (Hymns) and *Kamparaamaayanam* and a poem found in *Tantialankaaram.*[2]

0.2 In order to make the comparative study easier, the myth can conveniently be classified into four parts.

1. ACTION — (A1) the attempt of Raavana to lift the mountain and (A2) the reason for his action.
2. REACTION — (R1) the reaction of those seated above the mountain and (R2) nearby.
3. PUNISHMENT — the details of inflicting punishment, on Raavana by Lord Siva, described as (P1) a merciless act and as (P2) a merciful act.
4. BLESSING — (B1) the means adopted by Raavana to get away from his sufferings and (B2) the blessing bestowed from his sufferings and (B2) the blessing bestowed on him by the Lord. The four parts are abbreviated as A, R, P and B.

The core of the myth consists of A1 and P or B2. If A1 is taken as a cause, then P or B2 is the effect, the result of the cause. All other

[1] There have been discussions about the myth's nature and attempts to define it on the basis of its formal characteristics. "Myth is a traditional narrative in prose or in verse accepted by its adherents as literally true and its main characters are mostly not human beings whose actions are set in some other worlds" is the definition adopted for this paper. This definition closely follows the one proposed by Prof. William Bascom.

See: Bascom William, 'The Forms of Folklore: Prose Narrative', *Journal of Folklore,* vol. 78, p. 4.

[2] The following editions form the basis for reference:

(i) *Naavukkaracar Teevaaram,* Tiruppanantaal Mut Publication, 1949;
(ii) *Naanacampantar Teevaaram,* Tiruppanantaal Mut Publication, 1950;
(iii) *Suntarar Teevaram,* Tiruppanantaal Mut Publication, 1958;
(iv) *Kamparaamaayanam,* Vai Mu. Koopaalakrishnamaacaariyaar edn.
(v) *Tantialankaaram,* Saiva Siddhanta Kalakam, 1960.

details fall in the peripheral part of the story. But any one of the four parts gains prominence according to the poet's intention.

1.0 In Sangam Anthology, the first reference to the Raavana myth occurs in *Kalittokai* (38th song).[3] The myth is narrated in five lines.

1.1 The name Raavana is not mentioned. He is referred to as king of Raaksasas. He had ten heads. He stretched his hand beneath the mountain. He could neither raise the mountain nor remove his hands.

1.2 Siva who is referred to as 'the Brahmin with moistened locks of hair', who bent the bow of Himaalayas, sat on that high mountain lovingly with Umai.

1.3 The poem describes only this much. Whether Raavana reaped the harvest which he sowed is not known. The poet, Kapilar, projected one aspect of the story to suit the occasion. He compares the myth to an elephant striking its tusk against a 'veenkai' tree, from which the tusk cannot be pulled out. The action and sufferings of Raavana are brought out here as a comparison (vehicle) to the sufferings of an elephnat (tenor). Hence the purpose of the reference to the myth is to serve as a vehicle.

1.4 In other words in this poem, only A1 is described. One half of the core (A1) makes its debut impressively. The absence of the other half is to be noted. The poem gives room to make many a speculation as far as the other half is concerned. Our curiosity is slightly raised by the absence.

2.0 The myth appears again in *Naavukkaracar Teevaaram.* The myth is absent only in 62 patikams out of the 312 patikams. The total occurrence of the myth in *Appar Teevaaram* is 264.[4]

2.1 The name, Raavana is mentioned. He was also known as 'Dasamukaṉ' (he who has ten faces) and 'Dasakrivaṉ' (he who has ten necks).[5] The poet uses two terms 'tuttan' (wicked) and 'tuurttaṉ' (libertine).[6] He had a chariot. It was swan-like and known as 'putpakam'.[7] The chariot was snatched away from 'porul mannan' (Kubeera) by Raavana.[8]

2.2 He was very proud. Arrogance (tarukku) accumulated in him which made him speak hard words (kattam).[9] It is stated that the mountain blocked the way (malai maRikka).[10] There are some doubtful

[3] "Imayavil vaankiya iirncatai antanan
Umaiyamarntu uyarmalai iruntanan aake
Aiyiru talaiyin arakkar koomaan
Totippoli tatakkaiyiR kiilppukut tammalai
Etukkal cellaatu ulappavan poola
URupuli uruveeyppap putta veenkaiyai
KaRukkon tatanmutaR kuttiya matayaanai"

[4] The MaRaikkaatu and Kayilaayam patikams are devoted entirely to this myth.

[5] *Naavukkaracar Teevaaram,* verse 1; 343, p. 304.

[6] Ibid. 487; 52.

[7] Ibid. 532; 22.

[8] Ibid. 322.

[9] Ibid. 8; 31.

[10] Ibid. 395.

references regarding the one, who raised some objection. It is stated as "tatuttaaṉi taaṉ muṉintu' (he got angry with the objector), and in another as 'tatukkavum' (to obstruct).[11] In another place it is referred to as 'nalankol paakaṉai naṉRu muṉintitaa' (having frowned with the 'paakaṉ').[12] The work 'paakaṉ' stands for 'he who shares' and a charioteer. It is doubtful to confirm who objects to Raavana's attempt. Whether it is the Lord who shares His body with his Lady love or Raavana's servant — a charioteer.

2.3 The mountain was known as 'ciikayilaayam'.[13] It was so high (oonku) and big (maa).[14] It is described as an ancient one (aati) and noted for its purity (tiirttam).[15]

With a terrible noise (atira aarttu)[16] Raavana took the mountain. The verbs used here are 'etukka' (to take), 'eenta' (to life), 'uukka' (to rise), 'nerukka' (to thrust), 'nuukka' (to push), and 'taanka' (to rest it in hand).[17] It is also stated that he kicked it (kaalaal ceRRa).[18]

2.4 The poet describes the all out efforts of Raavana to lift the mountain. Raavana raised it groaning (mukki); blood drops oozed out from his veins (utiram pilka).[19] The poet mentions the task as if it needed no effort at all. Raavana lifted it as though lifting a weightless thing (pantam eṉRu etukka).[20]

The Goddess was filled with fear. She even trembled (natukku eytita).[21] Another lady, Gankai, is also mentioned to be trembling with fear.[22] The Bootaas ran here and there and the people of Heaven (vaaṉoor) also got frightened.[23]

2.5 The Lord laughed at the efforts of Raavana (nakku).[24] He never delayed to react. The punishment is described in detail. The foot or the toe is said to be used for punishing Raavana.[25] Siva pressed the mounain not even with the finger but with only the tip of the finger (viral nuti).[26]

The punishment is described in two ways by the poet, as a merciless act, describing the complete destruction and as a tender act. The total destruction can be gleaned from the following adverbs 'araikka' (to grind),

11 Ibid. 281; 355, v. 5.
12 Ibid. 248.
13 Ibid. 67.
14 Ibid. 4; 5.
15 Ibid. 270; 387.
16 Ibid. 2.
17 Ibid. 5; 4; 334; 163; 183; 200.
18 Ibid. 265.
19 Ibid. 354; v. 2; 388.
20 Ibid. 355, v. 5.
21 Ibid. 138.
22 Ibid. 146.
23 Ibid. 291; 411.
24 Ibid. 174.
25 For foot see ibid. 2; 4; 20; 35.
For finger see ibid. 26; 42; 91; 93; 120; 167; 200; 296.
26 Ibid. 272.

'nerukki' (having pushed), 'neriya' (to jam), 'neliya' (to writhe), 'pitakka' (to squeeze), and 'maala' (to die).[27] Two expressive adverbs are: (i) 'neRukkeṉRu' and (ii) 'neRu neRu ena'.[28] The merciful act is described by such verbs as 'oRRu', 'ottu' (touched) and 'uunṞu' (rested).[29] The finger rests only for a moment (iRai uunRi) and is placed so tenderly (kaniya).[30]

2.6 Siva made Raavana weep (aluvittaan).[31] Raavana now realised that there was no other way left except to beg pardon. He called the Lord: 'iRaivaa' (God!), 'emperumaaṉ' (my God) and 'kacci eekampaa' (God Eekampaa at Kaañci!).[32]

Raavana sang. The song was accompanied by a harp. The strings were nothing but the veins of his body or of the hands.[33] He sang the vedas, the Rig Veda.[34]

God was visibly moved. It was Raavana's weeping that made Siva pity.[35] The same foot which almost destroyed Raavana, now restored him 'miintaRkum mitittaar).[36] A sword, and a chariot were given to him,[37] by God who also gave him many days to live (vaaḻnaal).[38] The very name 'Raavana' was conferred.[39] He thus took Raavana as His devotee (aalaaka) and a loving person (vaaramaayiṉaṉ).[40]

3.0 Out of 385 patikams of Naanasampantar, the myth is absent in 33 patikams. The total occurrence is 352.

3.1 Three new terms are added to denote Raavana; 'nicaacaraṉ' (asuraṉ), 'nicicaran' (Raaksasa) and vikirtaṉ (man of freakish behaviour).[41] He was capable of roaming in the mid-air with his chariot (antarattil teer uurum).[42] He was treating the world.[43] He had a missile weapon and a navy of ships.[44] His life days counted as 3 crores of years (mukkooti vaaḻnaal).[45] Even though the colour of Raavana is mentioned as black, in one instance his body's colour is described as the colour of fire (kaṉal meeṉi).[46]

3.2 Raavana got down from the chariot because the mountain

[27] *Naavukkaracar Teevaram,* 54; 8; 61; 38; 341; 57.
[28] Ibid. 234; 372.
[29] Ibid. 185; 262; 170.
[30] Ibid. 170; 74.
[31] Ibid. 304.
[32] Ibid. 167; 329; 426.
[33] Ibid. 76; 279.
[34] Ibid. 45; 355, v. 10.
[35] Ibid. 65.
[36] Ibid. 350.
[37] Ibid. 233; 371 v. 6.
[38] Ibid. 45.
[39] Ibid. 328.
[40] Ibid 167.
[41] *Naanacampantar Teevaaram,* pp. 616; 87; 618.
[42] Ibid. 504.
[43] Ibid. 191.
[44] Ibid. 44; 311.
[45] Ibid. 54.
[46] Ibid. 113; 363.

blocked the way. He said: 'I will uproot the mountain in order to let the chariot go.'[47] He questioned: 'Is there a God who stays above the mountain?'[48]

3.3 The punishment is described as the work of the finer (viral pani).[50] Hence the Lord is named 'viralaan'.[51] The adverbs tell the kindest act: 'mella' (softly) and 'paiya' (slowly).[52] The poet says that Raavana pronounced the five holy letters when he was caught under the mountain (anceluttu uraikka).[53] It is found that Raavana sang the Saama Veda.[54]

3.4 In one place 'mukkoti vaalnaal'[55] has been found but it is not made out clear that it is attained from Lord Siva as a boon.

4.0 In *Suntarar Teevaaram* out of the 100 patikams, the myth occurs only in 30 poems.[56]

4.1 Raavana was in his youth[57] (like a bull — kaalai). He assumed that he had the required strength to lift the mountain (mitukku untu).[58] An ambiguous reference is made of the Lord's demon evolution in connection with this story.[59] The episode happened once upon a time (pantu).[60]

4.2 The purpose of the Saivaite Saints in employing this myth frequently in their hymns deserves our attention. A high percentage is found in the hymns of Appar (8.64%). In Sampantar the percentage is 8.44 and in Suntarar, 2.91.

The core part of the story consists only two characters, Lord Siva and Raavana. In other words there is a cause and an effect to it. Once all the occurrences of this myth are listed and studied, it is possible to say the obligatory components.

So far as the Saints are concerned, God Siva's action is a 'must'. The action may be one of punishment (P) or blessing (B). The following illustrations will stand as examples for the obligatory part of the story.

47 Ibid. 400.
48 Ibid. 466.
49 Ibid. 691.
50 Ibid. 125.
51 Ibid. 394.
52 Ibid. 70; 648.
53 Ibid. 390.
54 Ibid. 418.
55 Ibid. 154.
56 The myth found in Suntarar Hymns is collected and presented in *The Religion and Philosophy of Teevaaram* by Prof. Dorai Rangaswamy. See Book I, Madras University Publication, 1958, pp. 296-303. He has not given the total occurrences of the myth.
57 *Suntarar Teevaaram*, v. 9, p. 49.
58 Ibid. 230, v. 10.
59 Ibid. 227, v. 9.
60 Ibid. 156, v. 8.

Naavukkaracar:[61]

P — 'ilankaiyarkoon ciram neritta iRaivaa'

B2 — 'arakkanukku arulum vaittaar'

Naanasampantar:[62]

P — 'arakaan olka viralaal atarttaar'

B2 — 'vaalarakkaRkum arulinaay'

Suntarar:[63]

P — 'viralaal atarttaan val arakkanaiyum'

B2 — 'iraavananukkum arul purintaar

4.3 One may infer from these references that the motive of the Saints was to praise the God. A mighty rebel cannot stand before the Almighty. They emphasise two points. One is to say that he who rebels against God will certainly meet the consequences. Secondly, even the rebel can attain or obtain the Grace of God if only he confesses. Whatever may be the additions and accretions, they are all directed towards this end.

4.4 More details have been introduced in A, P and B. (Additions are less in R.) But emphasis is given to P and B2. As we have already seen, they are the obligatory elements of the myth in *Teevaaram*. They dominate the scene while the rest are subservient to them. The purpose of the myth is predictable because of the dominance of P and B2. The second half of the core, which is left to our guess in Sangam poems, is overemphasized in *Teevaaram* hymns. All the rest is unexplored.

Beside the obligatory elements, if A1 is described, then, the presence of P or B2 is unavoidable. If we make the following inference we do not go astray. If P1 is described the emphasis is on that the obstructor should bear God's punishment. If P2 is scored, the emphasis is on God's grace and his forgiveness to those who confessed.

In short the myth is Siva-centred. It serves well as a convex lense.

5.0 Without deviating from the purpose, Naavukkaracar was the first to see the episode in a different angle. In the 10th song of *Tirumaraikkaatu patikam*, he says that Umai sulked because Lord Siva had placed Gankai, another woman in his lock of hair. At that time Raavana came and tried to uproot the mountain.[64] From this poem it is not clear whether the Goddess has given up her quarrel and Raavana's act contributed anything towards that quarrel. Umai's sulking and Raavana's action are described but both of them are not connected with each other. The poem ends with God's blessing to Raavana. The purpose is not abandoned, whatever may be the description.

[61] *Naavukkaracar Teevaaram*, 92, p. 316.

[62] *Naanacampantar Teevaaram*, 534, p. 48.

[63] *Suntarar Teevaaram*, 39, p. 97.

[64] *Naavukkaracar Teevaaram*, p. 355:
"kankainiir cataiyul vaikkak kaantalum mankai uutat tenkaiyyan teerkataavic cenRetut taan malaiyai munkaimaa narampu vetti munnirukku icaikal paata ankaivaal arulinaan . . ."

5.1 Saint Suntarar, pursuing the same angle elaborated a little more.[65] It is said that Raavana came as if it was already planned so (coRpaataay vantu), when the lady's boudoir has not yet been given up. In this poem, too both the facts are not correlated. The purpose, God's blessing to Raavana, a reference point to the Saints, is present.

5.2 A song from *Tantialankaaram* is to be seen in this connection.[66] It is given as a citation for 'camaakita ani'. It means that one has tried to bring out the benefit of an action but that benefit has resulted from an unexpected quarter. When the mountain with a waterfall was shaken up by the arakkaṉ, the daughter of the king of the mountain suddenly embraced Lord Siva forgetting all her boudoir. The myth serves as a tool in order to achieve a result.

5.3 In the poem cited in *Tantialankaaram* the focus is at R1. A1 is present. A legitimate expectation of P or B is not fulfilled. This absence makes the result unpredictable. A1 is directed to achieve a different result. In the Saint's verses A1 is directed not to R1 but to the expected B2. Expectation, proved right forever, gives lesser stimulation.

6.0 In Kampan's epic the myth is employed in eighteen places. (The occurrences are not exhausted here.)

6.1 It is now explicitly stated that Siva's Bull (nanti) raised an objection against the act of Raavana. In addition to that, the Bull cursed Raavana.[67]

6.2 The myth is referred to as an achievement of Raavana. It is seen in two instances that Raavana himself enjoyed a legitimate pride of his act. When he spoke to Maariicaṉ, he simply ignored the advice and said: "will my shoulders, with which I fought and took the Kailaas, give way to the men?"[68] In another instance, he paid no attention to the advice of Vibishana, and set it aside by saying that he had no boons when he was taking Mount Kailaas.[69]

Other characters, while addressing Raavana, made reference to this myth. Intirajit, son of Raavana, addressed his father as a victorious person having won the Kailaas and the three worlds.[70] Tunmukaṉ and

[65] *Suntarar Teevaaram*, p. 136;
"tuucutaiya akalalkul tuumoliyaal uutal
tolaiyaata kaalattoor coRpaataay vantu
teecutaiya ilankaiyarkoon varai etukka atarttut
tippiya kiitam paatat teerootu vaal kotuttiir"

[66] *Tantialankaaram*, p. 153;
"aruviyam kunRam arakkan peyarppa
veruviya veRparaiyan paavai — perumaan
aniyaakam aarat taluvinaal taan mun
taniyaate uutal tanintu"

[67] *Kamparaamaayanam*, canto VI, v. 92.

[68] . . . kayilai VeRpoor
ankaiyin etutta enatu aantolil manittool
inkoor mani taRKu eliya enRanai, ibid. canto III, v. 747.

[69] Ibid. canto VI, v. 114.

[70] Ibid. canto V, v. 994.

Makootaran addressed Raavana as one who had won the Kailaas.[71] Mantootari, wife of Raavana, when lamenting the death of her husband remembered the remarkable achievement: "vellerukkañ catai mutiyaan veRpu etutta tirumeeni".[72] (It is this dead body which once lifted the mountain of the Lord, who has 'erukku' in his lock of hair.)

The relatives of Raavana are identified on the basis of this myth. 'Is she the sister of our master who took the mountain, Kailaas, in his hand',[73] was the gossip of the ladies when they saw Cuurppanakai. Intirajit attributed the episode to Vibishana.[74] Vibishana told Raama about Atikaayan, son of Raavana, that he was brought up by his father to uproot the North Meeru. Because his father once lifted the Kailaas.[75]

6.3.0 The wives of the 'vaanoor' (people of heaven) embraced their husbands, when they heard the cracking sound of the Makeentara mountain. Each one of them resembled the Goddess who embraced Siva, when Raavana was the menace.[76]

The mountain is described as if it was rolled over by the arakkan.[77] In another place, the mountain is brought out to serve as a comparison. Hanuman's air flight is compared to the mountain which flies without Siva, the poet assumes, to crush Raavana as if it was not satisfied with the earlier performance.[78]

6.3.1 The myth is employed in the epic to give honour and credit to Raavana. All the characters, those who side with Raavana and the critics of him, never thought that it was an act against God. Nor did they remember the defeat. Raavana was to be estimated by such valour not by the result. To serve this purpose, to honour Raavana, the poet chooses other characters, often including Raavana's critic. To them, Raavana set up a record of accomplished chivalry.

6.4 In all the occurrences of the myth, the word arakkan is repeated only thrice. In similar occurrences, the word is repeated 7 times in Appar, 12 times in Sampantar and 13 times in Suntarar. The restricted use of the word in *Raamaayana* signified the status of Raavana (A1). R, P and B are conspicuously absent. That shapes the myth and its purpose. If in *Teevaaram*, the emphasis is on P or B, here A1 is at focus. P and B are minimized but A1 is magnified. Hence Raavana attained a magnitude and an imposing personality.

Again the emphasis fell on varied parts of the story. Not losing the thread of thought the poet thinks and renews the story. The reaction

[71] *Kamparaamaayanam*, canto VI, v. 44.
[72] Ibid. canto VI, v. 3906.
[73] Ibid. canto III, v. 602.
[74] Ibid. canto VI, v. 3057.
[75] Ibid. canto VI, v. 1734.
[76] Ibid. canto V, v. 12.
[77] Ibid. canto IV, v. 925.
[78] Ibid. canto V, v. 26.

of Umai which can be traced back to *Teevaaram* stands not as a vehicle but a tenor to which another comparison is brought in.

Another source utilized by the poet is from A1. Not the actor but the object is being utilized. That Raavana troubled the mountain, is the conventional description. The poet reversed the order. The reverse action is described already (in 6.3).

The myth never follows the beaten path. "The totally familiar and repetitive pattern is boring: the totally novel form will be unintelligible — is indeed unthinkable. . . . a sum of aesthetic devices at hand, available to the writer and already intelligible to the reader. The good writer partly conforms . . . partly stretches it." The above passage quoted from *Theory of Literature* suits well here.[79]

7.0 The myth serves as a simile in the Sankam poetry, as a victory to Siva or a defeat to the rebel in *Teevaaram* and an achievement to Raavana in *Raamaayanam.* The saints had only one aim: to praise Lord Siva. Hence they treated the episode as a religious myth in *Raamaayanam.* To the epic poet it is a literary source, a store house full of materials to be utilized for any occasion.

7.1 Effectiveness, not truth is the criterion to be applied to myth. "Myth, a kind of truth, not a competitor to historic or scientific truth."[80] Addition and accretion, in development and in treatment, is the pulsation of a myth.

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[79] WELLEK and WARREN, *Theory of Literature,* London, p. 245.
[80] Ibid. p. 195.

NOTE:
The myth occurs in the last verse of every patikam of Naavukkaracar and in the 8th verse of every patikam of Sampantar. Only those verses which are found as deviations are given here. There is no such regular feature in *Suntarar Teevaaram.*

THE LEGENDARY STRUCTURE OF *PERIAPURANAM*

V. VEERASAMY

0.1 This paper attempts to study the structure of a Tamil legend, *Periapuranam*,[1] consisting of the marvellous lives of the Saivaite Saints. In essence, the legendary stories are highly structured. The emphasis in this paper is upon the individual stories and then on the whole legend. It is the individual stories which have been subjected to the morphological analysis rather than the individual Saints. After examining the following two stories with great care, it is very easy to discern the structural pattern in them.

STORY ONE

The Saint Ilayankuti Mara Nayanar gave food to the Saivaite Servants. Lord Siva wanted to test him. Due to poverty, the Saint and his wife suffered. On a rainy night Lord Siva in disguise, came to the Saint's house. Having no food in his house, the Saint went out to collect the seeds in his field. After undergoing many difficulties he prepared food for his guest. Then he reached the feet of Lord Siva.

STORY TWO

The Saint Athipatthar offered a fish to Lord Siva everyday. Lord Siva wanted to test him. No fish was available in the sea. All his relatives and himself suffered. One day he got a golden fish with many colours. He offered that too to Lord Siva. Then he reached the feet of Lord Siva.

0.2 In these stories, the persons/Saint Ilayankuti Mara Nayanar and Saint Athipatthar/ and the materials/food and fish/, time/night and day/, and place/earth and sea/ are different. But the Saint's function, i.e. offering, is the stable, constant element in them, independent of who

[1] *Periapuranam* is a Tamil legend consisting of the biographies of the sixty-three Saivaite Saints and 9 galaxies of Saints written by St. Sekkilar in the 11th century. It consists of two Kantas with 13 Carukkams. According to the famous commentator C. K. Subramania Mudaliar, the total number of songs of this legend is 4281.

performs it and how it is fulfilled by them. After studying all the functions as the units of the plot and the narrative structures in *Periapuranam*, the sequence of the functions are fixed.[2]

0.3 In the biographies of some individual Saints, only single functions are available. On the contrary in one biography a sequence of 18 functions are available like a string. This kind of over-differentiation and under-differentiation must be taken into consideration.

1.1 One structural type of *Periapuranam* consists of only one function: In the Sataiya Nayanar Puranam, Saint Sataiya brought forth Saint Arurar into the earth. The same function is also available in the Isaignani Puranam. There are not many biographies which consist of only one function. It is a MONO-TYPE.

1.2 Another common function sequence is one with the following two functions: Action (A) and Result (R). Reaching the feet of Lord Siva is the Result (R). The Action (A) differs according to the particular Servants. A couple of examples may enlighten the nature of this type. King Koccenkannan built many temples for Lord Siva (A). In the end, he reached the feet of Lord Siva (R). Kurruva Nayanar wore the feet of Lord Siva on his head instead of a crown (A). He reached the feet of Lord Siva (R). This is a SIMPLE TYPE. The Result (R) of a biography, with negligible exceptional cases, is a common structure available throughout the legend *Periapuranam*.

1.3 A detailed study of the functions available in this legend reveals that Action may be blocked up with various kinds of Obstructions (O). Saint Ilayankuti Mara Nayanar offered food to the Servants (A). Poverty obstructed him in doing his duty (O). Saint Athipattar offered a fish to Lord Siva everyday (A). Non-availability of fish (O), in the sea came in the way of his daily offering. Saint Apputhi made all sorts of preparations to serve food to Saint Appar (A). While cutting a plantain leaf, his first son was bitten by a cobra (O). No more examples are now necessary since this particular aspect will be analysed later in detail, while discussing Lord Siva's tests. The Obstructions came in many ways but there were Solutions (S) handled by the Saints themselves or by other persons. Solution (S) occurs next to the Obstruction (O). Saint Ilayankuti Mara Nayanar overcame his poverty (O) by collecting seeds and preparing food for a Servant who came on a rainy night (S). The death of Saint Apputhi's son (O) was known to Saint Appar through some unknown feelings (S). Then, the Result (R) follows the Solution (S) and the type consists of Action (A), Obstruction (O), Solution (S) and Result (R). It is a COMPLEX TYPE.

[2] VLADIMIR PROPP, 1958, *Morphology of the Folklore*. Indiana University Research Center in Anthropology, Folklore & Linguistics Publication, 10 Pike, Kenneth, L. 1954-60, *Language in Relation to a unified theory of the structure of human behaviour*, 3 pts. Glendale, Summer Institute of Linguistics Allan Dundes-Structural typology in North America Indian Folktales, *South Western Journal of Anthropology*, vol. 19, 1963, pp. 121-130.

1.4 With the aid of these three types of structural analysis of the great biographies of the three great Saivaite Saints, Saint Appar, Saint Thirugnanasambandar and Saint Arurar who sang the famous Saivaite devotional songs, *Thevaram*, our analysis becomes very easy and promising. Only four major functions, viz. Selection (Se), Punishment (P), Grace (G) and Miracle (M) are available in them. Lord Siva selected the three great Saints by making use of colic, milk and a palm leaf document (Se). The Jains attempted to punish Saint Appar in many ways but failed. Lord Siva punished Saint Appar and Saint Arurar (P). His Grace gave gold, paddy, food and water when his Servants were in need (G). The last function, Miracle (M) can be supported by innumerable examples. Saint Appar opened the doors of the temple in Thirumaraikkatu. They were closed by Saint Sambandar. Like Saint Appar, Saint Sambandar also restored the life of a dead businessman and also that of a lady. When the lady was brought back to life, her body showed the growth of the period during which she was dead and in the urn. In the same way, Saint Arurar brought back the child swallowed by a crocodile (M).

1.5 In general, the three types can be described as follows:

	ACTION	OBSTRUCTION	SOLUTION	RESULT
Mono-type	X	—	—	—
Simple type	X	—	—	X
Complex type	X	X	X	X

2.1 Out of many Functions, only the Function Obstruction, with a special reference to Lord Siva's test, has been taken here for a detailed study. In order to test His Servants, Lord Siva bestows (Ia) or demands (Ib) certain unknown things. In the course of testing, He Himself suffers (IIa) or makes the Saints suffer (IIb). His methods are either quick (IIIa) or slow (IIIb), concealing (IVa) or revealing (IVb), creative (Va) or destructive (Vb).

2.2 He bestows inferior gold on His superior Servants (Ia). His demands are night food in rainy season, bride's lock, food with child's flesh and another man's wife (Ib). He suffered himself by shedding blood from His own eyes (IIa). When He makes others suffer He commands the rain to pour and to keep all His clothes wet in order to make a washerman not fulfil his promise. He uses the colic disease to convert strong minds. Even for a little mistake, He makes a great Saint blind (IIb). He makes speedy arrangements to take back Saint Arurar on the White Elephant and does not allow him even to say goodbye to his bosom friend Saint Ceraman (IIIa). His actions are at times very slow. Only at the very end of Saint Appar's patikam He opens the doors of the temple in Tirumaraikkatu. In the same way, He delays to bring back the

gold put in the river Manimutharu at Muthukunru in the tank of Thiruvarur. He delays in allowing Saint Ceraman hear the sound of His anklet at the end of his daily worship (IIIb). He conceals even little things like loin cloth or costly things like gold (IVa). At one instance, He appears before Saint Appar as if he is very near but slowly he disappears into a temple (IVb). He sends celestial ladies by His creative powers to dance and attract the great minds. He makes diamonds and various kinds of costly stones appear when His Servant begins to dig and clean the surrounds of His temple at Thiruppukalur (Va). He destroys the whole ceremonies of a marriage and sometimes makes people poor (Vb).

2.3 So His operations can be viewed with the help of this statement given below as:

	TYPES				
	I	II	III	IV	V
Operation a	1	3	2	1	1
Operation b	5	3	2	4	3

Even though Lord Siva is represented by tradition as the God of destruction. He conducted only very few tests of destruction.

3.1 Out of His twenty-five test operations, two techniques are found to be repeated. At first, the colic disease which was used to convert Dharmasenar, a Jain into a Saivaite, acts perfectly well. The same technique was adopted once again in the case of Saint Eyarkon Kalikkaman for his acute dislike of Saint Arurar, for his disgraceful act of sending Lord Siva at midnight to pacify his wife Paravai. But the suicide of Eyarkon showed this technique useless. Making His Servants poor is the most repeated technique of Lord Siva. This test was conducted upon Saint Kaliyar, a rich oil-monger and Saint Illayankuti Mara Nayanar, a wealthy peasant. Even though Saint Kunkuliyakkalay Nayanar's case, comes under this branch, a slight modification is observed in the course of its operation.

3.2 After looking at this deviation, one would like to ask whether Siva's tests and their techniques have any partial adjustment in their operations. Out of 63 individual Saints and 9 galaxies of Saints in *Periapuranam,* Lord Siva conducted tests only upon the individual Saints; even among them, six Saints of unknown castes, did not undergo any test.

Tests conducted according to castes were:

CASTE	TOTAL NO. OF SAINTS	NO. OF SAINTS TESTED	NO. OF TESTS CONDUCTED
Brahmins	16	3	9
Kings	11	1	2
Businessmen	5	2	2
Vellalas	13	5	8
Others	12	6	6

3.3 If we take the number of persons undergoing tests, the caste of kings is the lowest.

3.4 If the number of tests is considered we find that Lord Siva conducted more tests upon the Brahmin servants who were the superior caste. Next to the Brahmins, come the Vellala and other castes belonging to the lower strata. The kings and the businessmen are in the second and third order respectively. They have undergone equal number of tests. With the help of four different sections available in *Purananuru* (Song 183) and Manu's system someone may like to combine both the Vellala and the other castes into one group. Then the lower caste faces the maximum number of tests. It is easier to come to the conclusion that Lord Siva tested His servants according to the hierarchy of the caste system. The kings and the businessmen had two tests each. Asking questions, and delaying the hearing of the sound of the anklet, were the two tests for the kings. In the case of the businessmen, Saint Amarnithi had to give all his properties and his whole family for the weight of a small loin cloth. Lord Siva asked for Saint Iyarpakai's wife. These two tests may be equal in number but nobody will agree to its plenitude. But these tests were faced by two different persons but, in the case of kings, it was not so. The two tests fell upon a single king. So numerical comparisons of caste will not help us to have a clear idea about Lord Siva's tests.

3.5 The vigour of the test may come next. The colic disease acts upon two Vellalas. It was effective only upon one Vellala. On the other hand Saint Arurar, a Brahmin, also suffered from a dangerous disease. A hunter plucked off his left eye and began to pluck the other one voluntarily. But Lord Siva himself made a Brahmin Servant lose his complete eyesight and suffer many days together. Here too, the caste difference did not show any partiality in Lord Siva's tests.

3.6 A close observation of all His tests shows that only light measures were adopted upon the kings. Out of eleven kings only one was tested and that too with light methods. If casteism had dominated in the period of *Periapuranam* light tests would have been used on the Brahmin Servants. But that is not the case. The domination of priesthood

had given way to the throne and sceptre. This shows that the ruling class dominated the priestly class.

4.1 By this kind of analysis, it is also possible to typologize other Tamil legends. A comparative structural study will widen the outlook of a reader in acquiring literary knowledge. Further attempt can be made to find out a common legendary structure in world legends.

THE PARANI POETRY

T. P. MEENAKSHISUNDARAM

1.0 THE BACKGROUND
1.1 PSYCHOLOGY

1.11 POPULARIZING WAR

Parani is a war poem. War and the deaths on the battle field are not pleasant memories even when the havoc is caused by righteous war. But war becomes a necessity when it is forced on others. In those times, one has to become familiarized with the various aspects of warfare without feeling any shudder but often-times feeling a kind of relish for the gruesome realities of war. Thus the war has to be softened for this purpose, through euphemism and other such devices. This is usually done by comparing the deadly activities of war with the interesting and life giving activities of ordinary life in a society, often with a series of activities which everyone loves most. The various activities of war in the past were compared and explained in terms of the activities of agriculture and those which follow thereafter, viz. the feasts. This fact was well known to Tamil poets even in the Cankam age where they tried to familiarize as a feast,[1] this idea of war. Only this feast was for the *pey*, a word which can be translated as ghost, for want of a better one. There is also a reverse process which occurs when ordinary activities of life are compared or named after the activities of war. The ordinary process of agriculture came early to be compared with those of a battle.[2] *Kalam* meant both the battle field and the thrashing floor amidst the paddy fields. The poets sang of *erkkalam* "the plough field" and *porkkalam* "the battle field".[3]

1.12 ITS PSYCHOLOGY

Professor Sperber[4] has put forward a psychological theory of attraction and expansion which may explain the two above mentioned methods.

[1] *Purananuru*, v. 369, S. Rajam, Murray & Co., Madras.
[2] TOLKAPPIYAR, *Tolkappiyam*, sutra 1022, TSISSWPS, Madras.
[3] *Purananuru*, vs. 369, 372, see 1.
[4] SPERBER, *Einfuhrung in die Bedeutungslehre*, chaps. 4-10, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1930.

If one feels strongly about certain subjects like war, one finds a natural outlet to that strong emotion through one's talks about it. One of the tendencies according to him is illustrated by the principle of expansion which works as it were by pressure. Here the centre of emotion makes the words pertaining to it be transferred to other spheres. As a result, he points out, during the first world war, women with many children were called machine guns. The other tendency is due to the principle of attraction which works, so to say, by magnetism, where the central field of emotion requires help from outside. For this, he gives the example, where during that war the machine gun came to mean a coffee powdering contrivance and the sewing machine.

1.2 GHOSTS

1.21 THE GHOSTS

The battle field is strewn with the corpses of warriors and the carcasses of elephants and horses. The birds of prey like the eagle and vulture, kite and crow, feed on them. But there are also invisible forces of nature bringing out chemical reactions which ultimately reduce these dead bodies to dust. The danger of infection thus disappears. Man often wonders at this great transformation slowly but steadily worked out by nature. Primitive man sometimes wonders, sometimes is terrified by this. He then attributes this to the pey or ghosts. The ghosts are those who are stated to have died before their appointed time and who therefore roam about unknown to others, creating, according to that kind of belief, trouble to all living beings coming in their way. There are various kinds of ghosts depending upon the lives led by them before they become one. They are evil beings and therefore their terrific rendezvous was considered to be the graveyard or the burning ghat. When the conception of *Kali* and *Siva* dancing on the burning ghat developed, these became the followers of *Kali.* There were other kinds of supernatural beings like *bhuta*s and *Dakini*s who entered this mythology of *Kali* and *Siva.* In the metaphorical language of *Saivism,* the ghost became the *bhakta*s and *saints* dancing with *Siva.* Karaikkal Ammaiyar, it may be remembered, called herself *'pey'.*[5]

1.22 GHOSTS IN CANKAM PERIOD

Poets even when describing devils try to humanize them. The metaphorical language of the *tantra*s strengthens this tendency. In the Cankam age itself, the ghosts sometimes out of their liking for snatching away as a potential feast a dying warrior and sometimes because of their love for the warrior, carefully watch over him, preventing others coming

[5] Karai-k-kal Ammaiyar, Tiruvalankattu muttu tiru-p-patikam, -11, Arputa-t-tiru-v-antati, vs. 101, Tiru-p-panantal Mutt, Srivaikuntam, 7.2.1963.

near him, at a time when the form of the warrior resulting from battle is so horrible and heart rending that even his wife shudders at coming near him (anci-k-kanci).[6] There were also the grateful ghosts dancing all round the warrior for the rich feasts supplied to them by his massacre on the battle field (munterkkuravai and pinterkkuravai).[7]

1.23 IN THE PERIOD OF BHAKTI

The great saint *Karaikkal Ammaiyar* who as already mentioned called herself a *pey*, made the ghosts on this burning ghat where the Lord dances, so full of motherly love to their young[8] ones and also full of humorous situations emphasizing their ignorance of this work-a-day world whilst they are engaged in their other worldly spiritual activities around *Kali* and *Siva*.[9]

1.3 THE RISE OF PARANI

1.31 THE COLA WARS

With all these developments before them the poets of the eleventh century came to sing the glories of the great *Cola* emperors, like *Rajendra* and his sons leading their army to the shores of the distant Ganges and their navy to the shores of the Eastern Seas. It was an age of glorious victories won by the *Cola* emperors on the battle fields and the soldiers who came back and told the people of the heroic feats of the Tamil warriors. Some of the people near the scene of war must have witnessed them. There was the great battle of *koppam*[10] and *kutal cankamam*[11] against the *Chalukya*s and there was the defeat of the *Kalinga* King at the hands of *Karunakaran* the Chieftain of *Kulottunka*[12] and later at the hands of *Kulottunka*'s prince *Vikrama*.[13] It was a period of glorious victories and naturally war meant something attractive to Tamilian nationalism. But one cannot forget the fact that these activities of war have to be softened, and thus made interesting so as to appeal to the hearts of the people. It is thus that the war poetry called *parani* came into popularity in that century. Perhaps for a century from 1025 to 1125 the *parani*s held the field. But there is only one of them *Kalinkatup-parani* by *Cayankontar* which is surviving and this is considered to be the best. (Murray edition is here followed.)

[6] TOLKAPPIYAR, *Tolkappiyam*, sutra 1025, see 2.
[7] Ibid., sutra 1025, see 2.
[8] Karai-k-kal Ammaiyar, Tiruvalankattu mutta tiru-p-patikam 1-5, see 5.
[9] Ibid. 10, 11.
[10] T. V. Sadasiva-p-Pandarathar, *History of later Colas*, pt. I, pp. 208/210, Annamalai University.
[11] Ibid. pp. 233, 234, see 10.
[12] Ibid. pt. II, p. 58, see 10.
[13] Ibid. p. 28, see 10.

2. KALINKATTU-P-PARANI

2.1 INTRODUCTION

There is an attempt in this kind of poetry for making the horrible and the ugly the theme of poetry which is ordinarily expected to emphasize and sing the beauties of life. A brief survey of this surviving work may reveal the literary theory of these *parani*s getting itself crystallized within the background of the history and tradition already described.

2.2 THE OPENING

2.21 KATAVUL VALTTU "INVOCATION TO DEITIES"

There is first of all in this work the invocation to the deities, but in the invocations it is the emperor who is almost deified by the implied comparison with the deities. In that way his war-like activities are removed far away, from the ordinary work-a-day world of ours to the mysterious world of *deva*s with its peculiar moral values which is thereby suggested and which cannot be known to us in its entirety. Gods, as great forces of good, fight against evil forces for the good of us all. The subtle suggestion is that battles which the Emperor fights are of this kind.

2.22 KATAI TIRAPPU "OPENING OF THE DOORS"

In those days the women from foreign lands including the members of their royal families were brought to the Tamil land and placed in what was called *velam*[14] "the house of love". These women became the lovers of warriors and kings and it is to these that the poet sings this *parani,* announcing the victorious return of their lovers and requesting them to open their doors. Our poet's description here is full of humour. Perhaps there is also a satirical hint at these foreign women who have forgotten their own kingdoms and erstwhile love at the embrace of the warriors of the Tamil land, so as to always dream of their games of love with their sweethearts of Tamil land — a subtle hint at the topsy-turveydom brought about by war. Here again we see the glories of the King and his heroes making possible this kind of happiness even to the erstwhile citizens of foreign lands.

2.3 KALI

2.31 KATU PATIYATY

The third chapter in the poem gives us the description of the desert or forest in which rises the temple of *Kali.* Exaggerations have to be expected but these exaggerations about the divine desert of the all powerful *Kali* is so natural that it has got the effect of familiarizing us with

[14] Cayankontar, *kalinka-t-tu-p-parani,* kataiirappu, v. 20, see 1.

exaggerations of the deeds of the King already deified and also the deeds of his warriors, to such a great extent, that we take them all as something natural in that atmosphere.

2.32 KOYIL PATIYATU

Then follows the description of the temple built, shaped and adorned with the spoils of the war and with the victorious remains of great warriors, left after their glorious death on the previous battle fields and of heroes belonging to both the sides. In this way we become familiarized not only with the gruesome battle field but also come to understand the poetry of self sacrifice so agreeable to *Kali*, full of suggestion of various poetical sentiments, of wonder and heroism on the one hand and humour on the other. As in all great folk poetry, at the climax the comedy and the tragedy become one; in the presence of *Kali* there is no jarring note in these suggestions.

2.33 KALI AND PEY. TEVIYAI-P-PATIYATU

The description of *Kali* follows in the true tradition of the tantras.

2.34 PEYKALAI-P-PATIYATU

She is surrounded by the ghosts. All of them are graphically described according to the popular belief about ghosts. Their terrifying appearance is softened by a subtle humour and a suggestion of chronic hunger, reducing their cruelty and terror to such pathos as to inspire not only in *Kali*, but also in us, a pity. There are amidst them ghosts which had to become blind or lame or deaf on account of their behaviours on the previous battle fields, due not only to their negligence, avarice and foolishness but sometimes also to the unbearable thundering noise etc. of the *Cola* wars. There is a verse which describes the dwarfs born of the ghosts embracing the *bhutas* in these wars. This is a very subtle satire on what the people in the midst of war do for satisfying their sexual passions without caring for social or caste distinctions. Perhaps the poet is trying to remind of "varna sankramana" which Arjuna enumerates as one of the evils of war.

2.341 SUBTLE SATIRE

It is thus seen that often without our noticing it the poet does refer to the evil effects of war on society and on man in spite of the deified glories of war. Perhaps the real personality of man is discovered during these trying times.

[15] *Bagavad Gita*, 1-41.

[16] Tiru-t-takk tevar. *civaka cintamani* mukti ilampakam, vs. 3074 etc., ed. Dr. U. V. Swaminatha Iyer, Madras.

2.35 INTIRACALAM "THE GREAT MAGIC"

The seventh chapter describes *Kali* in a mood of relaxation when an old ghost who had been ostracized comes back with *Kali*'s permission and gives a magic show which she had learnt on the Himalayas. She creates an illusion of a real *parani* war usually said to be fought by a warrior, who according to the tradition, had killed a thousand elephants belonging to his enemy. The sight of that battle field strewn with corpses and blood is made so realistic by magic, that it drives the hungry ghosts to rush to feed on them, only to get disappointed and thereby to suffer all the more the pangs of starvation. They request *Kali* to order an end to this magic performance.

2.351 PREVIEW

Here again, we have, as it were, a preview of the slaughter of the war and this magic performance familiarizes us with the gruesome scenes of war in an indirect but artistic manner. There is also a suggestion of mob-psychology where the common folk mentally expecting something, take any illusion (which includes rumours, news, folk-tales and literature) to be a concrete reality and therefore rush into a frenzied activity, especially during times of war and other troubles.

2.4 THE KING

2.41 IRACA PARAMPARIYAM "THE ROYAL GENEALOGY"

The eighth chapter describes the Royal Genealogy of Colas which is given the status equal to that of the divine Genealogy in the ancient mythologies. The old ghosts from the Himalayas give us this version of the new mythology of Cola origin and of the glories of the Cola family up to the coronation and the current rule of Kulottunka. Even as *Mahabharatha* was written on the mountain *Meru* by *Vinayaka* as told by *Vyasa,* this version was written down, we are told, by *Karikala* himself at the dictation of *Narada,* lest one should take this on a par with the illusory magic performance. *Kali* herself praises *Kulottunka*'s rule as being much better than those of the golden age and orders the ghosts to learn this genealogy.

2.411 IMPORTANCE OF DEIFICATION

As already stated, one way of softening the horrors of war is to equate it with the eternal divine war between the forces of evil and good, where nobody abhors but actually welcomes the complete destruction of the evil forces. The genealogy here narrated is one of the attempts at deifying not only the present king but all his ancestors, some of whom had gone to help the King of *Deva*s and others to establish a kingdom of peace and love, driving out even the natural conflict between beasts like the deer and the tiger and some of whom in establishing justice went to

the extent of driving a chariot on their own son to render justice even to a forlorn cow. *Kulottunka* had been to the eastern seas; perhaps this greater contact with the East had brought back the full development of the Deveraja cult according to which the king not only shared divine powers and divine qualities but came also the very embodiment of God himself on this earth.

2.42 PEY MURAI-P-PATU

The ninth chapter is a complaint by the *peys* that they are all on the point of dying from starvation and that only the good omens they had seen keep their bodies and souls together. The old ghost from the Himalayas describes the bad omens which she saw at *Kalinga,* which forebodes according to *Kali,* a war by which *Kulottunka* would merit *parani* song. The very idea of war makes the ghosts dance with joy, but still these in their anxiety and avarice ask *Kali* whether they will get sufficient food in this war. *Kali* assures them they will get double of what they got at the divine war between *Rama* and *Ravana* in *Lanka,* a hint once again of the deification of the future war.

2.421 THE MOB

Here is once again a hint at the behaviour of a mob, all urging for the redress of their grievances, sometimes urging for a feast and immediately being satisfied with good omens and the future promise by the leaders. There is also a humorous ridicule about those who compare the past with the future and who are very happy the future good will be double that of the past.

2.43 AVATARAM

The tenth chapter describes the birth and life of *Kulottunka* till he comes to worship at Citamparam, all in terms of incarnation which once again suggests clearly the deification of the Emperor. It has to be remembered that the narrator is the divine mother *Kali* herself. To familiarize the readers with the features of war, there is a description of the march of the fully equipped army from all quarters on its way along the banks of *Palaru* where stands the great city of *Kanci.* Dramatically enough a ghost from *Kalinka* rushes to describe the bad omens which are growing in number in *Kalinka,* which therefore makes her see with her mind's eye the rich feast awaiting these ghosts. The ghosts rush to kiss the ghost bringing this glad news in such a mad dance of confusion that they even allow their children to fall down.

2.431 IMPLICATION

Here also, as already stated, there is the complete deification of *Kulottunka. Kali* herself states that truth. Hereafter nothing can appear as an exaggeration in this poetry. As usual we get the behaviour

of the mob with their omen and dreams more real to them than the reality, so much so, they graphically describe the future as though it is their concrete present itself.

2.5 THE WAR

2.51 KALIKKU-K-KULI KURIYATU

The eleventh chapter gives the story of the war and the events which led up to this war between *Kulottunka* and *Anatapadman* of *Kalinka.* The darbar of this *Cola* king is described in all its divine glory of culture and heroism at *Kanci,* where the kings of other lands, so carefully enumerated, come and fall at his feet, offering their respective tributes except the solitary instance of the King of *Kalinka.* The king, with smile, orders that the king of *Kalinka* be brought back and the chieftain *Karunakaran* gets the king's permission to proceed against *Kalinka.* Once again follows the description of the march of the *Cola* army which under the atmosphere created by the poet, is no more an exaggeration. In spite of the advice given by his minister, the *Kalinka* king orders his army to fight against the *Cola.* The war is described with the rhythm which echoes the march of the army. The Kalinka king runs away for safety but the Cola army pursues him and the battle begins the next day. The Kalinka soldiers run away from the battle field begging for their lives by personating as naked Jains, Priests, Brahmins, Buddhists, Bhiksus, Telugus and friendly *panas* (musicians). Except for these and the human figures painted on the walls, all other enemies according to the poet have been captured or killed.

2.511 IMPLICATIONS

The remarks which were made about other chapters apply to this as well. The Brahmins, the Buddhist priests, the Jain priests and the *Panas* enjoy a freedom, thanks to the appearance of the religions of the first three and to the musical talents of the fourth. Often-times othes pretending to be these, claim the same freedom and worship. Here is a subtle prodding at the pretenders who must have been then in large numbers, as they are even now in many lands. The mention of Telugus claiming to be free is important because it reminds us that *Kulottunka* himself is the Eastern *Chalukya* king of Andhra Desa or the Telugu country. It was his ancestor who was the patron of *Nannayya* of the Telugu *Mahabharata* fame.

2.52 KALAM KATTIYATU

The ghost which was describing the battle field concludes by saying that after this battle nobody could speak of the greatness of the wars of *Mahabharata, Ramayana* or the wars between Devas and Asuras. The ghost begs *Kali* to come personally and have a look at the battle field.

Kali marches there and stands amazed. *Kali* the lady of the eternal burning ghat describes from the point of view of her own feelings the glories of warfare and its massacres.

2.521 IMPORTANCE

From that point of view these scenes on the victorious battle field bring to her mind the march of the ships, the attempts at repairing a breach in the water reservoir, the lotus faces of munificent self-sacrificing patrons, inseparable friends even in death as against false friends, chaste women as against prostitutes. The poet, through her, teaches the moral ideals even on the battle field. Then she describes the women in search of their husbands, sometimes enquiring *itakini*s, sometimes, losing their lives and being transformed into *Deva* women embracing their own heroes who had reached there before them. Her wonder describes the metamorphoses that have taken place on the battle field, almost suggesting the style of *Kalavali Narpatu*, paying in that way a homage to the poet of the past. The battle field is described in terms of the beautiful clouds and the sky, the sea and the mountain, the divine beings whose feet do not rest on the air and the smithy of the blacksmith. Thus is revealed the moral grandeur of the wonderful transformation of war.

2.6 THE FEAST

2.61 PREPARATION — KUL ATUTAL "COOKING THE FOOD"

The thirteenth chapter — the number 13 itself is ominous — deals with the preparation of and partaking in the feasts which the pey enjoys as expected. *Kali* herself orders this feast. Here is an allegory or long drawn metaphor of a feast. The common daily routine of man is described however as fit for ghosts — the cleaning of the teeth and the tongue, the daily bath, the dress and adornments. The oven is prepared in terms of the glorious remnants on the battle field; the cooking pots for curry are appropriately chosen and are filled with curds, white and red for curry whilst the cooking pots for rice are filled up with water and salt appropriate to the field. The appropriate fire is kindled and is fed with proper fuel of fire wood. The proper rice is fittingly prepared with an appropriate pestle and mortar which keep time to the musical songs which these ghosts sing glorifying *Kulottunka*. The rice is put through a proper sieve and measured with proper measures to cook in the various pots. After this, care is taken that the rice is well cooked in the cooking pot which is then carefully brought down from the oven and placed on a specially purified spot. The ghosts bring the plates; and the food is distributed in proper ladles.

2.611 THE METAPHOR

All this is described in terms of an actual human feast though this is a feast of blood, fat, brain, bone of men and beasts, on which the ghosts feast. This is the working of Sperber's principle of expansion. With the help of the metaphors of our ordinary feast, the battle field is described. Then we remember the atmosphere of the ghosts which enjoy their feast, forgetting the gruesome realities of war.

2.612 SHARING

There is also an implied satire on the pretender Brahmins, Jain and Buddhist priests and the traditional omen-mongers who eat the goats they sacrifice. All of them always have an eye on a surfeit of clean, tasteful and sweet smelling feasts. The ghosts are also full of pity to the blind and the deaf, the idiots and the pregnant. They then share the feast with the village servants, with the *nokka-p-pey* which reads the omens with the danceuse (which drinks away all the gruel assuring all that her husband will not taste it), with the villagers and with the *karnam* and also with the ghosts that told them of the dreams.

2.613 DANCE OF JOY

After this feast, they wash their mouths and partake of the metaphorical betel leaves, areca nuts and lime. They have enjoyed this more than is necessary and are therefore advised to smell the hairs on the heads of the Bhutas. There is belching. Then follows the dance on the battle field running hither and thither tumbling down and rolling on, always praising the *Cola* king. They end up with wishing long life in terms of his extended Empire, his Visnuhood and his genealogical relationship. The poet himself closes with his blessings for all.

3. AFTER KALINGATTU-P-PARANI

3.1 THE THEORY OF PARANIS

This is the scheme of the *Parani* poetry which came to be a standard to be followed by all other *Parani* writers. In giving the survey itself, the theory and the scheme of *Parani* has also been explained with its methodology and its implication. There is therefore no necessity to repeat it here.

3.12 THE GRAND STYLE

A poetry of this kind, full of exaggeration, becomes stale when repeated often, especially in a period which instead of war was one of peace as it was in the age of the great poet *Ottakkuttar* and of the successors of Kulottunka I. A rich and majestic diction often full of Sanskrit words for creating a kind of other wordly atmosphere was created especially by *Ottakkuttar*. The particular kind of verse called *talicai,*

with two lines rather than the long drawn four lines, was used by *Cayan-kontar* with sufficient varieties therein so as to echo the varying sense of his verse, keeping time not only to the tunes, as it were, of the emotions but also to the varied march of the different warfare, the multifarious sweeps of descriptions and other aspects of his poetry. This varying rhythm was still further perfected by *Ottakkuttar*.

3.13 ITS FALL

But he realized that for such majestic style and rhythm, the ordinary war was not the proper theme. Therefore instead of singing the ordinary war in terms of the divine war, he began to sing the real and eternal battle between the forces of evil and good : for instance, the story of the opposition of the egoistic Daksa against Siva himself. His *Takkayaka-p-parani* reaches the perfection of an artificial style which would have killed the natural beauty of the language if others continued to write in that way. *Cekkilar* fortunately brought the natural simplicity of the age long Tamil poetry.

3.14 IMITATION

But there were people who went on writing *parani,* fortunately following *Ottakkuttar* in choosing the subject matter. There is the *iraniya-vatai-p-parani* describing the fall of the egoistic Hiranya arrayed against the omipresent Visnu who is all goodness and love to Prahalada. There is also the parani called *Curapatuman vatai-p-parani* giving similarly the story of the fall of the power-intoxicating, egoistic *Curan* pitched against the all powerful and all loving child-like innocence of Muruka. But these never became popular and they are not available in their entirety. The names of their authors are also not known.

3.15 PHILOSOPHICAL TERMS

There was the tradition as found in *Civaka-Cintamani* where the forces of evil and good in every individual were described in terms of warfare and victory of the JINA 16. This reminds us of the *Prabhodha candrodayam* of Krisna Misra where the victory of Jivan mukta or the released soul as against the forces of darkness is dramatically described. Saint *Tattuvaraya* of the fifteenth century, true to his Tamil genius, tries to describe the victory of the Jivan mukta in terms of *parani.* He has given the *annavatai-p-parani* and *mokavatai-p-parani,* the slaughter of *annana* or darkness and the slaughter of *moka* or illusion. Later *Vait-yanata* at the end of seventeenth or the beginning of the eighteenth century wrote his *pacavatai-p-parani* the slaughter of the bondage of the soul. *Takkayaka-p-parani* alone can be taken as a success in this line but unfortunately it requires a learned scholar to appreciate it in full.

Even then it is only an imitation of *Cayankontar's parani* which *Ottakkuttar* himself praises as "the divine and Tamil *parani* by the great emperor of poetry". Therefore this *parani* by *Cayankontar* stands unique and it was its theory which we tried to explain in this essay. The previous *paranis* are not available and probably had not reached the perfection of *Cayankontar's parani.*

4. CONCLUSION

4.1 WHAT IS EXPLICIT

The literary theory of *parani* in short consists (1) in raising warfare to the statue of divine warfare between good and evil, (2) in deifying the king by the Goddess *Kali* herself, (3) in making us familiar with the gruesome battle field by some way of previewing it, and (4) finally in softening the callousness of war by what Sperber called the principle of attraction and expansion.

4.11 PSYCHOLOGY

Psychology tells us that a child which is frightened by anything can be taught to forget that fright by placing at a tolerable distance the frightful thing whilst the child enjoys its feast. It is this psychological principle which is followed here when in the constant description of the feasts by the ghosts we lose the fright for war.

4.2 WHAT IS IMPLICIT

In a sense this *parani* is really the glorification of the King. But all poetry is a criticism of life and this *parani* is no exception. The poet does not fail to hint at the horror of war which introduces a kind of topsy-turvydom especially among the *mob.* There is also the implied satire on man. The criticism of life is not quite patent enough to disturb the narrative, but through suggestions and implications, irony and humour the poet succeeds in creating a satire which we have explained in a detailed manner. This satire on man loses its sting because of the poet's large heartedness which merely hints at the fables of men through his description of the ghosts. This also should be taken as part of theory of *parani.*

4.3 CONCLUSION

As the result we have a perfect piece of literature, though unfortunately it cannot be imitated by the very nature of the thing by others.

STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS AND PATTERN DESCRIPTION OF A PRIMITIVE LEGEND OF THE WEST COAST OF SOUTH INDIA

K. P. S. HAMEED

0. The attempt in this paper will be to press into service pattern methodology towards the description of a traditional legend of the West Coast of South India. The principles of synchronic structural analysis worked out and evolved during the course of the last four decades to formulate accurate definitions based upon formal morphological features for purposes of achieving rigorous typology of folklore materials have not so far been applied in the structural analysis of any one of the Indian primitive legends, myths or traditional narratives.

1. First we proceed to detail how the principles of synchronic structural analysis proposed to be adopted for purposes of this study have been arrived at.

1.0. During the 1920's and 30's a new intellectual movement, the movement of the structural and pattern approach, was sweeping through linguistics, psychology, ethnomusicology and anthropology. This movement had its affinities with Formalism, New Criticism in literary theory, synchronic structural liguistics, Gestalt psychology and the pattern studies in anthropology. In linguistics, Sapir's *Language* (1921) and *Sound Patterns in Language* (1925) appeared. In 1934 Bodkin's *Archetypal Patterns In Poetry* was published. Kohler's *Gestalt Psychology* (1929)[1] and Kurt Koffka's *Principles of Gestalt Psychology* (1935) made their debut. In 1934 came *Patterns of Culture* by Benedict. Helen Roberts published *The Pattern Phenomenon in Primitive Music* as well as her *Form in Primitive Music* in 1935. Yet while all these were taking place, in the field of folklore there was apparently no interest in a holistic synchronic

[1] The fundamental 'formula' of Gestalt theory might be expressed in this way: 'There are wholes, the behaviour of which is not determined by that of their individual elements but where the part processes are themselves determined by the intrinsic nature of the whole. It is the hope of Gestalt theory to determine the nature of such wholes.'

MAX WERTHEIMER, 'Gestalt Theory', in WILLIS D. ELLIS, *A Source Book of Gestalt Psychology*, New York, 1938, p. 2.

approach. The science of folklore lagged far behind and remained oriented to a narrowly philological-historical approach and dedicated to atomistic studies. The Finnish geographical-historical reconstruction method of the hypothetical archetype or parent form of a folktale came into vogue.[2] The atomistic approach ultimately culminated in the emergence of a master lexicon of folkloristic literature, the mammoth *Motif-Index of Folk Literature* by Stith Thompson, published in 1946.

1.1. The 'motifs' in the 'Motif-Index' are prepared on the basis of subject matter and deal only with the elements in the traditional narrative without examining how the elements enter into the composition of a myth or legend or folktale. For a pattern approach in folklore well defined structural units are a must. Without basic structural units morphology is impossible and without morphology rigorous typology cannot be achieved. However we come across certain outstanding personalities who bent their energies towards devising and arriving at a basic structural unit.[3] Sebeok in a joint effort with Frances J. Ingemann probably made the first survey of the structural approach to Folklore.[4] For the first time in the history of Indian folk-songs Sebeok's principles of structural and content analysis together with certain derivatives deduced from

[2] Collection of folklore material led to classification which in turn necessitated Analysis (Theorising). Of the three aspects of Analysis, Origin, Function and Structure, nothing was done regarding 'Structure' by early folklore scholars. Sporadic studies of aspects of 'Function' by scholars notable among them being Boas, Reichard, Demetracopoulou and Du, Luomala, Wheeler, Voegalin. There was no uniformity of agreement among these scholars as to the terminology for the units of Folklore. Boas spoke in terms of incident, element and tale, Reichard thought that the units from small to large are incident, episode, myth complex. For Demetracopoulou and Du, the units were element, incident and core. Loumala worked out in terms of incident, episode, myth. For detailed survey see *The Morphology of North American Indian Folktales,* pp. 22-30.

[3] Notable among them are Hons Honti, Adolf Stender-Peterson and Claude Levi-Strauss. Hons Honti, the Hungarian folklorist felt that the traditional tale typology of European tales was not based upon bona fide morphological data — *FF Communications No. 195,* Helsinki, 1964, p. 41.

Adolf Stender Peterson arrived at what he called the 'Dynamic' and 'labile' elements of tales and legends. Stability of legends and tales he attributed to the functionally interdependent dynamic units and the variability of legends and tales he ascribed to the labile elements. — ADOLF STENDER PETERSON (The Byzantine to the Varangian Story of the Hero's Death Through His Horse), in *Varangika,* Aarthus, 1953, p. 182.

Levi-Strauss emphasised the necessity for synchronic study. It was he who called attention to the fact that it is not the isolated elements which enter into the composition of a myth, but the way these elements combine which should be the subject of folkloristic analysis. — CLAUDE LEVI-STRAUSS, 'The Structural Study of Myth', *JAF,* 68 (1955), pp. 428-444.

[4] Thomas A. Sebeok and Frances J. Ingemann 'Structural and Content Analysis in Folklore Research' in Studies in Cheremis, *The Supernatural, Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology,* Number 22, New York, 1956, pp. 261-268. Also 'Sound and Meaning in a Cheremis Folksong Text' in *For Roman Jakobson,* comp. Morris Halle, Horace G. Lunt, Hugh Mclean and Cornelis H. Van Schooneveld (The Hague 1956), pp. 430-439. (There is in fact, a similarity in Propp's definition of morphology and the definition of Structural Analysis offered by Sebeok and Ingemann.)

Dr. V. I. Subramoniam's 'Descriptive Analysis of a Dialect of Tamil'[5] were applied to the study of Tamil folk-song texts by the Department of Tamil of the Kerala University.[6]

1.2. However it was Vladimir Propp who for the first time defined and isolated a basic structural unit for purposes of pattern study and structural analysis of folk-tales. He conceived morphology as 'the description of the folktale according to its component parts and the relationship of these components to each other and to the whole.[7] His *Morphology of the Folktale* in Russian was first published in 1928. After a morphological analysis of one hundred consecutive marchen, a random corpus of tales from the celebrated Afanasiev collections of Russian folktales, he extracted and collated a limited number of thirty-one functions and discovered that the sequence of these functions were fixed. By this he did not mean that all those thirty-one functions necessarily occurred in any one given folktale, but rather that those which occurred did so in a predictable order. After the completion of the morphology, Propp was able to proceed to typology and conclude that all Russian fairy tales on morphological grounds, belonged to one and the same structural type.

1.3. The morphological unit isolated by Propp was termed by him as 'function'. 'Function' according to Propp is an action of one of a folktale's dramatis personnae. He observed that 'functions serve as stable, constant elements in folktales, independent of who performs them, and how they are fulfilled by the dramatis personnae.[8] However Propp did not bother to standardize any term for the elements which fulfil the function. To remedy this, Alan Dundes adopted some of the terminology and theory of Kenneth L. Pike as expressed in Pike's *Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behaviour.*[9]

1.4. Pike endeavoured to extend the units of linguistics to include all of human behaviour, since he considered language, as verbal behaviour, to be a portion of human behaviour in general. Pike interpreted

[5] Dr. V. I. Subramoniam's Doctoral dessertation to the Indiana University, 3 September, 1957.

[6] 'Folklore of Tamilnaatu' by K. P. S. Hameed, unpublished thesis for which M. Litt., was awarded by the University of Kerala on 21st November 1962. In this the structural relationships existing between parts of a Folk-song text and the relationship of these to each other and to the whole have been studied; contains distinctive feature analysis as well as phonemic and morphemic analysis; establishes internal structural unity as between different folk-song texts and shows definite repetitive pattern in the sequence of the words and their combinations.

[7] Vladimir Propp, *Morphology of the Folktale,* ed. Svatava Pirkowa-Jakobson. Trans. Laurence Scott, *Publication Ten of the Indiana University Research Centre in Anthropology, Folklore, and Linguistics* (Bloomington, 1958), p. 18.

[8] Ibid., pp. 19, 20.

[9] Already anthropologists were despaired of finding appropriate units in culture. Kluckhohn and Kroeber were wondering whether they would ever be able to discover anything like constant elemental units in culture like atoms and molecules and the like. — Clyde Kluckholn, 'Universal Categories of Culture' in *Anthropology Today,* ed. A. L. Kroeber (Chicago, 1953), p. 517. A. L. Kroeber, *The nature of Culture* (Chicago, 1952), pp. 124, 125.

atomistic approach versus pattern approach in terms of etic versus emic, deriving the terms from the words phonetic and phonemic. According to him etic is nonstructural in contrast to emic which is structural. He said 'that an emic approach must deal with particular events as parts of larger wholes to which they are related and from which they obtain their ultimate significance, whereas an etic approach may abstract events, for particular purposes, from their context or local system of events in order to group them on a world-wide scale without essential reference to the structure of any one language or culture.'[10] Pike's structural model comprised of 'three complex overlapping components of emic units, the feature mode, the manifestation mode, and the distribution mode. Alan Dundes discerned these three modes in Propp's 'function'.[11]

1.5. In Propp's function 8, the villain causes harm or injury to one member of a family. He may abduct a person, drive out somebody or murder someone. In this the feature mode of function 8 could be expressed as 'villainy' which starts the actual movement of the folktale. The manifestation mode consists of all the 'non-simultaneously-occurring physical variants of the function. Viewed this way the manifestation mode of function 8 would include, the murdering of someone or the kidnapping or expulsion of someone by the villain. The distribution mode would consist of the positional characteristics of a particular function, i.e. where among the 31 possible functions arrived at by Propp, it occurs. Thus function 8 may occur in initial position or after a number of functions from 1 to 7.

1.6. Pike labelled his feature mode as EMIC MOTIF or MOTIFEME. Alan Dundes by combining Proppian/Pike structural model adopted the terms motifeme, allomotif and motif for his structural pattern study of the North American Indian Folktale. According to Dundes allomotifs would bear the same relationship to motifeme as do allophones to phonemes and allomorphs to morphemes. He retained the term motif to refer to the elements fulfilling the motifemes. Viewed against the background of these structural units, Stith Thompson's 'motifs' lacked specificity and precision as structural units.[12] Thompson's 'motifs' are: actor, item and incident. Further the Aarne-Thompson tale types are classified on the basis of content, not form or structure. Thompson himself admits the vagueness of his 'motif' as unit when he

[10] KENNETH L. PIKE, *Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behaviour*, pt. I (Glendale, California, 1954) pp. 10, 93.

[11] ALAN DUNDES, 'The Morphology of North American Indian Folktales, *FF Communications*, vol. LXXXI, no. 195 (Helsinki, 1964), p. 58. See also "From Etic Units to Emic Units in the Structural Study of Folktales", *Journal of American Folklore* (1962), 75:95-105.

[12] Propp's *Morphology of the Folktale* in Russain was first published in 1928. The world had to wait for its English translation till 1958 to know what Jakobson was admiring. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index of Folk Literature* published in 1946 does not make any mention of Propp's *Morphology of the Folktale*, the English version of which appeared in 1958.

concedes that 'type and motif' are identical. Dundes proves this when he explains that the motifs in the Motif-Index are arranged etically and not emically. For example Motif F 325.1 'Fairies kidnap boy when he breaks the tabu by going outside mansion under earth before 12 years' and Motif C 986 'Abduction by animal for breaking tabu', both could emically occur in motifeme 8 in Propp's scheme whereas the two are listed separately in Motif-Index under C for tabu and F for marvels (fairies and elves).

1.7. Aided by the definitions of such basic structural units as motifeme, allomotif, and motif, Dundas proceeds to the delineation of the morphology of North American Indian Folktales and proves that those tales are structured in as much as they are composed of specific statable sequences of motifemes.

2. We now give detailed accounts of the two versions of the legend pertaining to the origin of Kerala[13] and present their structures.

2.0. The mace-bearing incarnation of Vishnu, Parasuraman, was obliged by the Rishis to expiate the sin of having slain his mother by extirpating the Kshatriyas, the enemies of the Brahmans. This he accomplished in twenty-one expeditions. At Vishvamitra's suggestion he then made over all the land within the four seas to the Rishis 'with all the blood guiltiness attached to it, by making them drink of the water of possession'. The Brahmins then turned him out of the land he thus gave away, but with Subramanya's assistance, he obtained by penance from the god of the seas, Varuna, the grant of some land to dwell on. The throw of his mace, parasu, was to determine its extent. He threw it from Kanya Kumari to Gokarnam. The gods came to visit the land thus miraculously won and called it Parasu Raman's land and Shiva condescended to be worshipped in Gokarnam, the metropolis of the province thus reclaimed from the sea. To people this land thus created Parasu Raman summoned the Brahmins from the shores of the Kistna river. He made a gift of the land to them and settled them in sixty-four villages. Giving them paramount authority over the employments and occupations of the four castes. This in short is the Parasu Raman legend which is

[13] Kerala, between the mountain and the sea is a narrow strip, some 300 miles long with an average width of only 30 miles. Almost parallel to the shore are the backwaters some 400 square miles in area. Of the three ancient kingdoms of peninsular India, Chola, Pandya and Chera, the last named ultimately came to be known as Kerala. In India, Kerala was the first to receive Christianity and Islam. In mediaeval Tamil and early Malayalam, Kerala is called 'Malanad'. Ahe Arabs referred to the country as 'Malabar', a term which is a combination of the Tamil word 'Mala' meaning mountain and the Arabic word 'Bahr' meaning the sea.

Among its people can be found Negritos, Proto-Australoids, Meditterraneans and Nordics. Since the Negritos are found in South Africa, the Andamans, Australia and the islands of the Pacific, they must have at one time spread over a large part of the ancient 'Gondwana' continent.

a 'local legend'.[14] The earliest reference to this legend is found in 'Periapuranam'.[15] The legend has three variations and they are:

2.1. The sea god refused to comply with the request of Parasu Raman to recede and thereupon the hero made a terrible show of his mighty battle-axe and hurled it by one effort of his heroic arm from Gokarnam to Cape Comorin. Instantaneously the sea rolled back and the line of flight of the battle-axe indicated the western boundary of the land he wanted to make a gift of to the Brahmins.

2.2. The hero climbed the heights of Gokarnam, assumed divine powers and simply commanded the sea to retire from the foot of the

[14] A local legend unlike a migratory legend is inextricably connected with the land of its origin. The characters, events and incidents of the legend mingle with the parts of the landscape in such a way, satisfying the requirements of a local legend as described by Alexander H. Krappe in his *The Science of Folklore,* 1965 edn., pp. 70-100.

The mythical creator of the Laccadives is said to have built a fort at Santimattivu for keeping the Crown of Kerala. — K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cholas,* vol. I, p. 241. Santimattivu is either the Androth of the Laccadives or the Ihandiffu of the Maldives, more probably the former than the latter. — K. V. Krishna Iyer, *A History of Kerala,* p. 20.

[15] P. ANUJAN ACHAN, "Parasurama Legend and its significance", *Annual Report of the Archaelogical Department of the Cochin State,* 1934-1935. Also K. P. Padmanabha Menon, *History of Kerala,* vol. III, p. 173.

The version given (see supra p. 4 B. 26-3) is from the 'Kerala Mahatmyam' written in indifferent Sanskrit. The origin of Kerala is also given in modern Malayalam in the 'Keralolpathi', Kerala Mahatmyam incidentally is also the work which refers to the early Muslims as Baudhas (Buddhist) and details how Cheraman Perumal, the last of the kings of Kerala, become a convert to Islam and how after partitioning his country among the kinsmen, friends and followers, left Kodungallur and sailed to Arabia. This conversion to Islam of Cheraman Perumal has become another local legend of Kerala.

Though the Parasuraman legend says that Parasuraman reclaimed the land from the sea and made a gift of it to the Brahmins, this version of the origin of Kerala cannot be historically true. At best the version may have come into vogue sometime after A.D. 700. William Logan is of the view that the Vedic Brahmins may have become a power in Kerala between the early years of the 8th century and the year A.D. 774. — *Malabar,* pp. 260-275.

The Tamil and Malayalam languages in the 7th century were practically identical. — *Malabar,* p. 257. In view of this it can be presumed that there must have been a still ancient version. The Parasuraman legend claims the land of Kerala as belonging to the Vedic Brahmins. They reserved the right to appoint their king once in 12 years and through him held sway over the occupations of the four castes. May be the tale points to the establishment of the first Aryan Colony in the extreme south-west, on this side of the Western Ghats. William Logan in fact specifies the exact boundaries of the Kerala of Kerala Mahatmyam, as comprising of south Malabar, the Cochin State and North Travancore. — *Malabar,* p. 224.

The phenomenon of the sea swallowing up vast chunks of land as a result of geological convulsions in the bowels of the earth, perhaps from the time of the breaking up of the ancient Gondwana continent, may have resulted in an intermittent state of parts of land off the West coast of India submerging under the sea at certain areas and the sea rolling back and receding in certain other areas allowing small areas of land to come up. In other words absence of land may already have been there as an initial lack alongside the coast or parts of land already there may have gone under the sea, bringing about a lack of earth and this state of things may have continued for generations. Such a state of disequilibrium resulting from insufficiency of earth, moving towards a state of equilibrium consequent on the reappearence of land from under the sea may have formed that central theme of the origin of Earth stories. The Kerala Mahatmyam version may as well be taken as the first of the Vedic Aryan version of the 'Origin of earth' finding a place in Hindu mythology.

Western ghats to a point where the axe, he intended to throw southwards, was to fall.[16]

2.3. Parasu Raman requested the sea to give him a bit of territory and when the sea refused he was enraged and was about to push back the sea with his mighty bow and arrow. A black beetle (Bhringa) which the sea had induced to come to its rescue, stealthily managed to cut the string of the hero's bow. As a result the speed of flight of the arrow was brought down and the distance covered by it reduced. That was why the land that came up, turned out to be a narrow strip of territory now known as 'Konkan' between Bombay and Mangalore on the West coast of India.[17]

3. The second of the two main versions preserved in a type of oral folk-song tradition known as 'Thootram Paaṭṭu'[18] runs thus under the caption 'Bhoomi Maalaippuram Paaṭṭu':

Lord Vishnu desires to wed the goddess of Earth, Bhooma Devi, give her a home and settle her permanently in Kerala. The marriage can be complete only if he garlands her, i.e. if he knots a garland around her neck. Suddenly it rained all day and all night for ten days. It rained so hard that the rivers and valleys were filled with water. The waters continued to rise until the whole land of Kerala was submerged under an ocean of water. Vishnu, Brahma and Maheshwara were caught in this. There was not an inch of land for the three of them to rest their feet. They swam, and swam, struggled and strived their best to keep themselves afloat. This tantalizing plight continued for twelve long years. One day Brahma said that their only salvation lay in finding out Bhooma Devi, the earth goddess and get her married to Vishnu. He set about searching for her and after days of arduous search found out the secret bathing ghat, the 'Paṭi Thurai' of the earth goddess, came back to report to Vishnu and ordered him to get her somehow or other and marry her so that they might put an end to their miserable plight and once again find sight of earth for their rest. Vishnu thereupon made a lotus-leaf raft,[20] paddled his way to the bathing ghat and on reaching the spot he began to set about the task of getting ready for the act of

[16] See A816.3 in *Motif Index of Folk Literature.* Also Motifs under A800-A899. The Earth in *Motif-Index of Folk Literature,* pp. 161-168.

[17] This as well as the earlier two variants find mention in a broadcast talk in English by Shri P. K. Sivasankara Pillai — Broadcast from AIR, Trivandrum/Kozhikode.

[18] 'Thootram Paattu', the text of which is an admixture of song and prose is usually performed by members of the folk-song party in front of Bhadrakaali temples during the month of March.

[19] 'Thootram Pattu' texts have not yet been imprisoned in writing and remain only as an oral tradition, floating on the lips of the illiterate tribes belonging to the lower strata of society. 'Bhoomi Maalaippuram Paattu' obtains among the members of the Washerman community in and around Cochin in central Kerala. This version with slight variations is contained in a broadcast talk in Malayalam by Shri P. K. Sivasankara Pillai.

[20] See also Motif A813, *Motif-Index of Folk Literature,* vol. I, Copenhagen, 1955, p. 162.

garlanding the earth-goddess. He wove a garland out of the tender threads pulled softly from inside the stems of the lotus plants and at the centre of the garland thus made deftly, fixed his ring, 'Thiruvazhi' as a pendant. With the garland he patiently waited for the arrival of Bhooma Devi to the ghat for her usual morning bath. For her it was a day for an 'oil-bath'. She arrived with oil smeared all over her body and walked down the steps of the bathing-ghat. After a refreshing bath she climbed up the steps, dried her hair with a north Malabar towel, 'Wayanaaṭu Munṭu'. Bewitchingly dressed in a brand new garment of the extreme south, 'Veeṇaaṭṭu Kaççai' she stood there as beauty incomparably personified. Just then, Vishnu underwent disenchantment. He transformed himself into a shining silvery trout and began swimming about on the still surface of the water, the fringes of which were then touching and caressing the tender little toes of the earth-goddess blithely resting on the steps of the bathing ghat. The silver-hued trout swam, came round and round, jumped and dived and through skilful artifices attracted the attention of the earth-goddess. The charming sight of the fish was irresistible and its pranks so seductive and tempting that Bhooma Devi wanted to touch it, play with it and fondle it. She came down the steps and standing knee-deep in the water, touched it and admired its beauty and playful mirth, everytime it came to her. Finally she spread out both the palms of her hand under the water, desiring the trout to come and rest on them a little while. The fish did so and while on her palm suddenly got transformed into its former form of Vishnu. Without waiting a split second he pulled out the garland with the pendant already kept hidden on his person and tied it around the neck of Bhooma Devi. It took no time for her to realize that she had fallen a victim to deceit practised on her. She refused to be his wife. But victoriously Vishnu told her that once garlanded, the wedding was complete and there was no escaping from it. Realizing that there was no alternative and that she had to consent to the marriage which was a fait accompli she agreed to stay and settle in the land. She laid herself on her bed, resting her body on its right flank. With her head gently resting on her folded right hand the frontal parts of her physical anatomy faced the east and behind her back was the west. Her head was resting at Cape Comorin, the tip of the land's end of India and her feet resting at Gokarnam in the north. The curvature of her whole abdomen became the continuous stretch of the mountain range in the east, the velvetty blue Western Ghats, and the line of her back from head to foot in the west took form as the emerald expansion of the Arabian Sea. This is why the land of Kerala between the Western Ghats and the Arabian Sea is tapered at its both ends to narrow strips in the north and the south.

4. Coming to the application of the principles detailed earlier we have to bear in mind that according to Dundes, folktales consist of sequences of motifemes and that a minimum of at least two motifeme

sequences are essential to constitute a folktale. Propp's function 8, a villainous, unwise or unwitting act, may bring about a lack or insufficiency thereby precipitating a state of disequilibrium. Sometimes the initial lack or insufficiency may already be there without anyone or anything causing it. This state is explained by Propp's function 8a which is a morphological equivalent to function 8. The initial lack or insufficiency or misfortune can be liquidated or overcome by Propp's function 19. Thus Propp's function 8 or 8a can form a pair with function 19 and make a tale move from a state of disequilibrium to a state of equilibrium. In other words Lack (L) and Lack Liquidated (LL) can simply describe how something in excess is lost or something lost or stolen is found. Just as (L) and (LL) can make a two motifeme sequence, there are other function pairs or twin functions which can go to make four-motifeme sequence, six-motifeme sequence and complex and extended tales with different combinations of sequences, thereby bringing about alternations of structural patterns. Some of these function pairs are Interdiction / Violation (functions 2 & 3 — Int / Viol, Consequence / Attempted Escape (functions 4 & 5 — Conseq/AE), Deceit/Deception (functions 6 & 7 — Dct/Dcpn), Struggle/Victory (functions 16 & 17), Pursuit/Rescue (functions 21 & 23).

4.1 As an illustration let us examine the working of the two-motifeme sequence. In 'The Release of the Impounded Water'[21] a monster keeps back all the water in the world (L). A culture hero slays the monster, which act releases the water (LL). 'A People on the Columbia had no eyes or mouth (L). They ate by smelling the sturgeon. Coyote opened their eyes and mouths (LL).[22] Once upon a time there was no earth. Water was where earth is now (L). A beaver dived down for mud and brought to the surface enough earth to form a small island (LL).[23] Once there was no land for Parasuraman (L). He observed penance as a result of which the sea rolled back and the land came to the surface (L). Vishnu desired to wed the earth-goddess and as a consequence it rained heavily making the land go under the sea (L) (brought about by function 8). Vishnu ultimately weds the earth-goddess as a result of which the water recedes and the land comes up (LL). The contents in these tales are vastly different. Yet we find it possible to align all the tales within the same structural pattern, (L) and (LL).

4.2. The earth is lost (L); a task is assigned, often by the culture hero, to an animal or bird to dive for mud (T); after several failures or several attempts by others an animal or bird succeeds in bringing up mud (TA); the earth is restored or created (LL). Land was under sea (L); Parasuraman took on himself the task of reclaiming the land (T);

[21] Frank G. Speck, 'Malecite Tales', *JAF*, 30 (1917), 480-481.

[22] Leslie Spier and Edward Sapir, 'Wishram Ethnography', *University of Washington Publication in Anthropology*, 3 (1929-30), 279.

[23] Fred Swindlehurst, 'Folklore of the Cree Indians', *JAF*, 18 (1905), 139.

He performed penance and made the sea-god Varuna to roll back (TA); the land that is Kerala emerged (LL). In the first variation of this legend between (L) and (LL), he took on himself the task, made a terrible show of his battle-axe and hurled it from Gokarnam to Cape Comorin (T); thereupon the sea-god rolled back (TA). In the second variation the intervening motifemes are, he climbed up the heights of Gokarnam, assumed divine powers and commanded the sea to recede (T) and the sea-god bowed to his command and receded (TA). In the third variation the narrow strip of land that is Konkan now, was under the sea (L). Parasuraman commanded the sea to roll back and on its refusal began to bend his mighty bow to push the sea back (T); bending the bow he released his arrow which pushed back the sea (TA); a strip of land, that is Konkan now, came up to the surface (LL). A black beetle stealthily succeeded in cutting the string of the bow of the hero and thus reduced the motion of the arrow and that was how Konkan turned out to be a narrow strip of land. This stylistic ending is but a terminal explanatory motif, a sort of a literary code and constitutes a nonstructural, optional element, usual in many folktales.[24]

4.2.1. Instead of (T) and (TA) the intervening motifemes between (L) and (LL) can be (Dct) and (Dcpn). A raccoon wants some crawfish (L). The raccoon plays dead (Dct) and the crawfish assume wrongly the raccoon is dead (Dcpn). The raccoon, after biding his time, suddenly attacks the crawfish and captures most of them (LL).[25] Unmarried hero wants a wife (L), but no women will have him. He changes himself into a little child and takes a waiting position along a path (Dct). Two young women chance by and feeling sorry for the crying child, they take him home (Dcpn). After the women sleep with the child, the hero resumes his original form and marries them (LL).[26] Vishnu decides to wed earth-goddess, the land goes under the sea (L); Vishnu transforms himself into a silvery fish, appears in front of earth-goddess and by skilful artifices tempts her to come close to its side and catch it (Dct); She succumbs to the deception by spreading out her palms and catching the fish (Dcpn). While on her hands Vishnu resumes his original form, weds her as a result of which the sea recedes allowing Kerala to come into existence (LL). Her reclining posture on her bed was such that her head rested at Cape Comorin, feet at Gokarnam with the Arabian sea frothing behind her back and the Western Ghats towering along her front line. That was how the northern and southernmost ends of Kerala became tapering, a nonstructural explanatory motif by way of description of the topography of Kerala.

[24] ALAN DUNDES, *Morphology of Folktales*, Helsinki (1964), p. 63.

[25] See J. OWEN DORSEY, 'The Myths of the Racoon and the Crawfish Among the Dakotah Tribes', *The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal, 6* (1884), pp. 237-240.

[26] ALBERT REAGAN and L. V. W. WALTERS, 'Tales from the Hoh and Quileut', *JAF*, 46 (1933), 309-310.

4.2.2. Similarly Interdiction and Violation motifemes can also occur in the nuclear two-motifeme sequence as is seen in this tale. There is no darkness (L) because it is all in a sack entrusted to Coyote. Coyote is warned not to open the sack (Int) but when he does (Viol), the darkness is released (LL).[27]

4.3. Interdiction, Violation, Consequence and Attempted Escape can combine to form a four-motifeme sequence. Trickster offends rock by defecating on the rock (Viol). The rock rolls after him in pursuit (Conseq). Trickster usually escapes through the helpful intervention of helpful animals who destroy the rock (AE).[28] A girl is warned by her brother not to parch corn (Int). After he leaves the girl parches the corn (Viol). Soon there appears a host of deer which proceed to eat the corn. Then the deer put the girl on the antlers of a big deer and carry her away (Conseq). The girl's brother rescues the foolish girl (AE)[29] and punishes the deer by cutting off their tails. This is why deer have short tails (Exp Mot).

4.4 In the same way motifemic alternants can result in the combination of a six-motifemic sequence as (L), (LL), (Int), (Viol) and (A.E). In Orpheus a man loses his wife (L), but regains her or can regain her (LL) if he does not violate a taboo (Int). Inevitably the man breaks the taboo (Viol) and loses his wife once again (Conseq).[30]

4.5 Motifemically speaking the Parasuraman Legend and the Tootram Paaṭṭu Legend come under the initial (L) and the terminal (LL). According to Dundes it is the number of the intervening motifemes between a pair or related motifemes that determines the motifemic depth of a folktale. If the intervening motifemes are far less in number then the tale will be a simpler one and if they are far greater in number the tale will be a more complex one. For instance there are frame stories in which there are as many as a thousand and one whole tales intervening between an initial lack and the final liquidation of that lack.

4.6. The motifemic depth between the intial (L) and the final basic (LL) qualifies the Thootram Paaṭṭu version of the origin of Kerala for a complex cumulative tale. Intervening lacks requiring liquidation prior to the hero's proceeding to the final liquidation of the basic initial lack occur. There intervenes other motifemic pairs also. The earth went under the water because Vishnu desired to wed Bhooma Devi (L). Vishnu must garland Bhooma Devi if the land is to be reclaimed from under the sea. This we will call (l^1). Bhooma Devi disappeared when the land went under the sea. This lack we will call (l^2). Brahma takes up

[27] MORRIS EDWARD OPLER, 'Myths and Tales of the Chiricahu Apache Indians, *MAFS*, 37 (New York, 1942), p. 66.

[28] *The Rolling Rock* (Wycoco 1167).

[29] J. OWEN DORSEY, The Cegiha Language, *Contributions to North American Ethnology*, 6 (Washington 1890), pp. 82-93.

[30] AKE HULTKRANTZ, "The North American Indian Orpheus Tradition Statens Etnot Grafiska Museum", *Monograph Series, Publication No. 2* (Stockholm, 1957) p. 140.

the test/task to find her out (T). He finds out her bathing-ghat and reports to Vishnu (TA). This liquidates (l^2). Vishnu takes up the task to reach the bathing-ghat (T); There is no boat to reach (l^3). He makes a lotus-leaf raft which liquidates (l^3). He reaches the bathing-ghat (TA.) There is no garland to tie around Bhooma Devi's neck (l^4) which lack he liquidates by using the threads from the stems of the lotus plants and his 'Thiruvazhi'. He transforms into a silver fish and makes her catch that fish (Dct). She falls a victim to the deception, catching the fish (Dcpn). Vishnu takes back his original form and garlands her (l^1l^1). The earth comes up from under the ocean (LL) and Bhooma Devi agrees to make Kerala her home and settle there. Thus motifemically the sequences are (L), (l^1), (l^2) (T), (TA), (l^2 l^2), (T), (l^3) (l^3 l^3) (TA), (l^4) (l^4 l^4), (Dct) (Dcpt), (l^1 l^1), (LL). Here (L) and (l^1) are interdependent and co-extensive. In other words (L) and (l^1) constitute a double lack. Earth under the sea will come up (L) only if wedding takes places between Bhooma Devi and Vishnu (l^1). The order of this dependency as a logical consequence can be reversed also. If wedding can take place between the two (L) then the earth can come up from under the sea (l^1). Since (L) and (l^1) each possess equal importance as an initial basic lack in relation to the structural pattern of the whole tale, it follows that each can be independent of the other, that one of the two can even displace the other. We shall come to this later.

4.7 When compared with the Thootram Paaṭṭu legend, the motifemic depth of the Parasuraman legend is far less. In fact the structure of the later legend is typical of the simplest two-nuclear motifeme sequence. Expansion and magnification of the Thootram Paaṭṭu legend reveal a number of intermediate motifemes. Such an elaborate expansion and magnification, simply is not feasible in the case of the Parasuraman legend. In this legend the accretions just precede or follow the core or the myth content. Parasuraman should not kill his mother (Int); he kills her (Viol); the sin possesses him (Conseq); he washes out that sin by extirpating the Kshatriyas (AE). As a sage he should not kill the Kshatriyas (Int); he killed them (Viol); the sin of shedding human blood was on him (Conseq); to expiate that sin he pours out all the land to the Rishis (AE). He has no land (L): by penance he makes the sea-god roll back allowing the land of Kerala to come up (LL). There was no God for worship in the metropolis (L); Subramanyan condescended to be worshiped there (LL). People were not there in the land (L); he brought the Brahmins from the shores of the Kistna (LL). There was no authority, administration (L); he gave the Brahmins, authority and administration over the employment and occupation of the four castes (LL). Thus between the lack of land and the liquidation of that lack the motifeme sequences preceding are (Int), (Viol), (Conseq) and (AE); (Int), (Viol), Conseq) and (AE); and those following are (L), (LL); (L), (LL); and (L), (LL).

4.8. Though there is a diversity in the respective contents of the two legends morphologically they are identical in as much as they come under the nuclear two-motifeme sequence. That within this same structural slot any number of stories from the different parts of the world can be aligned one above the other irrespective of the variety of the languages and their variegated contents was envisaged as early as 1945 by Jakobson when in his commentary on a new translation of a number of Afanasiev's *Russian Fairy Tales* he observed that 'the languages of the whole world manifest a paucity and relative simplicity of structural types; and at the base of all these types lie universal laws.'[31] Voegelin and Harris gave expression to the same view when they said in 1947 that 'structural comparability of languages may be stated independently of their genetic relationships'.[32]

5. While this is true the results of the application of Dundes' principles to pattern analysis and structural description of folktales, myths, legends and traditional narratives raise doubts which need examination.

5.1. Dundes' endeavour was to disprove the falsity of the earlier view held by scholars that the North American Indian Folktales comprised haphazard and random conglomerates of free-floating motifs and that the relationship between the component parts of a tale to each other and to the whole lacked cohesion. No doubt Dundes was eminently successful in maintaining that the American Indian Folktales are definitely structured and patterned. The tales analysed by him certainly are simpler in as much as they conform to the two-, four- and six-motifeme sequences. This makes him draw even the inference that the lesser motifemic depth of the American Indian folktales, in contrast to the greater depth of the Indo-European folktales may well be due to the absence of the influence of a literary tradition. He goes a step further in support of his supposition and argues that when the ancestors of the American Indians went to America from Asia they must have carried with them folktales of simpler structural types which may have been widely prevalent then in Asia. He does not stop with this but suggests a searching examination of the links connecting Japanese, Siberian, Indo-European, American Indian and even African folktales which he expects will prove his inference. That the impact of powerful literary traditions need not necessarily give a greater motifeme depth to a simple folktale is shown by the existence of the nuclear two-motifeme sequence of the Parasuraman legend that had long been imprisoned in writing and had become part of written literature. But what is more surprising is that the Thootram Paaṭṭu legend which still exists only in the oral tradition

[31] ROMAN JAKOBSON, 'On Russian Fairy Tales', in *Russian Fairy Tales,* trans. Norbert Guterman (New York, 1945), p. 640.

[32] C. F. VOEGELIN and Z. S. HARRIS, "The Scope of Linguistics", *American Anthropologist* (1947), 49:588-600.

shows acquisition of greater motifemic depth due to the interaction of literary traditions.

5.2 In the two-, four- and six-motifeme sequences the component parts exhibit a close relationship to each other and the pattern of the whole and this is as it should be in any morphological analysis. In any such analysis the behaviour of the whole is not determined by the individual parts. On the other hand the part processes themselves are determined by the intrinsic nature of the whole. In other words the parts by themselves cannot have an independent existence without the whole. In the nuclear two-motifeme tales (T) & (TA) or (Dct) & (Dcpn) or (Int) & (Viol) occurring as intervening motifemes between the related opening and closing motifeme slots (L) & (LL) will by themselves have no import or significance. It is the relationship of the motifemic sequences to each other and to the pattern of the whole that can make structural analysis perfect. As the opening and closing initial and terminal related basic motifemic slots expand upwards and downwards, intervening motifemes come in and take their respective positions in order to enter into relationships, permitting a certain regularity, recurrence, order and even symmetry to each other and to the fundamental primary slots both at the top and at the bottom. In the case of the extended tales the principles of Dundes do not go far to establish an intimate cohesion in the relationship of the component parts to each other and to the pattern of the whole.[33] Tale content within a specified or particular motifemic sequence completing itself in the repetition of the same motifemic sequence as in the Star Husband Tale or Lodge-Boy and Thrown-Away Tale may exhibit structural patterns revealing relationships between the parts and the whole. But in the majority of the elaborate, extended, complex and cumulative tales, intermediate parts comprising incident, event or episode can exist independently without bearing any relationship to the opening initial or closing terminal frames. In other words such extended tales could be terminated at any one of a number of points which only means that the parts could exist without the whole and such a position is contrary to the concept of structural wholes. The whole by itself as in (L) & (LL) or with the irreducible minimum parts as in (L) (T), (TA) & (LL) or (L), (Dct), (Dcpn) & (LL) or (Int), (Viol), (Conseq) & (AE) no doubt can exist but if mere parts of complex or cumulative tales can have independent existence without relationship to the whole of the complex or cumulative tale then structural analysis should be defective.

5.3. According to Dundes folktales consist of sequences of motifemes. As per this the whole of the Parasuraman legend as analysed consists of sequences of motifemes, the sequences running as (Int) (Viol) (Conseq) & (AE); (Int) (Viol) (Conseq) & (AE); (L) (T) (TA) & (LL);

[33] Alan Dundes desires to have structural analysis of the folklore of geographical areas like Africa also in his 'Structural Typology in North American Indian Folktales', *South Western Journal of Anthropology*, p. 129.

(L) & (LL); (L) & (LL). The tale could be terminated at the end of any one of the motifemic sequences. But how can sequences of motifemes go counter to the fundamental concept of morphological analysis which envisage an inextricable relationship between the parts and the whole and vice-versa? Granting that the succession of motifemic sequences in the Parasuraman legend is not contained within a related pair of initial and terminal motifemic slots let us come to an examination of the motifemic sequences within the initial and terminal basic motifemic slots in the Thootram Paaṭṭu legend. Even without the opening and closing double lacks (L), (l^1) and (LL), (l^1 l^1) the intervening motifeme sequences can remain and exist. Even each one of these sequences — (l^2), (T), (TA) & (l^2 l^2); (T) (L^3), (l^3 l^3) & (TA); (l^4) & (L^4 L^4); if pushed out of the basic frame of initial and terminal motifemes can still survive independently of the whole tale.

5.4. Dundes' basic structural unit based on Propp/Pikian principles can establish intimate structural relationships and connect the component parts of the tale to each other and to the pattern of the whole only in the case of such folktales as the simple, simpler and simplest ones with little or less motifemic depths and folktales belonging to a particular category or type the forms of which are limited as in the Russian Fairy Tales analysed by Propp.[34] In the case of complex, cumulative folktales wherein the motifemic depths are involved and complicated Dundes' principles can help only to define them as sequences of motifemes and cannot go further to help establish intimate structural relationships between the parts and the whole. Fixed phrase folkloristic genres comprise proverbs, riddles and charms and free phrase folkloristic genres consist of superstitions, jokes and folktales. If the terms fixed phrase and free phrase could be extended as 'fixed form' and 'free form' then simple, simpler folktales as well as fairy type folktales can be brought under the former and the involved, complex and elaborate folktales under the latter. In the case of 'free form' folktales Dundes' principles fail to bring about inter-relationships as amongst the parts of the tales and as between their parts and the whole. To the extent Dundes' basic units fail us in establishing structural relationships between the parts and the whole his emic units cease to be emic and structural and tend to be etic and non-structural.[35]

5.5. Dundes postulates two types of morphological analyses, 'structural analysis of folkloristic materials which includes linguistic analysis and a structural analysis of folkloristic materials which does not'.[36] Propp's morphology of the Russian Fairy Tales with his basic unit, 'function' which he defined as the action of one of a folktale's dramatis

[34] *FF Communications*, vol. LXXXI, no. 195, 1964, pp. 89-90.
[35] Ibid., pp. 91-92.
[36] ALAN DUNDES, *The Morphology of North American Indian Folktales*, Helsinki, 1964, p. 49.

personae independent of who performs it or how it is fulfilled by the dramatis personae is a structural analysis which does not include a linguistic analysis. Dundes' structural analysis of folktales included a linguistic analysis also in as much as he had imported the units of linguistics and Pike's terminology into Propp's 'function'. Propp's unit of folktale plot action cannot be said to have been devoid entirely of content cognates in as much as the 'action' in the 'function' contains cognates of content as do the subjects and incidents in that of Stith Thompson's 'motifs'. And Dundes while arriving at his motifeme, allomotif and motif had not cared to eliminate the content cognates from Propp's 'function' which he had totally adopted with its three, feature, manifestation and distribution, modes. Yet he maintains his structural pattern is independent of specific content.[37] This is why when we come to complex, cumulative folktales we realise the possibility of the existence of an admixture of cognates of structure and content cognates. This exactly may be why Sebeok and Ingemann in addition to the description of the outer structure believe in the description also of the inner structure, as the examination of the outer and inner dimensions will relate the one to the other and complete the picture of the whole.

[37] ALAN DUNDES, *The Morphology of North American Indian Folktales*, Helsinki, 1964, p. 98.

H. A. KRISHNA PILLAI'S CONTRIBUTION TO TAMIL LITERATURE

MARY MASILLAMANI

Krishna Pillai is the author of *Rakshanya Yathrikam, Rakshanya Samaya Nirnayam, Rakshanya Manoharam* and *Rakshanya Kural;* but he is best known to us as the author of *Rakshanya Yathrikam.* He has been popularly known as Christava Kambar,[1] as he copied the poetic style and form of Kambar, the author of Tamil *Ramayana.*

THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS AND RAKSHANYA YATHRIKAM

Rakshanya Yathrikam by Krishna Pillai is an adaptation of *The Pilgrim's Progress.* The aim of Krishna Pillai has been to adopt the inimitable story of *The Pilgrim's Progress,* and clothing it in new and elegant attire, to present it in a really Tamil guise.[2] Just as in the hands of Kambar, Valmiki's *Ramayana* becomes the *Ramayana* of the Tamil people, so also in the hands of Krishna Pillai, Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* becomes a Kapya of the Tamil Land. Only in broad outline does Krishna Pillai take over the story of *The Pilgrim's Progress.* He uses his knowledge of Tamil Literature along with his knowledge of the Bible and conjures up similes, conventions, descriptions and teachings that are applicable to the Tamil traditions, so that we can think of this work as having an individuality of its own.

Rakshanya Yathrika is divided into five books with 47 sections of about 3800 verses on the whole. It differs from the standard Tamil classical poems in the free use it makes of Sanskrit words. The summary is as follows: — Athmavisari who has a load of sin on his back desires to get rid of it. Suviseshaka meets him and tells him of the way to Paraloha the land of bliss; Athmavisari makes the pilgrimage and passing through trials and temptations crosses the slough of Avanambikai, escapes from Mayapuri and reaches his destination.

[1] D. G. THANGARAJ, *Christava Kambar,* Introduction by Bishop David Chellappa.

[2] T. WALKER, Preface to *Rakshanya Yathrika.*

EPIC AND KAVYA

Though *Rakshanya Yathrika* lacks some of the elements required for an Epic or Perunkapya, the author says that it should be ranked with Perunkapya. Kappiyam in Tamil corresponds to Kavya in Sanskrit. Kavya in Sanskrit meant at first a conventional literary piece — the work of a Kavi. Later it came to mean a long poem. Kapya, Perunkapya and Ithikasa are terms in ascending order. Kapya signifying a poet's smaller piece of work; Perunkapya — a great Kapya — great in size and because of the poet's greatness; and Ithikasa — greater in size than Perunkapya embracing in itself a great many people, heroic deeds, incidents and anecdotes where both man and God are involved. But Kapya, Perunkapya or Ithikasa are terms of convenience as for instance the division into the five Perunkapyas and the five Sirukapyas in Tamil. In English we may name all the three divisions 'Epics'.

In Western Literature, Greece produced the two great epics — Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Epic poems were composed not only with war and romance but also with didactive and religious purposes. Thus, for an epic to have religious purpose, as it happens in the case of *Rakshanya Yathrika*, it finds sanction in Greek Literature. Virgil's *Aenid* is the greatest epic in Latin Literature. In the northern countries, *Beowulf is* the best example of an epic poem in mediæval times written in Anglo-Saxon. *Chansons de Roland* could be mentioned as an example of the French mediæval epic. To the Middle Ages belongs Dante's *Divine Comedy.*

All epics speak about a succession of great and brave deeds by heroes and in process of this narration, the *Iliad, Odyssey, Aenid, Beowulf, Chanson de Roland*[3] remain narratives of exploits, of supernatural elements and powers, heart-rending tales of murder and war, of valour and chivalry. The English *Færy Queen* of Spenser and Milton's *Paradise Lost* may also be considered along with this group.

In short, according to L. Abercombe "an epic must be a story and it must be told well and greatly and significance must be applied whether in the story itself or in the telling of it."[4] Does this mean that the epic must be allegorical? No! "It has to show life unmistakably being significant. It recreates it and charges the fact itself with the poet's own sense of ultimate values. The values will be emotional and spiritual rather than intellectual. The ideal truth of Epic development is Homer who begins the whole business of the Epic, fixes its type and declares its artistic purpose"; Virgil perfects the type and Milton perfects the purpose. Abercombe says, "Epic poetry exhibits life in some great symbolic attitude."

Bearing in mind the characteristics of an Epic, if we must press for

[3] *Encyclopædia Britannica.*
[4] LASCELLES ABERCOMBIE, *The Epic.*

a difference between Epic and Kapya we may say that epics[5] are for common people to listen to and enjoy and Kapya is for those interested in studying and enjoying literature; also whereas the epic is strong on the plot of the story and chivalrous actions of characters, Kapya is strong on the world of thought. Thus *Rakshanya Yathrika* may be considered a Kapya according to this definition.

The word Kapya is not mentioned in *Tholkapiam* the oldest existing Tamil work. But *Manimekalai,*[6] one of the five Perunkapyas makes use of the word; also *Uthayanan Kathai,*[7] one of the five minor epics, makes mention of the word. *Chinthamani,*[8] another Perunkapya, also refers to it. In Sanskrit, though anything sung by a Kavi or a poet was known as Kavya, *Ramayana* by Valmiki for the first time was known as a special Kavya and since then this kind of poetry alone was called Kavya. *Kavyatharsam*[9] in Sanskrit was translated into Tamil during the time of Kulothunga Chola and the work was known as *Thandialangaram.* But before the day of *Thandialangaram,*[10] *Chinthamani* and the five minor epics must have been in existence. These were perhaps modelled on Kavyas in Sanskrit. The authors of these Tamil works were Jains steeped in Sanskrit knowledge and learning as well. Thiruthaka Thevar the author of *Chinthamani* has introduced Viruthapa — a popular metre for Kapya, and this has helped in the development of Kapya as Virutham has many variations to suit the various moods of the Kapya.

The author of *Thandi* defined Perunkapya thus: "It begins with praise, worship and mention of the subject. It speaks of the four Dharmas of life, of the peerless unique hero, of the grandeur of mountains, of the wonders of sea and ocean, of an ideal land and country with its capital town of importance; of the various seasons of the year and their descriptions; of the beauties of nature, of sunrise and sunset; of sport and merriment in parks and fountains; of the coronation; of the hero; of his wedded life and of its alluring pleasures; of the bliss of children and their prank and prattle; of the hero's foreign policy, his messengers, his friends, his enemies and his victories. All these are portrayed with taste and feeling by learned poets."[11]

This is only a general description and not a definition of the Perunkapya. The author of *Thandi* goes on to say that there is no need for every Kapya to speak of all that has been narrated here but one thing that is indispensable to Perungapya is the incorporation of the four Dharmas of life.[12] If this is not there, it should be ranked as Sirukapya. All

[5] S. VAIAPURI PILLAI, *Age of the Kavyas.*
[6] *Nataka Kapya Nanool Nunipore.*
[7] *Kappya Vasanai Kalanthavai solli.*
[8] *Kapya Kavihal Kama eriezha viharpithittar.*
[9] ACHARYA THANDI, *Kavya Tharsam.*
[10] CHELVAKESAVA RAYA MUDALIAR, *Kamba Nadar;* 1909; p. 14.
[11] *Thandialangaram,* Pothuviyal; 8.
[12] Ibid. 10.

these details about Perunkapya may be summed up thus: The Kapya has to have a great hero and it must tell a story in an attractive artistic way with an ethical aim.[13] *Rakshanya Yathrika* fulfils all these requirements.

KAPYAS AS VEHICLES FOR CONVEYING RELIGIOUS CONVICTIONS

"Kavya writers in every land and in all times have undertaken their works for didactic purposes, using their work as means to this end. This is true of Greek, Roman, English and Scandinavian epic writers as much as those of Indian origin — both in Sanskrit and Tamil."[14] But an author does not create a story in order to convey his religious and moral convictions. The story exists, and as the poet tells the story, he finds many circumstances where he can convey his religious convictions. *Manimekalai,* one of the Perunkapyas, tells the story of the ascetic heroine and that was the primary motive of the author; but there are many places where the Buddhist teachings such as love for all created things, suppression of the five senses, serving God through serving mankind, considering character as the test of greatness and not high caste, giving up killing of any life and other such religious convictions are talked about.[15] In *Chinthamani,* the author brings in the teachings of Jainism through the kapya pathras. His aim is to tell the story of Jeevaka as the ideal hero of Jainism and this gives him an opportunity to elaborate on the philosophy of Jainism. In *Ramayana,* Kamban conveys his moral, ethical and religious convictions chiefly through the parts that Rama and Sita play in the story and partly through other characters like Kausalya, Bharatha, Hanuman and Vibeedanan and others. Kambar is able to make beautiful and attractive for us, through the characters, "whatsoever things are pure and whatsoever things are lovely",[16] showing how each one behaved in testing circumstances. Hence Kambar's Kapya is of the first order.

Silapathikaram also is of the first order because Ilango enlists our sympathies towards people like Kovalan and the Pandyan king, who are great in spite of their weaknesses. The author's superb poetic diction helps us to admire the commendable qualities of Kannaki and the artistic appeal of Madhavi. The plot of the story of *Silapathikaram* is a composite whole working up to a climax whereas in *Chinthamani* and *Periapuranam,*[17] the plot is made up of many stories. We may go on citing instances, but one thing can be generalized, namely, conveying religious ideas is not the primary aim of the Kapya writer. If that is his aim, his work becomes didactic literature and the author fails as a Kapya writer. A Kapya to deserve the name, "must produce feelings similar

[13] S. VAIYAPURI PILLAI, op. cit.
[14] REV. S. W. SAVARIMUTHU, From his notes on Kavya.
[15] A. K. PARANTHAMANAR, *Illakiya Katturaigal.*
[16] Epistle to the Philippians 4:8.
[17] S. VAIYAPURI PILLAI, op. cit.

to those produced by any great work of art",[18] and this is feeling evoked in the readers by the author, not by the preaching of religious precepts divorced from Kapya Pathras. The readers should be able to feel the ethical convictions emotionally through the parts that the characters play and these ethical qualities revealed through the characters, is called Bhavigam or Kapya Panbu.

A poet writes because there is an urge in him to speak out his feelings and convictions. He may write partly in order to give a special teaching to his people as in the case of *Rakshanya Yathrika,* but primarily because his heart is filled with something that he wants to give expression to. Lyrics, ballads, and short poems reflect a special mood, a temporary urge of the poet. Wordsworth singing about daffodils or Desikavinayagam Pillai[19] singing about the first sorrow of a little boy thus,

> The bees hum their tunes mother
> The parrots look for their parks
> I'm all alone here, mother
> Tell me, where's my little brother?

— reflects just a mood, a temporary mood, but the words expressed are of permanent value. We may say that the writers of Kapya also wrote because there was an underlying urge to tell their story. With them the urge takes a more planned-out form. A long story with many characters and incidents, has to be fitted in with many moods, and a long drawn out life of the hero has to be filled in. It is like a magnificent large stained glass window in which we see so many shades of colours, so many patterns and ever so many representations of incidents, stories of people and things; and when the sun shines, through it all can be seen, the one vision and purpose of the artist. In *Paradise Lost* by Milton, we see the great drama of the fall of man. Though Milton is a Puritan and a man of intense religious convictions, he does not set out to preach his brand of faith; in this work he is primarily an artist expressing himself. "His artistic genius is an integral part of his being, an underlying force which combines with his desire to glorify God."[20] So it can be said that a Kapya is not merely used by the author as a vehicle for conveying religious convictions or teachings. Even in the *Ramayana,*[21] Kamban says in Avai adakkam, "filled with an emotional love for the spotless Rama, I have ventured to write his story". Hence it is filled with that devotion and the desire to sing and glorify his God that Krishna Pillai undertakes to write this Kapya.

[18] MISS K. R. PADMABAI, Women's Christian College.
[19] DESIKA VINAYAGAM, *Malarum Malaiyum, Muthal Thuyaram.*
[20] MISS K. R. PADMABAI.
[21] ஆசைப்பற்றி அறைந லுற்றேன் மற்றிக்
காசில் கொற்றத் திராமன் கதையரோ. — பாயிரம்: 4.

KAPYAS WHICH INFLUENCED KRISHNA PILLAI

It is clear that Kambar's *Ramayana* has greatly influenced Krishna Pillai. It seems to have inspired him both in the style and in the poetic tradition. We find that some of the verses in the *Ramayana* and *Rakshanya Yathrika* have the same diction and melody.

Silapathikaram also may have influenced Krishna Pillai. The lyrical portions of *Silapathikaram* such as Attru Vari, Kanal Vari, Aichiyar Kuravai, Vettuvavari etc., coming between the tense and tragic scenes of the story, serve as a dramatic relief. Krishna Pillai also uses this technique. He has introduced in the most appropriate places of the Kapya lyrical hymns which are surcharged with the poet's devotion for Christ. These hymns are reminiscent of *Thevaram* and *Thivya Prabandham.* As *Thevaram* is set to music and sung for devotional purposes, so also some of these hymns in *Rakshanya Yathrika* are sung in the Christian church.

DIFFICULTIES OF EXPRESSING CHRISTIAN CONCEPTS AND THEOLOGY IN TAMIL

The Tamil grammarians were faced with the difficulty of introducing and assimilating into Tamil, words of Sanskrit origin even though both Sanskrit and Tamil stemmed from the same background: Indian culture and civilization. It is possible to spot out words of Sanskrit origin when the Sanskrit element was prominent in a Tamil work. According to grammarians,[22] these words when used in Tamil had to undergo some changes. But in a piece of religious literature in Tamil, the presence of Sanskrit element is taken for granted and seems natural, partly because religious literature in Tamil, is permeated by intricate mystical, abstract ideas for which Sanskrit with all the heritage of Vedas and their interpretations, was able to contribute a good deal. Devotional hymns of *Thevaram, Thiruvasagam, Nalayirathivya Prabandham, Thayumanavar Padal* and Ramalinga Adihal etc. in spite of Sanskrit elements echo the true mind and heart of the Tamils. A language is not the prerogative of one culture or civilization or country; it is a way a language is used by a people for centuries together, that determines this. If a particular language answers the deepest needs of a people and has gone to the core of their life and if the language echoes the deepest, highest, as well as the ordinary common day-to-day thoughts and experiences of the people, so as to become a part and parcel of their life, then it is the language of the people.

But there are difficulties, for instance, Sanskrit words, names and phrases when introduced into Tamil and pronounced and read produce an obvious note of discord in sound and santhi. If the introduction of Sanskrit words brings in a kind of discord, how much more would

[22] PAVANANTHI MUNIVAR, *Nannool,* Peyariyal 274.

the introduction of concepts, names and theology of the western world bring?

Viewed from this standpoint *Rakshanya Yathrika* has certain drawbacks. The story is taken from an English author, this in itself does not stand as an insuperable barrier, for we know that the author of the drama *Manonmaniyam*, Professor Sundaram Pillai, takes an English story — Lord Lytton's *The Secret Way* and transforms it into an Eastern story. The way in which the author succeeds in making it completely a Tamil drama with Tamil back-ground and Tamil conventions as well as the weaknesses of the Tamils, is marvellous. Also "Sivahami Saritham" which is a complete story introduced into *Manomaniyam* and which is an adaptation of an English poem called *Hermit* by Goldsmith has been completely transformed into a Tamil story. As one reads the drama one does not realize that the theme has been borrowed. One obvious reason is that the Nataka Pathras have Tamil names and they live in the Tamil country.

On the other hand the names of people and places in *Rakshanya Yathrika* are Sanskrit, translated from English. The names, though supposed to be allegorical, bring in one of the unTamil elements. But we must also consider the fact that Krishna Pillai lived at a time when Sanskrit words and names were freely used.

However, the thing about the *Rakshanya Yathrika* that should not be forgotten is that it has nine devotional lyrical hymns scattered through the book. These 144 verses are the highlights of this book. Here the author completely forgets that he is writing an allegorical story borrowed from English literature.

COMBINATION OF REALISM AND IMAGERY

By realism, is meant here the theory that art or literature should conform to nature or to real life.[23] The term here is used in a literary sense, and it means depicting real life. By imagery we mean the figurative language used in literature as a kind of ornament to illustrate something.

Rakshanya Yathrika is a figurative story. Into this story, Krishna Pillai weaves very cleverly the life and teachings of Jesus. "Every opportunity has been seized consistently with the continuity of the story for the introduction of fine passages from the Bible." Bunyan was writing to a people who were familiar with the stories of the Bible and the stories of Christianity, and therefore though he wrote in figurative language, we know that the people would know the full implication of this language. But Krishna Pillai was writing to a people who were not very familiar with the Bible and also to a people who were new converts, who had to be educated in the Christian way of living as contained in the

[23] *Websters New Collegiate Dictionary*, U.S.A. 1961.

Bible. So, along with the allegorical plot, Krishna Pillai presents the real facts of Christianity at length so that in *Rakshanya Yathrika* there are two strands running through side by side, one an allegorical plot, and the other a narrative of the life of Christ taken from the Bible. This combination of "Realism" and "Imagery" gives scope for Krishna Pillai's originality.

KRISHNA PILLAI'S CONTRIBUTION

Krishna Pillai belonged to an age where the simple style in poetry and prose had not come in. His work *Rakshanya Yathrika* followed the traditional poetic style of the Kapya writers because he had been nurtured in it. But his contacts with the English missionaries and his appreciation of books like *The Pilgrim's Progress* gave him a new approach, a Christian approach to his Kapya, and an opportunity to make use of his knowledge of the Tamil language and literature. "In the cup prepared by his forefathers and contemporaries, he presented the Devamirtham of the good news of the Christian faith."[24] He has made his contribution to Tamil literature in a very real way. In the Tamil world his Kapya has been well received and studied. He has shown that it is to a great extent possible to express intricate Christian concepts and stories in chaste Tamil. Portions of this book have been prescribed in schools and colleges for study. Text books and anthologies have included passages from this book. Another work of Krishna Pillai, *Rakshanya Manoharam* expressing simple thoughts in simple style, contains devotional hymns of a general nature modelled on *Thevaram.* These are sung by Christians according to the rules of Tamil music.

In short, Krishna Pillai is the Indian Tamil poet who has given to the world an immortal Christian Kapya, and has shown to the Tamil world that Tamil has no boundaries of religion or creed and that this language, to a great extent, is flexible enough to express the deepest thoughts and philosophies of any religion.

[24] S. W. SAVARIMUTHU, From his notes on *Rakshanya Yathrikam.*

THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS AND *IRATCANIYA YAATTIRIKAM*

D. YESUDHAS

JOHN BUNYAN

The Pilgrim's Progress has to be viewed against the socio-political background of the 17th Century England. The deep religious and moral urges of a soul have been caught and fixed in it for all ages. This great epic of human endeavour for spiritual realization has in it features sufficient to procure for it an abiding eminence in the galaxy of religious literature. It is an intense record of the spirit's pilgrimage across the vast wilderness of existence. John Bunyan describes in it the progress of the soul to the Celestial City and the obstacles it encountered.

John Bunyan was born in Elstow near Bedford in the year 1628. He was a man of humble origin. Early in his life he got married to a girl who inspired him to be religious. In consequence he joined a free Church which was not in consonance with the then existing Church. So he was persecuted and put in gaol for twelve years. Towards the close of his life in the gaol he began to write *The Pilgrim's Progress* which has made his name immortal.

H. A. KRISHNA PILLAI

The Pilgrim's Progress is a wonderful allegory which ranked the author for ever among the peers of the intellectual world and secured for himself an ever widening and undying fame. For its world-wide appreciation its religious importance is solely responsible. The very reading of the book converted many a soul in Western and Eastern countries. Krishna Pillai is one among them.

Krishna Pillai was born in 1827 in Ratiyapatti near Tirunelveli. Even as a little boy he developed in himself an aptitude for Kampan's work. After his early education, he could not go for English education and so his father put him under a Sanskrit tutor. Being a staunch Vaishnavite he obtained a profound knowledge in Vaishnavite literature.

In 1842 Krishna Pillai married. Soon after, his father passed away. It was at that time that Christianity had its spread in South India. Being an orthodox Vaishnavite he opposed Christianity and caused damages

to properties belonging to Christians. He was preoccupied in this destructive work for about ten years.

In the year 1852, there was a vacancy for the post of a Tamil teacher in the Sawyerpuram Mission School. There were three applicants of whom Krishna Pillai was one and the lot fell upon him. His association with the missionaries brought him into closer touch with Christianity. He began to read portions of the Bible but was not able to appreciate it. It was then there was a Christian revival which made many Hindus embrace Christianity. Of them, Thanakodi Raj, a high official and his own brother Muthiah Pillai were two. Krishna Pillai was much against his brother embracing Christianity. However, this set him to think deeply of the new religion. With the result, he was all the more confused not knowing what to do. Christian missionaries and the new converts like Thanakodi Raj helped him very much in removing his doubts and confusions. In that connection Thanakodi Raj presented him with four books of which one was the Tamil translation of *The Pilgrim's Progress.* The reading of *The Pilgrim's Progress* touched his heart and soul. From then onwards he began to read the Gospels. One night he was conversing with Thanakodi Raj for a long time about his doubts. The very same night he began to pray to Lord Jesus Christ accepting Him as his personal Saviour.

His love for Christianity caused great alarm to his mother, wife and relatives. They began to hate him. To avoid further trouble, he went to Madras and remained there for some time. There he got spiritual help from some European missionaries; he was baptized and then he was known as Henry Alfred. This memorable event took place in his 30th year. His eagerness to influence his own household to bring them to the Gospel light made him return from Madras very soon. But he did not succeed. His wife went to her parents leaving the children to her husband. This state of affairs continued for a year and a half. Since she could not stand the strain of separation from her children she returned and lived in a nearby house. After some time the reconciliation took place and the whole family was baptized.

As days passed by, he became more and more devoted to Christianity. He perused all Christian literature and felt the absence of a Christian Epic in Tamil. To enrich Tamil literature with a Christian epic and to establish his deep faith in Christianity, he began to write among other works, *iraṭcaṉiya yaattirikam.*

SIMILARITIES

Both the authors aim at salvation of humanity at large. In his early years Bunyan was only a nominal Christian not knowing even the fundamentals of Christianity. Krishna Pillai was an orthodox Vaishnavite opposing Christianity all along. When they had a spiritual crisis they

became dynamic powers in their religion. They suffered religious persecutions but they had the strength to bear them patiently.

There was spontaneous flow of thoughts and words in both the authors in the literary treatment of their deep religious convictions. In description, explanation and elucidation, both the works were done in equal excellence. In both the works metaphorical names[1] are used. Krishna Pillai has in addition used Sugirthan,[2] who is Bunyan himself in *The Pilgrim's Progress.*

DISSIMILARITIES

The general opinion is that *iraṭcaṉiya yaattirikam* is only a literal translation of *The Pilgrim's Progress* and the only difference is that the former is in poetry and the latter is in prose. It is not so. It is an adaptation in that the fundamentals of Christianity are expounded whereas *The Pilgrim's Progress* expounds the experiences of a Christian.

A reader of *The Pilgrim's Progress* will think of it as a dream narrated by John Bunyan. But a reader of *iraṭcaṉiya yaattirikam* will find it a Christian epic attempting to convert souls.

Bunyan's book is of two parts but Krishna Pillai, to make his work a complete epic, divided it into five parts which were sub-divided into patalams. aRam, poruḷ, inpam, viiṭu etc. are the fundamental qualities required for an epic in Tamil. Krishna Pillai has fully dealt with all these in that he differs from John Bunyan.

Bunyan is following the method of a preacher whereas Krishna Pillai is trying to instruct the people in the true knowledge of the Bible.

It looks as if *The Pilgrim's Progress* was written while Bunyan was in a dream whereas *iraṭcaṉiya yaattirikam* was written by Krishna Pillai when he is in this real world with a Biblical background.

Bunyan's narration is in the first person whereas Krishna Pillai's is in the third person. Krishna Pillai's work in third person indicates that his work is of a general epic kind.

Krishna Pillai's adaptation is more like Kampan's rendering of *Vaalmiki Raamaayanam.* That is to say *iraṭcaṉiya yaattirikam* is the orientalized form of *The Pilgrim's Progress* with more Biblical information. The progress of the Pilgrim is fully the genius of Bunyan whereas for *iraṭcaṉiya yaattirikam, The Pilgrim's Progress* serves as the model. As the authors of the *Theory of Literature* have observed, the relationships between two or more works of literature can be discussed profitably only when we see them in their proper place within the scheme of literary development.[3]

[1] Evangelist — சுவிசேஷகன்.
City of Destruction — நாசபுரி (நாசதேசம்) etc.

[2] H. A. KRISHNA PILLAI, *iratcaniya yaattirikam*, varalaaRuppatalam, stanza 8.

[3] RENE WELLEK and AUSTIN WARREN, *Theory of Literature*, chap. 19, "Literary History", p. 258.

BUNYAN'S INFLUENCE IN TAMIL LITERATURE

We can see metaphorical names in Tamil Literature from Bhakti period onwards.[4] However, the use of metaphorical names in *The Pilgrim's Progress* served as an eye opener to Krishna Pillai. In *iraṭcaṉiya yaattirikam*, Krishna Pillai has adapted some of the metaphorical names as were found in *The Pilgrim's Progress*.

Bharathi's *ñaana ratam* (ஞானரதம்) is a novelty in Tamil literature. In *The Pilgrim's Progress*, Bunyan had a dream in which a Christian on his way to the Celestial City visits a number of places. Similarly in *ñaana ratam* the moment Bharathi gets into the Celestial Chariot he is taken to different places according to his directions such as upacaaṉti lookam, kaṉtarva lookam, satya lookam,[5] etc. From these, one is inclined to think whether Bharathi too has followed Bunyan.

THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS

In its popularity as a work of enduring spiritual significance, *The Pilgrim's Progress* stands second to the Bible. In English literature it stands second to Shakespeare. Bernard Shaw has quoted once, "All that you miss in Shakespeare, you find in Bunyan, to whom the true heroic came quite obviously and naturally. The world to him was a more terrible place than it was to Shakespeare; but he saw through it a path at the end of which a man might look not only forward to the Celestial City but back on his life and say:

> 'Though with great difficulty, I am got hither, yet now I do not repent me of all the trouble I have been at to arrive where I am.'[6]

It thus reveals both literary merit and spiritual importance. It is this spiritual aspect that paves the way for its world-wide appreciation. There is hardly any writer in English who could not appreciate Bunyan as a great literary figure who has made an innovation in prose writing.

IRATCANIYA YAATTIRIKAM

iraṭcaniya yaattirikam derives its strength of appeal from its moral significance. The poet's high seriousness is in the whole texture of the poem. As David Daiches observes, all great works of art have a moral significance and he concludes, "Imaginative literature can be justified if it communicates historical or philosophical or moral truths in a lively and pleasing manner, and if this means telling things which are not literally true, the untruths can either be interpreted allegorically as ways

[4] *tiruppaavaai* by Aantaal,
tiruvaacakam by Mannikkavaacakar,
pirapulinka liilai by civappirakaaca saamilkal etc.

[5] *Baaratiyaar*, ñaana ratam, chaps. 1 to 3.

[6] JOHN BUNYAN, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, Collins edn., intro.

of representing an underlying general truth, or, in the case of the historical poet, as plausible reconstructions of what might well have occurred."[7]

"The mind of the reader is directed here throughout to things that are true, honest, pure, lovely and of good report" is T. Walker's compliment to this epic.

His contemporary, Prof. Sundaram Pillai, the author of *manoonmaṇiyam* was very much impressed by the felicity and the spontaneous flow of his words and thoughts and remarked, "I labour so hard to produce a few lines of poetry in Tamil and you go on composing stanza after stanza as if you were writing them down from memory."

Krishna Pillai has infused a new life into the minds of Christians in the same way as Kampan did to the Vaishnavite world by his poetic genius and so he is called the "Christian Kampan." According to *tanṭi* the important qualities required for an epic are found in *iraṭcaṇiya yaattirikam,* the hero is the Pilgrim. The author has used in his literary masterpiece similes, metaphors, proverbs, anecdotes etc. in appropriate places. All these are tantamount to its literary merit and Bhakti ecstasy.

His narration reaches its zenith when he explains the death of Jesus Christ and its aftermath.[8]

As in the great works of Ilanko Atikal and Kampan, there are pleasing echoes of other poets in Krishna Pillai's work also.[9] Even in naming the paṭalam, Krishna Pillai has followed Kampan. Instead of nakar niinku paṭalam in *Kamparaamaayaṇam,* he has used cumai niinku paṭalam.

The merit of a literary work will be known to the world only by its deep study. It we make a sincere approach to this piece we shall certainly appreciate it in the same way as we do *cilappatikaaram, cintaamani* etc.

H. A. Krishna Pillai should therefore, be reckoned among great poets and must be given due recognition and respect. His marvellous work needs a satisfactory edition.

[7] DAVID DAICHES, *Critical Approaches to Literature,* chap. 3, p. 53.
[8] H. A. KRISHNA PILLAI, *iratcaniya yaattirikam,* iratcaniya caritappatalam stanzas 381 to 400 and 415 to 419.
[9] D. YESUDHAS, *Ilakkiyaccintanaikal,* chap. 7, pp. 110-114.

SUBRAMANIA BHARATI'S IDEAS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF TAMIL LITERATURE

HELGA ANTON

It is not the intention of the author to speak in the framework of this article about the eminent significance of the poetical works of Subramania Bharathi whom the late Jawaharlal Nehru praised with the following remark:

> "பாரதியார் தமிழ் நாட்டுக் கவிமட்டுமல்ல; அவர் அகில இந்தியாவுக்கும் சொந்தமானவர். அவருடைய கவிதைகளை எல்லா இந்திய மொழிகளிலும் வெளியிட வேண்டும்."

It is the desire of the author to point out Bharati's most important ideas and remarks about the situation and the development of the modern Tamil literature, especially under the aspect of finding out general lines in the development of the Tamil literature at the turning point of this century. In order to come to a scientifically complete knowledge about Bharati, whose personality and works are full of contradictions and in whose ideas we can notice a blend of the long cultural tradition of India with modern ideals of the East and even the West, it is necessary, especially for a European, to analyze and investigate very exactly the various problems concerning the poet and his works. Owing to a limited knowledge on Bharati under this topic, I am sure it may help us to look at Bharati under a different aspect, and it may complete the picture of this poet on the whole.

The beginning of the 20th century in India is characterized by the strengthening of the national freedom-movement; in the years 1905-08 it came to its first revolutionary upsurge, led by the young national bourgeois and by the urban middle classes. From Bengal and Maharashtra, which were economically and politically most developed, the freedom-movement spread to other places, like Tamil Nad, too. The growth of the national spirit led to a literary renaissance in almost all the Indian languages.

While in Bengal endeavours to attain a modern national language and literature had already started in the beginning of the 19th century, in Tamil Nad and in other parts of India this process began in full swing at the turning point of this century only.

In the meanwhile the city of Madras having been made the centre for administration and education in South India, became also the cultural centre of Tamil Nad. In this connection the centre of arts and literature shifted from the feudal courts and the Matalayams to Madras. Instead of the court-poets and the Matalayam-poets, the new literature was created now by the urban poets and writers. This historical change can be observed in Bharati's life. Almost all the representatives of the new, developing literature in Tamil Nad came from the urban middle classes. According to this process, the rural-feudal character of the literature was replaced by a urban-bourgeois (to a large extent petty-bourgeois) character, and the religious subject was slowly pushed away by a more secular one.

The main theme of the new literature was the struggle for national independence and social reforms. In the content as well as in the form a connection between the retrospection on their own glorious past and the acceptance of progressive western ideas is evident. In order to deal with these new themes it became necessary to develop new literary genres in prose and poetry partly under the influence of European literatures: story, novel, and drama. Thus, P. Suntaram Pillai wrote the first drama in Tamil *Manonmaniyam* in 1891, Vedanayagam Pillai published in 1879 the first fiction in Tamil *Piratapa mutaliyar carittiram,* "and short story as a distinct art with its modern technique begins to establish itself with V. V. S. Aiyar".[2] In spite of these sporadic germs, it can be stated that due to less socio-economic and political evolution in the Tamil Nad until the beginning of this century, the development in modern literature was far behind that in Bengal. Up to this time Tamil Nad could not bring out a self-relying literature dealing with the national and social tasks.

While in Bengal it was Rabindranath Tagore who, already leaning upon the significant success of his predecessors (Bankim Chatto-padhyay and others), played the leading role in the literary renaissance in Bengal and even in the whole of India, likewise Subramania Bharati was the first in Tamil Nad who liberated the Tamil language and literature from all its chains, and who paved a new way for its further growth.

> "He is the father of the present era in Tamil. ... He rescued Tamil literature from the stagnation of the matalayams and the petty courts of zemindars and brought it into the main current of national life."[3]

Bharati contributed to the formation of modern Tamil literature

[1] PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, "Paratiyarukku neru pukalmalai," *Navamani,* Cennai, 12-12-63, p. 5.

[2] T. P. MEENAKSHISUNDARAM, "Tamil Literature", *Contemporary Indian Literature,* Delhi, Sahitya Akademi, 1957, p. 249.

[3] RAGHAVAN, Introduction, *The Voice of a Poet,* Calcutta, 1951, p. vi.

not only through his poetical creations but also through his theoretical remarks about language and literature with which he showed the way to other poets and writers. His remarks about the situation and the development of Tamil language and literature can be found in his prose articles and also, now and then, in his poetry. He never wrote on this problem continuously, but he touched on it in different contexts, at times with a few sentences or words only. This can be explained through the fact, that he drew up his ideas to the different problems in the form of newspaper articles, with which he appealed to the broad masses. Inspired by the wish to wake up the national consciousness of the Tamilians he wrote about language and literature as important factors for the national awakening of his country.

With deep regret Bharati points out again and again the stagnation of literature and other arts in Tamil Nad in comparison to the curtural rise in the less backward parts of India:

> “இது மதுர கலைகளின் நிலைமை தற்காலத்திலே தமிழ் நாட்டிலே எவ்வாறு இருக்கிறதென்பதைப் பற்றியும் அதன் காரணத்தைப் பற்றியும் இங்கே ஆராயப் புகுந்திருக்கின்றோம். தமிழ் நாட்டைப் பற்றிக் கூறுவது இந்தியாவின் மற்றப் பகுதிகளுக்கும் பெரும்பான்மையும் பொருத்தமுடையதேயாகும். பெங்காளத்திலும், மஹாராஷ்டிர தேசத்திலும் மேற்படி கலைகளிலே சில சிறிது சிறிது தளிர்த்து வருகின்றனவென்றாலும், இந்தியாவிலுள்ள மற்ற நாடுகளிலெல்லாம் அவை உயிரின்றி நிற்கின்றன. இப்போது திருஷ்டாந்தமாகத் தமிழ் நாட்டை எடுத்துக்கொள்வோம். இங்கே கம்பனைப் போன்ற கவிஞர்கள் இக்காலத்தில் யார் இருக்கின்றார்கள்.”[4]

Continuing these considerations he turns to the various reasons checking the growth of the Tamil literature. In this connection he alludes to one appearance, which has been a hindrance for the evolution of Literature not only in Tamil Nad during the last centuries but also in other Indian literatures, especially in Sanskrit literature, from the beginning onward.

> பாண்டித்தியம் உடையோர்களும் பாண்டித்தியம் இருப்பதாக நினைத்துக் கொள்வோர்களும் கவிகள் கூறத் தொடங்கிவிடுகிறார்கள். கவித்திறமை இருப்பதற்குப் பாண்டித்தியம் ஒருவாறு அவசியமென்றாலும், பாண்டித்தியம் இருப்போர்களுக்கெல்லாம் கவிதா சக்தி இருப்பதில்லையென்பதை நம்மவர்கள் மறந்துவிட்டார்கள். இலக்கண வித்துவான்கள் கூடத் தாம் கவி பாடாமல் இருந்தால் இது மதிப்புக் குறைவென்று நினைத்துக்கொள்ளுகிறார்கள். இங்ஙனமாக உண்மையான கவிதை இந்நாட்டிலே மறைந்துபோய்விட்டது.[5]

Till the beginning of modern times there was no clear division between literature, religion, philosophy and other ideological forms. And so, many works, which are counted as literature, have insignificant or even no literary value at all. Tolkappiyar, as an example, is a very significant grammarian, but no poet. The line of division between the different

[4] MU. VARADARAJAN, "Tamil Literature", *Indian Literature*, Agra, 1959, p. 43.
[5] *Parati nulkal*, nankam pakuti, Tamilnatu aracankam, 1963, pp. 246/247.

ideological forms is not yet sharply drawn in India. Thus persons are counted as poets, who are actually grammarians, philosophers or scholars in other fields. On the other side still in the 18th and 19th centuries they dealt with themes in poetical form, which have no place in literature. So it is no wonder, when Bharati criticizes this wide-spread mixing up of knowledge and poetical ability as a serious hindrance to the growth of real poetry. But this was not the only reason for this literary stagnation. Analyzing the situation of the Tamil literature of his time Bharati adds other important facts.

In one article he writes the following:

> "உண்மையான கவிதைக்குத் தமிழ் நாட்டில் தக்க மதிப்பில்லை. இங்கிலீஷ் பாஷையிலிருந்து கதைகள் மொழிபெயர்த்துப்போட்டால் பலர் வாங்கி வாசிக்கிறார்கள். அல்லது இங்கிலீஷ் முறையைத் தழுவி மிகவும் தாழ்ந்த தரத்தில் பலர் புது நாவல்கள் எழுதுகிறார்கள். அவர்களுக்குக் கொஞ்சம் இலாபமேற்படுகிறது. தமிழில் உண்மையான இலக்கியத் திறமையும் தெய்வ அருளும் பொருந்திய நூல்கள் எழுதுவோர் ஒருசிலர் தோன்றியிருக்கிறார்கள்.[6] இவர்களுடைய தொழிலை அச்சடிப்பாரில்லை. அச்சிட்டால் வாங்குவாரில்லை. அருமை தெரியாத ஜனங்கள் புதிய வழியில் ஒரு நூலைக் காணும்போது அதில் ரஸமனுபவிக்க வழியில்லை. இங்கிலீஷ் படித்த "ஜனத்தலைவர்" காட்டும் வழியையே மற்றவர்கள் பிரமாணமென்று நினைக்கும்படியான நிலைமையில் தேசம் இருக்கிறது. இந்தப் "பிரமாணஸ்தர்கள்" தமிழ் நூல்களில் புதுமையும் வியப்பும் காணுவது சாத்தியமில்லை என்ற நிச்சயத்துடனிருக்கிறார்கள். ஆகவே நூலாசிரியர் தமக்குத் தெய்வம் காட்டிய தெழிலிலே மேன்மேலும் ஆவலுடன் பாடுபடவழியில்லாமல் வேறு தொழில் செய்யப் போய்விடுகிறார்கள்."[7]

In this statement Bharati illustrates some literary tendencies and efforts of his time. Many authors translated stories and novels from the English and other European literatures and from the Bengali literature (mainly Bankim and Tagore). Others again imitated the English literature. This translating and imitating is doubtlessly a lawful step towards the formation of the modern Indian literatures with regard to the unequal development of the various literatures in the world and with regard to the backwardness of the Indian literatures of that time. Bharati is not opposed to the imitating of English and other European literatures in a creative sense. This is evident from the context of his writings. You can find even in Bharati the influence of western poets like Shelley and Walt Whitman. Bharati condemns here more the production of worthless, cheap conversation literature (detectives-adventures-love stories) on English pattern, which formed the main books of the English educated sections. In contrast to this he shows us the extraordinarily difficult position of those artists who made serious efforts to create a new, self-relying literature in Tamil. They had neither financial support nor readers.

[6] *Parati nulkal*, nankam pakuti, Tamilnatu aracankam, 1963, p. 247.
[7] Ibid. (munram pakuti) 1961, p. 29.

In what does Bharati see the main reason for the stagnation of the Tamil literature:

ஒரு தேசத்து ஜனங்கள் மெய்யான உற்சாகமும் வீரத் தன்மையும் புகழும் கொண்டிருக்கும்போது அங்கே பெரிய கலையெழுச்சி ஏற்படுகின்றது. அழிவுக் காலங்களிலேயும் தாழ்ச்சிக் காலங்களிலேயும் இடையிடையே ஜனங்கள் தாழ்நிலையைச் சபிக்கும் பொருட்டு மஹான்கள் தோன்றுவார்களேயல்லாமல் கலையின் வளர்ச்சி ஏற்படமாட்டாது. தமிழர்களாகிய நமக்குள்ளே ஆண்மை போய்விட்டது. நமக்குத் தேசம் கிடையாது. ராஜ்யம் கிடையாது. சுயாதீனம் கிடையாது. இந்த நிலைமையில் 'ஸரஸ்வதி' இந்நாட்டிலே வந்து அவதரிப்பாளா?[8]

Bharati sees the main hindrance for a free growth of modern literature in the politically outlawed and degraded condition of the Tamilians. Like Vivekananda and other philosophical and political leaders of those days Bharati is not satisfied to pillory. British colonialism, but he condemns more the weakness, fear and fatalism, and resulting from this, the passivity of his own people. In order to bring Tamil Nad to a new literary and cultural renaissance he tries to revive the creative energies of the Tamilians.

Already in the above mentioned quotations Bharati hints at few other reasons more for the slow evolution towards a modern literature in Tamil Nad. The new literature found neither readers nor financial support. This fact is reflected in Bharati's life too; after having left the feudal court he lived in steady material need. Only with great efforts he succeeded in publishing some of his works during his lifetime, and only many years after his death he became well-known and famous in Tamil Nad. Unlike in Bengal, a strong, national-minded bourgeois was missing in Tamil Nad, which should have supported and promoted the new literary efforts. The English educated circles, this means the English educated urban sections, partly despised their own mother tongue and looked disdainfully at the newly developing literature. Instead of believing in the greatness and the future of their own language and literature they worshipped the English culture and civilization. The lowest strata of the people were uneducated and almost illiterates. They too could not give any support to the literature.

Another important question in this connection is the following: How does Bharati imagine the cultural and literary renaissance in Tamil Nad? He writes:

பூர்வீக மஹான்களின் ஞாபகத்தைத் தீவிரமாகப் பக்தியுடன் வளர்க்காத நாட்டில் புதிய மஹான்கள் பிறக்க வழியில்லை. தப்பித் தவறி ஓரிருவர் தோன்றினாலும் அவர்களுக்குத்தக்க மதிப்பு இராது. பண்டைக்காலத்துச் சக்திமான்களை வியப்பதும், அவர்களுடைய தொழிற் பெருமையை உலகறிய முழக்குவதும் கூடியவரை பின்பற்ற

[8] *Parati nulkal*, nankam pakuti, Tamilnatu aracankam, 1963, pp. 247/248.

முயல்வதுமாகிய பழக்கமே இல்லாத ஜனங்கள் புதிய சக்திமான்களை என்ன வகையிலே கணிப்பார்கள்.[9]

The emphasis of the cultural tradition is a lawfulness amongst all nations fighting for their national independence. Likewise in India retrospection and glorification of her long and famous cultural past play an important role in shaping the national consciousness. This found also its expression in the literature. Bharati himself praises in his prose writings and in some of his poems the ancient culture and especially the ancient literature of Tamil Nad, and he reminds the Tamilians of their 2000-year-old literary tradition. He wants to infuse in them pride in their ancient poets. Thus he sings in the poem "Tamiḻ":

> "யாமறிந்த புலவரிலே கம்பனைப்போல்
> வள்ளுவர் போல், இளங்கோ வைப்போல்
> பூமிதனில் யாங்கணுமே பிறந்ததில்லை."[10]

Or in "Tamilaccati" he states:

> "சிலப்பதிகாரச் செய்யுளைக் கருதியும்,
> திருக்குறளுறுதியும் தெளிவும் பொருளின்
> ஆழமும், விரிவும் அழகும் கருதியும்
> எல்லையொன்றின்மை "எனும் பொருள் அதனைக்
> கம்பன் குறிகலாற்காட்டிட முயலும்
> முயற்சியைக் கருதியும் முன்புநான் தமிழ்ச்
> சாதியை அமரத்தன்மை வாய்ந்தது" என்று
> உறுதி கொண்டிருந்தேன்."[11]

In those days the emphasis of the ancient literary tradition was very necessary in order to wake up the national consciousness and the pride in their own achievements. Due to neglect of their own literary tradition in Tamil Nad, many ancient works had fallen into oblivion or had been destroyed. U. V. Swaminatha Aiyar as the first, started to collect the fragments of ancient works and to publish them in the beginning of this century. Bharathi himself planned a publication of ancient Tamil works with the help of others.

But it must be underlined that Bharati never preaches the glorification and revival of every tradition. On the contrary, he condemns those who are ready to follow implicitly every tradition, good or bad, and he calls them contemptuously:

> தகப்பன் வெட்டிய கிணறு என்று சொல்லி மூடர்கள் உப்பு நீரைக் குடிக்கிறார்கள்.[12]

Bharati wishes to revive the progressive tendencies of the ancient and

[9] *Makakavi Paratiyar Katturaikal, Kalaikal,* Maturai, Aruna Patippakam, 1962, p. 57.

[10] *Makakavi Paratiyar Kavitaikal,* Maturai, Aruna Patippakam, 1962, 7 patippu, p. 50.

[11] Ibid. pp. 51/52.

[12] *Makakavi Paratiyar Katturaikal, Kalaikal,* Maturai, Aruna Patippakam, 1962, p. 4.

of the medieval Tamil literature which could support the propagation of the national and socio-reformative aims of this time through its contents of ideas, and which could encourage the further development of the modern literature through its artistic perfection. So he quotes and praises in many places Tiruvalluvar, Auvaiyar, the vaisnavite and saivite Bhakti poets (7th-9th centuries), Kamban, Tayumanavar and other great poets of his country. Some of them had a significant influence on Bharati's ideas, language and style. It would be of great interest to investigate in detail in what way, and to what extent these poets influenced Bharati. But this would be beyond this paper. Generally speaking, it can be stated that Bharati did not merely quote these poets, but he, basing on their tolerance, humanity, equality on one side, and simplicity, clearness and perfection of the ancient poetry on the other side, used its best elements and created a modern poetry.

> "His greatness consists in the recognition of the supreme fact that our literature is one long continuous unbroken stream. Unless one is soaked in the classics, one cannot achieve anything great."[13]
>
> "Rooted in tradition, he used the old, simple forms of classical art to new purposes and new effects."[14]

But Bharati also alludes that it is not enough to be proud about the past achievements. He demands new, great works from his countrymen:

இறவாத புகழுடைய புது நூல்கள் தமிழ் மொழியில் இயற்றல் வேண்டும்.[15]

So he observes very attentively every sign of the new; he mentions again and again the literary activities of U. V. Swaminatha Aiyar, Rajam Aiyar and others.

Bharathi expresses also valuable ideas on the tasks and character of modern literature. Thus he writes:

இப்போது உலக முழுவதிலுமே ராஜாக்களையும் பிரபுக்களையும் நம்பி வித்தை பழகும் காலம் போய்விட்டது. பொதுஜனங்கள் நம்ப வேண்டும். இனிமேல் கலைகளுக்கெல்லாம் போஷணையும் ஆதரவும் பொதுஜனங்களிடமிருந்து கிடைக்கும். அவர்களுக்கு உண்மையான அபிருசி உண்டாக்கிக் கொடுப்பது வித்வான்களுடைய கடமை.[16]

With these few words he shows the change in Tamil literature from a feudal court poetry to a literature for the broad masses. At the same time he formulates with it the aims and tasks of his own literary activity

[13] K. MEENAKSHISUNDARAM, *A Study on the Poetical works of Subramania Bharathi*, Paari Nilayam, Madras, p. 136.
[14] P. N. APPUSWAMI, Introduction, *The Plough and the Stars*, London, 1963.
[15] *Makakavi Paratiyar Kavitaikal, "Tamil"*, Maturai, Aruna Patippakam, 7 patippu, p. 50.
[16] *Makakavi Paratiyar Katturaikal, Kalaikal*, Maturai, Aruna Patippakam, 1962, p. 71.

and the literary efforts of his days; to create a literature, understandable and clear to the people in content and form. To some of his contemporaries who feared the art may suffer a loss of quality, he objects:

> ஊர்தான் ராஜா. இந்த ராஜாவுக்கு ஆரம்பத்திலே கொஞ்சம் ஞானம் அளித்துப் பழக்கங் கொடுத்தால் வித்தைகளுக்கு எவ்வித மான குறைவும் ஏற்படாது.[17]

In the framework of the educational efforts of that time Bharati recognizes that it is very important to educate the masses in order to make them able to understand and to take care of the arts, of the ancient traditional arts as well as of the new, growing arts. In this connection he demands from the poets and writers, that they should write good books for the education of the people. With this he underlines the social role of literature. In this context he demands the strengthening of the indigenous publishing activities in order to make it possible to spread the new literature, and to remove the difficulty of the authors in this point.

> தமிழ் நாட்டிலே புஸ்தகம் எழுதுவோரின் நிலைமை இன்னும் சீராக வில்லை. பிரசுரத் தொழிலை ஒரு வியாபாரமாக நடத்தும் முதலாளிகள் வெளிப்படவில்லையாதலால் சங்கடம் நீங்காமலிருக்கிறது. ஒரு ஒழுங் கான பிரசுர வியாபாரம் நடந்தால் ஜனங்களுக்கு நல்ல புஸ்தகங்கள் கிடைக்கும்.[18]

The sources for the formation of the modern literature Bharati sees in the best achievements of the ancient literature as well as in the artistic creations of the people:

> வண்டிக்காரன் பாட்டு, பாம்புப் பிடாரன் பாட்டு, குறத்திப் பாட்டு முதலிய பாமரப் பாட்டுக்களிலே இலக்கணப் பிழைகள் இருந்தபோதி லும் கவிதாரஸம் அமைந்திருப்பது காண்கிறோம்...[19]

Bharati does not only refer others to this inexhaustible source, but he himself uses popular rhythms, metrics, proverbs, idioms and so on in his poetry.

> "The rhythms of folk-songs and dramas slowly gain prominence; and Bharati has proved that they are fitting vehicles for his mystic, national, and epic poetry."[20]

Closely connected with the development of modern literature is the development of the language, especially of the poetical language.

During the recent centuries the Tamil language with its 2000-year-old written tradition has been hindered in its further evolution through the hypersanscritized Tamil of the pandits, which differed essentially from

[17] *Makakavi Paratiyar Katturaikal, Kalaikal,* Maturai, Aruna Patippakam, 1962, p. 71.
[18] Ibid. p. 52.
[19] *Parati Nulkal,* nankam pakuti, Tamilnatu aracankam, 1963, p. 249.
[20] T. P. MEENAKSHISUNDARAN, *Tamil Literature,* p. 240.

the spoken language of the people and, through the introduction of English as the medium for education, administration and as the lingua franca in India. Thus at the beginning of the 20th century there did not exist a uniform literary language in Tamil. Therefore it became necessary to foster a uniform poetical language, which was approximate to the spoken language and understandable to the people. This was meant to free poetry from an artificial, obscure language, which was characteristic of many Indian poems, and to find new forms of expression and a new style in dealing with new themes. Besides this, a new prose style became a necessity too. Subramania Bharati stood in the centre of these efforts. Basing on the achievements of Tayumanavar and Ramalinga Swamigal, he became the creator of modern Tamil poetry. Bharati writes on his endeavours in the foreword to the poem *Panjali sapatam* the following:

> "He who can produce a poem in simple style and diction and cast in simple popular metres will be able to infuse new life and fresh vigour into Tamil letters now in a languid state. Even neo-literates must be in a position to enjoy such poems which otherwise conform to the rules and refinements of poetic composition. This is work of high import to Tamil, and my abilities are not adequate to the task. But impelled by my zeal for the development of new literature in Tamil, I have composed this poem in the spirit of a pioneer, and in hopes that others after me might do better."[21]

Bharati stresses that a simple style and clear diction are important conditions for a new poetry. With reference to this he praises Auvaiyar as an example worthy of imitation:

ஔவையின் நூலோ மிகத் தெளிந்த மிக எளிய தமிழ் நடையில் எல்லா ஜனங்களுக்கும் பொருள் விளங்கும்படியாக எழுதப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. "சுருங்கச் சொல்லி விளங்கவைத்தல்" என்பது கவிதைத் தொழிலில் மிகவும் உயர்ந்த தொழில். இதில் ஔவை ஒப்பற்றவள்.[22]

Besides simplicity and clearness he demands a laconic and vivid style. For this he does not find examples in the Tamil classics only, but also in Japanese poetry, in which you cannot find any superfluous words.

Likewise Bharati made a significant contribution to the formation of a prose style in Tamil. With his own stories, essays, novel fragments, and last but not least, with his journalistic activity he created a simple and clear prose, and in this way he stimulated others to follow on this path. He writes on the standard of Tamil prose as follows:

தமிழில் வசன நடை இப்போது தான் பிறந்து பல வருஷமாக

[21] P. MAHADEVAN (trans.), *Subramania Bharati — Patriot and Poet,* Atri Publishers, Madras, 1957, p. 160.

[22] *Makakavi Paratiyar Katturaikal, Matar,* Maturai, 1962, p. 39.

வில்லை. நமது தற்கால வசன நடையில் சரியான ஓட்டமில்லை. தள்ளாட்டம் அதிகமாகக் காணப்படுகிறது...[23]

From the prose style he demands the following:

> இப்போதே நமது வசனம் உலகத்தில் எந்த பாஷையைக் காட்டிலும் தெளிவாக இருக்கும்படி முயற்சிகள் செய்யவேண்டும். கூடிய வரை பேசுவது போலவே எழுதுவதுதான் உத்தமமென்பது என்னுடைய கட்சி. எந்த விஷயம் எழுதினாலும் சரி, ஒரு கதை அல்லது ஒரு தர்க்கம், ஒரு சாஸ்திரம் ஒரு பத்திரிக்கை விஷயம், எதை எழுதினாலும் வார்த்தை சொல்லுகிற மாதிரியாகவே அமைந்துவிட்டால் நல்லது. வசன நடை, கம்பர் கவிதைக்குச் சொல்லியது போலவே தெளிவு ஒளி, தண்மை, ஒழுக்கம் இவை நான்குமுடையதாக இருக்கவேண்டும். இவற்றுள் ஒழுக்கமாவது தட்டுத்தடையில்லாமம் நேரே பாய்ந்து செல்லும் தன்மை.[24]

In the frame of this article it was impossible to deal with all problems in detail, and to refer to all of Bharati's remarks concerning this theme. It was the intention of the author to render especially such ideas of the poet, as illustrate best his attempts for the development of modern Tamil literature.

The poet's ideas mentioned are of great import, because they were guiding in the developing process of Tamil literature, and they reflect general lines in the evolution of literature.

These ideas are of great national significance, because they helped to infuse national consciousness and pride in their own literature, and they encouraged the Tamilians to new, great efforts in this field. They are of social importance too, because they supported the creation of a literature for the people.

[23] *Makakavi Paratiyar Katturaikal, Kalaikal*, p. 51.
[24] Op. cit.

WHITMAN AND BHARATI AS VEDANTISTS

V. SACHITHANANDAN

In a hidden place untrod
Where death is dead, and grief unknown,
There, blissful on his royal throne,
We found the ATMAN-BRAMAN-GOD!
— Frederick Manchester.

INTRODUCTION

The Tamil poet Subrahmanya Bharati (1882-1921) was a great admirer of the author of the *Leaves of Grass,* Walt Whitman (1819-1892), coming under whose spell, he experimented with free verse for the first time in the history of Tamil poetry; there are reasons to believe that Whitman's *Song of the Banner at Daybreak* had some seminal part to play in the composition of one of the most famous of Bharati's patriotic poems, *Tayin Manikoti* (*The Flag of Mother India*).[1] Bharati called himself a Vedantist of the Advaita school and he was a professed admirer of Sankara, the greatest exponent of Advaita Vedanta or the philosophy of non-dualism.[2] Vedanta is the identity of the individual soul with Brahman or the Universal Self. According to Advaita Vedanta, Brahman alone is the Reality, the world is *maya* or an illusion and the individual soul is non-different from Brahman.

Bharati's Advaitic belief is most vigorously expressed in *Bharati Arupattāru* and in many of his essays wherein he has repeatedly declared that the Advaitic state or the realization of Brahman would free man from the tyranny of death. The collection of poems, *Jñānap Pāṭalkaḷ,* is a standing testimony to his faith in the path of *Jñāna* or knowledge which Sankara recommended as the only means for man to reach the transcendent state and become one with the Absolute. But Bharati was also a Sākta who worshipped Parāsakti or the Universal Mother. His devotion to the Mother Goddess was deep enough to inspire him to write

[1] Cf. V. SACHITHANANDAN, "Bharati and Whitman" *Symposium,* XIX, 3, pp. 259-266, Syracuse University Press, New York, Fall, 1965.

[2] A Sanskrit student of no mean scholarship, Bharati could go direct to the fountain-head of Vedanta, the Upanishads and the *Bhagavad Gita.* Bharati wrote a lucid introduction in Tamil to the Gita, treating it not as a *dharma sastra* but as a *moksha sastra,* which teaches man the way of salvation from the bondage of life and death. See '*The Bhagavad Gita*: *An Introduction, The Works of Bharati* (*Prose*), Bharati Prachuralayam, Madras, 1941, pp. 1-56.

a large number of poems many of them mystical, on the benignant and malignant aspects of Sakti. The Sakti cult of Bharati may be traced back to his profound admiration for Sri Ramakrishna who was both an Advaitin and a Sākta, but who said like all practical Vendantists:

> ...He who is attributeless also has attributes. He who is Brahman is also Sakti. When thought of as inactive, He is called Brahman, and when thought of as the Creator, Preserver, the Destroyer, He is called the Primordial Energy, Kali.[2a]

So there is really no contradiction between Bharati's belief in Advaita and his Sakti worship. In celebrating both the *saguna* and *nirguna* aspects of Brahman, Bharati becomes, like Sri Ramakrishna, a Neo-Vedantist. Neo-Vedanta is slightly different from the Advaita Vedanta of Sankara. Though both systems believe in Brahman as the ultimate reality, the former reconciles dualism with non-dualism. It is a "concrete monism" in the sense that it accepts both the Impersonal Absolute and the personal God.[2b] The germs of Neo-Vedantism are found in the teachings of Sri Ramakrishna and were developed into a practical philosophy by Swami Vivekananda.

Vedantic views in the *Leaves of Grass*, particularly in *'Song of Myself'*, have long been recognized as more than a mild part of Whitman's thought. Frederick Carpenter, a devoted student of Orientalism, Arthur Christy, an early authority on American Transcendentalism, and Dorothy Mercer, who in the thirties made a valuable comparative study of Whitman and the *Bhagavad Gītā*, have found striking similarities between the *Leaves of Grass* and the Indian Scriptures.[3] More recently, Malcolm Cowley has declared in his stimulating introduction to the 1855 edition of the *Leaves of Grass*: "Most of Whitman's doctrines, though by no means all of them, belong to the main stream of Indian philosophy.[4] V. K. Chari has made a serious study of Whitman from the Vedantic mystical perspective.[5]

[2a] SWAMI NIKHILANANDA, trans., *The Gospel of Sri Ramakrishna*, Sri Ramakrishna Mutt, Madras, 1947, p. 34.

[2b] SATIS CHANDRA CHATTERJEE, "Swami Vivekananda's Neo-Vedantism and Its Practical Application", *Swami Vivekananda's Centenary Memorial Volume*, ed. R. C. Majumdar, Swami Vivekananda Centenary, Calcutta, 1963, p. 260.

[3] FREDERICK CARPENTER, *Days with Walt Whitman With Some Notes on His Life and Work*, George Allen & Unwin, London, 1921. In 'Appendix to Whitman as Prophet' (pp. 96-102), Carpenter has given parallel passages from the mystic outpourings of the Upanishadic seers and the *Leaves of Grass*.

ARTHUR CHRISTY, *The Orient in American Transcendentalism*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1932, p. 270.

Dorothy Mercer, whose thesis on Whitman and the *Bhagavad Gita* was not published, recorded her findings in a series of articles in *Vedanta and the West* between 1946 and 1947.

[4] MALCOLM COWLEY (ed.), *Walt Whitman's LEAVES OF GRASS: The First (1855) Edition*, The Viking Press, New York, 1956, p. xxii.

[5] V. K. CHARI, *Whitman in the Light of Vedantic Mysticism*, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1964.

When Thoreau met Whitman in 1856, he told the poet that the *Leaves of Grass* was "Wonderfully like the Orientals". Whitman at once said to his famous contemporary that he had not read any of them, and he would like to know more about them.[6] But in his preface to *November Boughs* (1888) called 'A Backward Glance ov'r Travel'd Roads' he claimed to have read, among other works, "the ancient Hindoo poems" in preparation for writing the *Leaves of Grass;* however, he did not care to indicate what poems he had studied.[7] Though his writings do not contain any direct evidence of his reading of Hindu Scriptures, it must be admitted that "Orientalism was very much in the American intellectual atmosphere of the 1840's and 50's and it would have been impossible for Whitman to escape some indirect influence".[8]

TWO VEDANTISTS FROM THE EAST AND WEST: A COMPARISON

Bharati was a Vedantist by conviction and Whitman by intuition. One was a deeply religious Hindu who devoutly believed in the authority of the Vedas and the Upanishads and who consciously chose the path of Vedanta convinced that it would lead the aspirant to his spiritual goal. The other was 'religious', but not in the conventional sense of the word. He rejected the authority of the Church and declared boldly that the poet would take the place of the priest and play the prophet and seer in the democracy of the future:

> There will be no more priests. Their work is done. A superior breed shall take their place... the gangs of kosmos and prophets en masse shall take their place. A new order shall arise and they shall be the priests of man, and every man shall be his own priest. The churches built under their umbrage shall be churches of men and women. Through the divinity of themselves shall the kosmos and the new breed of poets be interpreters of men and women of all events and things...[9]

He even formulated a creed of his own in 'Chanting the Square Deific' in which "he substituted for the Christian Trinity a Quaternity, which was a One or Absolute embracing (1) the theological symbols of law and authority, (2) the Consolator or Christ, (3) resistance to godhead or Satan, and (4) "Santa Spirita" or the life principle....[10] There is no evidence to show that Whitman made a deep study of Indian philosophy and convinced himself of the soundness of the Vedantic way of life.

[6] GAY WILSON ALLEN, *The Solitary Singer,* Macmillan, New York, 1955, p. 141.

[7] JAMES E. MILLER, JR., *Walt Whitman: Complete Poetry and Selected Prose,* Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1959, p. 449 (hereinafter cited as *Walt Whitman: Complete Poetry and Selected Prose*).

[8] GAY WILSON ALLEN, *Walt Whitman Handbook,* Packard and Company, Chicago, 1946, p. 458.

[9] *Walt Whitman: Complete Poetry and Selected Prose,* p. 425.

[10] *The Solitary Singer,* p. 358.

Helped by the Transcendentalism of Emerson and Thoreau whose writings influenced the times, and guided by his own intuitive understanding of God and the Self through his rather unsystematic studies, he must have realized the truth of the Vedanta.

As Vedantists, Whitman is more cosmic and expansive in his mood and Bharati more spiritual and introspective; the former is more 'centrifugal' in relation to the universe and the latter more 'centripetal'. The soul of the poet of the *Leaves of Grass* is always engaged in a voyage of spiritual discovery through the visible world and sometimes beyond it:

> Sail forth — steer for the deep waters only.
> Reckless O soul, exploring, I with thee, and thou with me,
> For we are bound where mariner has not yet dared to go,
> And we will risk the ship, ourselves and all.[11]

The Tamil poet, though he could be expansive and bring into the orbit of his vision the whole order of creation as in the poem 'Nan' (I), prefers to turn his gaze inward. There is an insatiable spiritual longing in him to become one with the Infinite by destroying the ego and attaining God-realization in this life itself:

> Eliyaṉēṉ yāṉenalai eppōtu
> Pōkkiṭuvāy, iṟaivaṉēyiv
> Vaḷiyilē paṟavaiyilē marattiṉilē
> Mukiliṉilē varampilvāṉa
> Veḷiyilē kaṭaliṭaiyē maṇṇakattē
> Vītiyilē vīṭṭilellām
> Kaliyilē, kōvintā, niṉaikkanṭu
> Niṉṉoṭu nāṉ kalappateṉṟō?[12]

[O Lord! When wouldst Thou destroy the ego in my humble self? When am I going to see Thee, O Govinda, in the air, birds, trees, clouds, the horizon, the sky, the sea, the earth, in the streets, in the house (of the poet and of every man) and in the joys (of life) and become one with Thee?]

Whitman was too much attached to the earth and too much in love with life to brood over the infinite possibilities of the human spirit seeking perfection by losing itself in the Divine. Bharati too was passionately attached to life; but to him it was a visible manifestation of Parāsakti or the Universal Mother and a means to the attainment of *jñānam* or Brahman-realization.

There is a striking similarity between Whitman and Bharati in their

[11] *Walt Whitman: Complete Poetry and Selected Prose*, p. 294.
[12] *The Works of Bharati (Poems)*, Bharati Prachuralayam, Madras, 1939, p. 173 (hereinafter cited as *Bharati: Poems*). English translations of Bharati's poems and prose pieces quoted here are mine.

acceptance of the universality of all religions. Whitman's faith has the catholicity of the Vedantist who believes with the author of the *Bhagavad Gītā* that all religions lead to the same goal:

> As men approach me so do I accept them: men on all sides follow my path, O Pārtha (Arjuna).[13]

Whitman's faith is a kind of universal religion or theosophy embracing all religions without despising any:

> My faith is the greatest of faiths and the least of faiths,
> Enclosing all worship ancient and modern,
> and all between ancient and modern,
> Believing I shall come again upon the earth
> after five thousand years . . .[14]

Like Sri Ramakrishna, he vicariously participates in the rituals of every religion that is practised in the world today. He also relives the dead religions and beliefs of the old world.

Whitman is not an Absolutist, one who believes in the transcendent Brahman or the Impersonal Absolute, but a theistic Vedantist, one who believes in the immanence of God and sees in every thing in the world His Presence:

> Why should I wish to see God better than this day?
> I see something of God each hour of the twenty-four,
> and each moment then,
> In the faces of men and women I see God,
> and in my own face in the glass;
> I find letters from God dropped in the street,
> and everyone is signed by God's name,
> And I leave them where they are, for I know that
> others will punctually come for ever and ever.[15]

The God of 'Passage to India' appears to be transcendent and is called "nameless"; but He is the Supreme Person whom Whitman calls his "Elder Brother" and "Comrade Perfect".[16]

As a true Vedantist, Bharati has celebrated the divinity of Allah and Christ in separate poems which have significantly been included in the section called 'Vedantic Poems' in the collected works.[17] How

[13] S. RADHAKRISHNAN, *The Bhagavadgita*, George Allen & Unwin, I, V. 11, London, 1953, p. 158, (hereinafter cited as *The Bhagavadgita*).

[14] 'Song of Myself', *Walt Whitman's LEAVES OF GRASS: The First (1855) Edition* lines 1093-1095. The 1855 edition of 'Song of Myself' has been chosen for citation, because it is less personal than the revised version and therefore "it is truer to the conception of the fictional 'I' ". All quotations from 'Song of Myself' cited here are from this edition.

[15] Ibid., 'Song of Myself', lines 1276-1280.

[16] *Walt Whitman: Complete Poetry and Selected Prose*, p. 293.

[17] *Bharati: Poems*, pp. 232 & 233.

eclectic his attitude is to the established religions of the world may be seen in the following verse:

> Vināyakatēvaṉāy, vēluṭaikkumaraṉāy,
> Nārāyaṇaṉāy, Naticaṭaimuṭiyaṉāy,
> Piṟanāṭṭiruppōr peyarpalakūṟi,
> Allā yehōvā enattoḻutiṉpuṟum
> Tēvaruntāṉāy, tirumakaḷ, pārati,
> Umaiyeṉum tēviyarukanta vānporuḷāy,
> Ulakelāṅkākku moruvanāip pōṟṟutal . . .[18]

> [Lord Vinayaka, God Muruga armed with the *vel,* Narayana, Siva with the river (the Ganges) in his matted hair, the Lord who is worshipped as Allah and Jehovah by the people of other countries, Lakshmi, Bharati, He who is loved by Goddess Uma — to worship them all as the one God who protects the universe (is the duty of man).]

Following the *Gītā,* Bharati considered all religions of the world as different paths leading to the same Truth. But Whitman, in spite of his eclecticism, was not satisfied with what the old religions had offered to man. Therefore, he built up a new faith "out of the old and the new" in 'Chanting the Square Deific'. It is interesting to note that the four sides of the 'Square Deific' are different aspects of the same Divinity who is at once transcendent and immanent. Satan, "Comrade of criminals, brother of slaves . . . With Sudra face and worn brow, black"[19] and one of the four sides of the Square, signifies a profound truth often stressed by Vedanta that good and evil are aspects of the same Divine Power.

This brings us to the attitudes of the two poets to good and evil. American critics of Whitman have dismissed with contempt what they call gross and unwarranted optimism on the part of the poet when he declares that there is no evil in the world[20] or when he refuses to see any distinction between good and evil.

> Omnes! Omnes! let others ignore what they may,
> I make the poem of evil also, I commemorate that part also,
> I am myself just as much evil as good, and my nation is — and
>   I say there is in fact no evil,
> (Or if there is I say it is just as important to you, to the land
>   or to me, as anything else.)[21]

By such "equivocation", they contended, he evades the problem of evil in life; they admit that he recognizes the existence of evil and has given poignant expression to it as in "As I Ebb'd with the Ocean of Life", but

[18] Ibid., p. 265.
[19] *Walt Whitman*: *Complete Poetry and Selected Prose,* p. 310.
[20] *Walt Whitman's LEAVES OF GRASS*: *The First (1855) Edition,* p. xxiii.
[21] *Walt Whitman*: *Complete Poetry and Selected Prose,* p. 18.

they maintain that there is serious contradiction between his alternating moods.

This contradiction, which is only seeming and not real, can be explained in terms of Vedantic philosophy. Whitman was painfully aware of the presence of evil in life. Three of his brothers were tragic failures in life; one was a congenial idiot; another was a drunkard; the third died in an asylum. The poet himself was the repository of an astonishing number of diseases, as his autopsy revealed.[22] The Civil War made him discover the deep but invisible fissure in the political and spiritual unity of the country. Yet he was a serenely optimistic poet who sang with gusto of the goodness of life. This was because he realized that good and evil had their rightful place in the scheme of things. Good and evil are real only on the phenomenal plane. On a higher transcendent level they have no meaning. The duality between good and evil appears only to those who are in bondage to their finite existence. To those who have freed themselves by transcendent knowledge from the limitations of phenomenal life, to those who have attained real Knowledge of Truth, good and evil are alike. Hence, after a mystical vision of the oneness of all things and after experiencing blissful union with his soul, the poet finds no distinction between the so-called bright and seamy sides of life:

> The prostitute draggles her shawl, her bonnet bobs on her tipsy and pimpled neck,
> The crowd laughs at her blackguard oaths, the men jeer and wink to each other,
> (Miserable! I do not laugh at your oaths, nor jeer you,)
> The President holds a cabinet council, he is surrounded by the great secretaries, . . .[23]

Like Lord Krishna of the *Bhagavad Gītā* who declares,

> Of the deceitful I am the gambling; of the splendid I am the splendour;
> I am victory; I am effort and I am goodness of the good.[24]

The poet of the *Leaves of Grass* identifies himself with good and bad characters alike:

> (1) I am of old and young, of the foolish as much as the wise,
> Regardless of others, ever regardful of others,
> Maternal as well as paternal, a child as well as a man, . . .[25]
> (2) Not a mutineer walks handcuffed to the jail, but I am handcuffed to him and walk by his side,

[22] *The Solitary Singer,* p. 543.
[23] 'Song of Myself', lines 302-305.
[24] *The Bhagavadgita,* X. 36, p. 266.
[25] 'Song of Myself', lines 326-328.

> I am less the jolly one there, and more the silent one with sweat on my twitching lips.
> Not a youngster is taken for larceny, but I go too and I am tried and sentenced.[26]

The Sage of Camden in his higher moments arises to the *Gītā* definition of a yogi:

> He, O Arjuna, who sees with equality everything, in the image of his own self, whether in pleasure or pain, he is considered a perfect yogi.[27]

Bharati's approach to the problem of evil is more metaphysical. To him good and evil are interdependent; in fact, *dharma* (good) is dependent upon *adharma* (evil) for its existence:

> *Adharma* is the food of dharma. Therefore, as long as there is *dharma,* there will be *adharma.* This is just. If *adharma* completely disappears (from the earth) leaving a vacuum behind, then *dharma* will be starved to death.[28]

This is like the Paradox of the Fortunate Fall enshrined in the medieval Latin hymn *O Felix Culpa* (O Happy Sin) and echoed by Milton's Adam in a mood of philosophic calm after the fall:

> O goodness infinite, goodness immense!
> That all this good of evil shall produce,
> And evil turn to good . . .[29]

But, in his higher moments, Bharati, like Whitman, does not recognize the metaphysical distinction between good and evil which has meaning only in the world of subject-object relationship. Both Whitman and Bharati "suffered the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune". But, if they sang with equanimity of the joys and sorrows of life, it was because their mystical experience made them transcend good and evil.

What is Whitman's conception of the soul? Like the Vedantist, he believes in the immortality of the soul. He also identifies it with the body and he admires the beauty of the physical form:

> Behold, the body includes and is the meaning, the main concern, and includes and is the soul;
> Whoever you are, how superb and how divine is your body, or any part of it.[30]

[26] Ibid., lines 946-948.
[27] *The Bhagavadgita,* VI, 32, p. 205.
[28] *The Works of Bharati (Prose),* 'Jnanaratam', p. 94.
[29] HUGHES, Y. MERRITT, ed., *John Milton: Complete Poems and Major Prose,* 'Paradise Lost' Book XII, The Odyssey Press, New York, 1957, lines 469-471.
[30] *Walt Whitman: Complete Poetry and Selected Prose,* p. 21.

Though he is somewhat crude and violent in his expression while extolling the body as divine and holy, the spirit of his conception of the human body is in the Vedantic tradition:

> Divine I am inside out, I make holy whatever I touch or am
> touched from;
> The scent of these arm-pits is aroma finer than prayer,
> This head is more than churches or bibles or creeds.[31]

The Vedantist recognizes the inferior status of the body when compared to the soul; but as the soul is housed in the body, he treats that latter as holy. Swami Vivekananda, the great exponent of Vedanta, observes:

> You may invent an image through which to worship God, but a better image already exists, the living man. You may build a temple in which to worship God, and that may be good, But a better one, a much higher one, already exists, the human body.[32]

Whitman identifies the soul not only with the body but also with everything else in the world, sentient and insentient, which is again a Vedantic concept. If the soul is perceived, it has to be apprehended through objects:

> Was somebody asking to see the soul?
> See your own shape and countenance, persons, substance, beasts,
> the trees, the running rivers, the rocks and sands.[33]

He then qualifies his definition of the soul by calling it the "real body";

> Of your real body and any man's or women's real body,
> Item for item will elude the hands of the corpse-cleaners and
> pass to fitting spheres,
> Carrying what has accrued to it from the moment of birth to
> the moment of death.[34]

The implication is that the gross body, which is unreal, dies and is buried. The real body, that is the soul, is immaterial, intangible, unsubstantial. Hence it eludes "the hands of the corpse-cleaners" and passes on to another incarnation because of the law of causation, "what has accrued to it from the moment of birth to the moment of death". Here, as elsewhere, Whitman expresses belief in the Hindu doctrine of *karma* or the law of causation.[35]

[31] 'Song of Myself', lines 526-528.
[32] *The Complete Works of Vivekananda*, vol. II, Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Almora, 1921, p. 311.
[33] *Walt Whitman: Complete Poetry and Selected Prose*, p. 20.
[34] Ibid., p. 21.
[35] 'Song of Myself', lines 1288-1289.

Bharati's worship of the human body throws some light on his association with the Tantras. He craves from Sakti a boon that he be endowed with a body strong enough to withstand the blow of a sword.[36] One of ten mantras of his own composition on physical health runs thus:

> I am free from disease. I am strong. The limbs of my body have received divine strength. ... They are the dwelling place of the great Sakti.
> Ah! How can I describe the infinite pleasure I feel from strength, physical health and ability. The bliss I enjoy through my divine nature is beyond the pale of words. I am a *dēva*. I am a *dēva*.
> I am Health. I am a *dēva*.[37]

Like the Tantric *sādhaka*, Bharati does not reject the body as false or as the repository of all human ills. To him, the body, like the soul, is a manifestation of Brahman. The object of Tantra is the sublimation of *bhōga* or enjoyment through the senses into *yōga* or union with Brahman. *Bhōga* itself is the means to the attainment of *yōga*. Bharati has given beautiful expression to the *bhōgayōga* concept of Tantra in the poem 'Matu'.[38] Reconciling Vedanta and Tantra Bharati says that the Advaita state or Brahman-realization is beyond the reach of one who has not lived the life of the senses.[39] This is a clear rejection of asceticism and an unequivocal declaration that the life of the body is a stepping stone to the life of the spirit.

So from Tantra to Vedanta is an easy step. Tantra, like Vedanta, is non-dualistic and its final goal is the identity of the individual soul with Brahman. As a Vedantist of the Advaita school, Bharati believed in *jivanmukti* or the attainment of enlightenment in this world itself by conquering fear and sorrow.[40] But where the Vedantist saw Brahman everywhere, Bharati, being a Tantric also, say Parāsakti or the Universal Mother and he often equated the two.[41] The Siva-Sakti cult of the Tantric is really the static and creative aspects of Brahman respectively.[42]

There is a prominent streak of realism in Whitman as in Bharati. No other poet has celebrated with greater gusto and joy the beauty and

[36] *Bharati: Poems*, p. 187.
[37] *The Works of Bharati (Prose)*, 'Arts', pp. 9-10.
[38] *Bharati: Poems*, pp. 540-544.
[39] *The Works of Bharati (Prose)*, 'Jnanaratam', p. 20.
[40] Ibid., 'The Story of Chandrikai', p. 83.
[41] *Bharati: Poems*, p. 192, see also the essay on Sakti in *The Works of Bharati (Prose)*, 'Philosophy', p. 32.
[42] SWAMI PRABHAVANANDA, *The Spiritual Heritage of India*, George Allen & Unwin, London, 1962, p. 144.

charm of the visible world than Whitman. His sense of realism dates back to the beginnings of the *Leaves of Grass:*

> I am the poet of reality,
> I say the earth is not an echo,
> Nor man an apparition;
> But all the things seen are real,
> The witness and the albic dawn of things real
> And the world is no joke,
> Nor any part of it a sham.[43]

The objective world has a concrete reality for Whitman; but it is rooted in the spiritual world, for "Wisdom is of the soul, is not susceptible of proof, is its own proof."[44]

Bharati, who disapproved of asceticism and renunciation of life,[45] asserted that human life could by no stretch of imagination be called a dream.[46] He contends elsewhere that the word 'māya', as used in the Vedas and the Upanishads, denotes Parāsakti[47] and therefore a creation of the Universal Mother. The belief implies that the visible world derives its existence from the invisible. Bharati blames Buddhism for introducing *māya vāda* into Indian speculative philosophy and for calling all existence unreal. Bharati's preference for Tantra philosophy, which has a Vedantic basis, made him emphatically reject the theory of the illusive nature of the world. Like Whitman, he is a Vedantic idealist, one who believes that the world is real, but has no independent existence apart from Brahman.

As Vedantists, there is a glaring difference between the two poets in their attitude to the question of human action in relation to divine will. Whitman, like any practical-minded American, believed in the resourcefulness of man to look after himself, and he did not support the theory of man's total dependence on God. But Bharati believed that human action was subject to the will of the Lord and said that only a

43 EMORY HOLLOWAY, *Uncollected Poetry and Prose of Whitman I,* quoted in *Whitman in Light of Vedantic Mysticism,* p. 141.
44 *Walt Whitman: Complete Poetry and Selected Prose,* p. 110.
45 *The Work of Bharati (Prose),* 'The *Bhagavad Gita*: An Introduction', p. 35.
46 *Bharati: Poems,* p. 259.
47 *The Works of Bharati (Prose),* 'The *Bharavad Gita*: An Introduction', p. 51.

foolish man would think that he was the door. As Emerson so beautifully puts it in his poem 'Brahma':

> If the red slayer think he slays,
> Or if the slain think he is slain,
> They know not well the subtle ways
> I keep, and pass, and turn again.[48]

Real wisdom consists in following the *Gītā* maxim which exhorts man to surrender to the Lord and work:

> Resigning all thy works to Me, with thy consciousness fixed in the Self, being free from desire and egoism, fight, delivered from thy fever.[49]

To Bharati, such a man is a *karma yōgi* whose attitude to work is "Thy will be done".

It is evident from their writings that both Whitman and Bharati had mystical visions.[50] What was the nature of the vision which they had as a result of their Vedantic view of life? The answer to this question brings out the essential difference between the two as visionaries. Vedanta emphasizes the need for moral and spiritual discipline as preliminary to Brahman-realization. However, it admits that a person may experience the superconscious state occasionally, by accident, without going through the necessary discipline; but then, the superconscious state is not pure. The test of purity lies in the complete transformation, for all time to come, that takes place in the mind, character, and life of the person who undergoes the unusual experience.[51] We have to admit that Whitman's mystical vision of the oneness of all things was not a frequent occurrence. But is must be said to his credit that he retained this vision as a persistent theme of his poetry — the 'I' of the poet, the transformed self, reaching out and embracing all continents, all races and all religions with their past, present and even their future.[52]

Bharati's mystical vision of the underlying unity of the universe was the result of his conscious practice of the prescribed disciplines in the midst of the moral and spiritual travails of his life as a political rebel. His contact with mystics like Sri Aurobindo and Kullachami during his enforced stay at Pondicheri profoundly changed his life and character,

[48] SCULLEY BRADLEY, et al (ed.), *The American Tradition in Literature,* vol. I, W. W. Norton & Company, New York, 1962, p. 1143.

[49] *The Bhagavadgita,* III. 30, p. 145.

[50] See 'Song of Myself': Section 5; *Bharati*: *Poems,* 'Kuyil Pattu', pp. 365-396; *The Works of Bharati (Prose),* 'Jnanaratam', pp. 1-96.

[51] WILLIAM JAMES, *The Varieties of Religious Experience, Modern Library,* New York, no date, p. 392.

[52] For a detailed study of the theme, see ALLEN, GAY WILSON, 'The "Long Journey" Motif', *Walt Whitman as Man, Poet, and Legend,* Southern Illinois University Press, Carbondale, 1961, pp. 63f.

as we see from the records left by those who befriended him then.[53] From a mere fighter for political freedom who aroused his dormant country through his soul-stirring patriotic songs, he became a poet-visionary who yearned for the freedom of the spirit. But he always had his feet on solid ground so that he could repeatedly emphasize his stand that without political freedom, there could be no spiritual freedom, and that in fact they were necessary corollaries.[54]

CONCLUSION

Quite in keeping with the spirit of Vedanta, Whitman and Bharati remind man that he is essentially divine, that his aim in life is to realize his divine nature and that he is to treat all religions as equal and speaking the same truth, because they are different roads leading to the same God who is at once immanent and transcendent. The world of today, which is tragically divided by political, religious and racial dissensions, is in dire need of such a profound message. It is also significant that the two poets separated by race, creed, time and space could transcend them all to speak with one voice and bring back to the capricious human memory the oft-forgotten truth that humanity is basically one and indivisible and that we are all children of the same Father.

[53] See V. RAA (V. RAMASWAMI IYENGAR), *Maha Kavi Bharatiyar*, Sakti Karyalayam, Madras, 1956.

[54] P. THOORAN, *Bharati Tamil*, Amuda Nilayam, Madras, 1953, p. 371.

THE EMOTIVE ASPECTS OF SUBRAMANIA BHARATI'S POETRY

PREMA NANDAKUMAR

All poetry is a temperamental expression of an emotional involvement with the outer world of Reality. Like any sensitive individual, the poet too comes in contact with the spectrum of external reality: inanimate objects, multifoliate Nature, the living creatures of land, water and air, the spectacle of Man and Collective Man, and individual and societal attitudes; but the degree of emotional involvement varies from poet to poet, from moment to moment. Sometimes it is an irresistible impulsion taking shape as anger, hatred, wonder, love, pity. A sense of sudden surmise makes Shelley apostrophize:

> Hail to thee, blithe Spirit!
> Bird thou never wert.

When Valmiki saw the *krouncha* bird fall, pity and anger welled up in his heart:

> O hunter, as you have killed
> One of these love-intoxicated birds,
> You will wander homeless
> All your long years.

More often, however, the poet conceals the true origin of the poem, and interposes a protective distance between the emotive roots and the completed poetic foliage. To vary the metaphor, the emotion as it filters through the intervening distance, is both purified and rarefied, and comes to the reader at last charged with *dhwani* or significance, and radiant as image, symbol or myth. The poetic process is the same, but different poets bend it to their own purposes. Wordsworth, for example, made his memory a reservoir, and released the flow of poetry in an almost unending stream. Shelley, on the other hand, made each passing moment spout its own tale of exultation, sorrow, or delight. Subramania Bharati was more of a Shelley than a Wordsworth, and in fact he called himself 'Shelly Dāsan' being, like the English poet, intensely and unashamedly responsive to the whole world of Nature and Man.

Bharati's unquestioning love of 'dear and dogged man' and his

fierce aching love of his Motherland made him the passionate poet of freedom and patriotism. His love of Nature made him the flaming laureate of earth, water, fire and air. And his love Divine poured itself out as the poetry of adoration of Mahashakti the Creatrix, and of Krishna the Eternal Child. A stray word or gesture set his imagination afire, and out of the confrontation and explosion emerged a lyric perpetually alive in an orbit of its own. Yadugiri Ammal has told us how Bharati once scattered handfuls of rice to the sparrows that had gathered in his Pondicherry home. To his wife's pained expostulation, his reply was but a winged lyric:

> O may you escape all shackles
> And revel in liberty
> Like this sprightly sparrow!
>
> Roam about in endless space,
> Swim across the whirling air,
> Drink the measureless wine of the light,
> That flows for ever from the azure sky!

While Omar Khayyam sang in praise of the 'jug of wine' because it helped him to **forget,** Bharati celebrates the sparrow because it enfranchises his spirit. To be really and truly free like the sparrow! — that were consummation devoutly to be wished! Bharati the householder was but a man weighted with the burden of daily routine, but Bharati the poet could be a carefree sparrow. Even the reader feels electrically free, charged with the Shelleyan feeling of soaring above this world as a blithe spirit. Such immediacy of the emotional impact is discernible in several of Bharati's other poems as well. In these the repetitions, the exclamations, the onomatopœic sounds, and the characteristic swinging rhythm give us the very image of the poet described by his contemporaries: the nervous gestures, the shining eyes, the kaleidoscopic facial changes, and, of course, the magnificent voice. There is one poem especially that still makes an overwhelming effect on the reader (or hearer), and certainly Bharati's living voice must have wrung hot tears from the audiences of a vanished day. But even at this distance of time, 'In the Sugarcane Field' does make a traumatic impact on our sensibilities. The repetition of key-words like 'boil', 'choke' and 'die' macadamizes the road to the tragic pier. One verse should suffice to indicate the terror and the pity that rule this poem:

> Their Motherland
>   Dare they remember,
> And hope for a return
>   To the maternal shade?
> O Wind,
>   You've certainly heard

Their ceaseless lament;
 Will you not repeat
Our women's words
 Of deep despair?
For now they cannot
 Even weep!

For all this impassioned spontaneity of utterance, Bharati was no poet isolated from his heritage. Rather was he the inheritor of three opulent traditions, Sanskrit, Tamil and English, and the warmth of each of these facilitated the efflorescence of one particular segment of his emotional life. Vedic literature thus taught him to sing ecstatically in praise of the godheads of Nature; the poetry of the *siddhar*s, the Alwars, and Gopalakrishna Bharati was the major influence behind his powerfully articulated 'bhakti' poems; and the English tradition (notably the poetry of the Romantics) gave him the cue to his strident poetry of freedom and patriotism.

There is a seminal passage in Walter Pater which I may now appositely recall:

> "Poetry works with words addressed in the first instance to the pure intelligence; and it deals, most often, with a definite subject or situation. Sometimes it may find a noble and quite legitimate function in the conveyance of moral or political aspiration, as often in the poetry of Victor Hugo. In such instances it is easy enough for the understanding to distinguish between the matter and the form, however much the matter, the subject, the element which is addressed to the mere intelligence, has been penetrated by the informing, artistic spirit. But the ideal types of poetry are those in which this distinction is reduced to its **minimum**; so that lyrical poetry, precise because in it we are least able to detach the matter from the form, without a deduction of something from the matter itself, is, at least artistically, the highest and most complete form of poetry. And the very perfection of such poetry often appears to depend, in part, on a certain suppression or vagueness of mere subject, so that the meaning reaches us through ways not distinctly traceable by the understanding..."

Subramania Bharati's native exuberance permitted an immediate transcription of the dominant emotion, be it patriotism, devotion, or love; hence most of his lyrics are simple and forceful, direct and impassioned. But Bharati also 'beyonds' the current context and sends out creepers of universal significance. Even granting a measure of relativity to the implied distinction between current actuality and ideal or universal reality,

it is clear enough that Bharati's poetic genius operates, as if simultaneously, on two different levels. An emotion like patriotism, when harnessed to the immediate context, could become a gesture of defiance, inviting immediate political reprisal; and this happened to Bharati — and he didn't flinch from the consequences of current political action. But the same emotion when translated in universal terms could insinuate the very **elan** of freedom. This really is man's goal, the ideal reality towards which man's high endeavours must move. An emotion like devotion or 'bhakti' could give spontaneous utterance to hymns in praise of Rama, Krishna, Ganesa, Muruga or Lakshmi; but the same emotion, duly sublimated, could lisp austere **advaitic** strains, or picture the immaculate **samadhi** state. So too with the emotion of love in its variegated moods: the immediate occasion could be transcended, and love could be revealed as the law and light at the heart of all life. It is because Bharati's uncanny intuition enables him to speak simultaneously from different levels of consciousness, that his poetry has such rich ambrosial meaning for us. He takes up various stances, he dons various moods, — yet he is triumphantly himself always. He glimpses the near and the far, he seizes the root and the fruit, he comprehends the past and the future. If he is attentive to the good and the evil close at hand, his long vision also snaps the glory and the *terribilia* that are far, far away. He wrestled in his heart of hearts with the tumult of diverse emotions, while his double-sight transmuted the struggle itself into vivid imperisable poetry.

Patriotism is a primary emotion as elemental as the earth and the sky: *Jananī janmabhoomischa swargādapi garīyasi* — Mother and motherland are more precious than heaven itself. When patriotism withdraws into stifling grooves then it becomes death-dealing evil. When it diffuses into a vague sense of world brotherhood, it becomes an etheric sentiment, not an intense emotion. There is a 'golden mean' of patriotism that gives vital nurture of man — as a mother does to her son — giving a stern sense of 'belonging' and teaching him the discipline of 'commitment'. Bharati found this 'golden mean', and so he could exult, defy, aspire, suffer, and bear glorious witness — never dreaming himself, and never proving unworthy of the Mother. His 'Vande Mataram', for example, was a *mantra* that split the atomic nucleus of insensitiveness and selfishness, are — and released primordial spiritual energy in the service of the nation:

Mother, we bow to thee,
Victorious Mother,
We bow to thee!...

Men, women, gods
Of Aryavarta
Sing in chorus
The exultant chant

Mother, we bow

Anguished in mind,
Shrivelled in body,
The patriots still
Cry from the depths

Mother, we bow

Be victory ours
Or defeat and death,
We stand united
And raise the chant

Mother, we bow

It is similar adamantine resolution that sustains the defiance of

> There be thousand castes — yet
> What right for the alien here?

and it is the same faith that sees the Mother poised to rouse herself to action:

> A demoness is our Mother,
> colossally mad;
> and it's the frenzied-fire-eater
> the Mother loves.
>
> Can Bharat's war be fought in ease?
> She's the glory on Arjun's bow!
> Come a thousand warriors,
> She'll dance in their blood!

Alas, the Mother — the motherland — was in a trance-like sleep; the people — the limbs, the tissues, the nerves, the blood-cells — were gripped by fear; and their fallen state daunts even Bharati's optimism. In the seven verses of the poem 'The heart can stand no more', he gives edged utterance to this sense of near-despair. But presently he is ready to hurl defiance against the hosts of fear and death:

> Chant Bharat's name,
> Defeating hatred,
> Killing fear!

Beat! Beat the drum!
Beat the drum of Victory!
Having vanquished the demon Fear,
And killed the reptile Lie,
We have embraced the Veda's path
That leads to Brahma-Knowledge...

Death! I spurn thee as a piece of weed!
Come here! Let me crush you — Ha, ha!

There is then the most celebrated of the 'abhaya' poems, a tremendous peal of defiance:

No fear, no fear,
No fear at all.

Where the whole world up in arms against us,
    No fear, no fear, no fear.
Were we slighted as the lowliest,
    No fear, no fear, no fear.
Had we only a beggar's portion today,
    No fear, no fear, no fear.
Had we lost the dearest and the best,
    No fear, no fear, no fear...

and so to the climactic asseveration:

Should the very heavens
    fall on thy head,
No fear, no fear,
    No fear at all.

Bharati's exhortations and assurances were necessary, for in his time fear like an impenetrable fog hung on India's millions, and the *abhaya* of sterling patriotism had to be taught anew. And in Bharati's patriotic songs the Tamil language achieved recordations that are at once a thunder of music and an evocation of the godheads of the nation:

The mighty Himavant is ours —
    There is no equal anywhere on earth;
The generous Ganga is ours —
    Which other river can match her grace?
The sacred Upanishads are ours —
    What scriptures else to name with them?
This sunny golden land is ours —
    She's peerless, let us praise her!

These lyrics that celebrate the eternal benefactions of Bharat are not just propaganda; rather are they the poetic formulations of a lover's unquestioning faith. When Bharati cries —

> When will this thirst for freedom slake?
> When will our love of slavery die?
> When will our Mother's fetters break?
> When will our tribulations cease? —

or when he affirms —

> Although divorced from the joys of the hearth
> And consigned to dungeons dark;
> Although forced to exchange
> A time of cheer for days of gloom;
> Although ten million troubles raged
> To consume me entire;
> Freedom! Mother! I shall not forget
> To worship Thee!

or when he invokes —

> I call thee Light! Nectar of the brave!
> Preserver of the righteous!
> Destroyer of suffering and deceit!
> I call for the descent of your Grace —

he really translates the emotion of patriotism into the deathless love of freedom itself, and we are as it were carried aloft from the political to the spiritual concept of freedom, and so to the installed triune divinity that is Freedom, Light and Immortality.

This elemental emotion, this thirst for freedom, is elsewhere significantly forged with the memory of the race. When Bharati wanted to write a modern epic, he selected as his theme the crucial *Mahabharata* episode of the disastrous game of dice and Droupadi's blood-curdling vow. There are passages in *Pānchāli Sapatam* that are lava-like emotional outpourings. While Bharati glorified India's past and had faith in her future, the present however depressed and angered him. By sleight of poetic hand, he presented the Pandava-Kaurava conflict as the developing trial of strength between Bharat and Britain. The insistence in *Pānchāli Sapatam*, therefore, is on the loss of freedom suffered by the Pandavas; and it is India's helpless plight that is underlined when the Pandavas are made to remove their shoulder-clothes as symbol of their

self-wrought slavery. Yet the Indians, Bharati saw, are innately valorous, even as the Pandavas were. Why, then, the humiliation of slavery? All is not lost, all is not for ever lost, as Arjuna tells Bhima:

> Dharma is often defeated by deceit,
> But dharma shall triumph in the end:
> We are instruments in the hands of fate
> To illustrate that this is so.
> We shall know our duty by and by —
> Today we're bound, let's bear it with patience.
> Times must change, and dharma must triumph:
> And there's my mighty bow Gandiva!

Droupadi herself is referred to in the poem as the 'soul' of the five brothers, the most precious part of the Pandavas. It is only when the fear-haunted Indians try to deny the 'soul' that the soul of India erupts in fierce rebellion and redeems the poisoned time — even as Droupadi redeems the Pandavas when all seems really lost. Droupadi's is the bold right action, and such action alone can redeem an enslaved people. Panchali's prayer, and her dread vow —

> In Parashakti's name I take this vow:
> Not till the fiend Duhshasana's red blood
> Mingles with demon Duryodhana's
> And I smear my tresses with their blood
> And then bathe and wash it all away —
> Not till then will I gather again
> These my tresses unloosened and wild —

are justly famous. In her Subramania Bharati found the ideal Mother Courage and Mother Freedom — a radiant, purposive and terrible symbol.

In spite of the vicissitudes of his life, Bharati never wavered in his faith in God. He never blamed Him for his own frailty or failure. Rather his constant prayer to God was to make a 'stringed lute', not an instrument jangled out of tune and harsh. Being no sectarian, he prayed to God in all His forms, and he could sing with equal fervour about Allah as well as Jesus. For his 'Puthua Athu Choodi' he wrote this prefactory prayer invoking all the Gods:

> Wearer of 'athi' leaves and the crescent moon,
> The White-bodied in eternal trance;
> The Dark-hued resting on the milky sea;
> Knowledge-giver to Mohamed;
> Father of Jesus;
> Even thus diverse sects describe
> That Eternal One;

Its nature is Effulgent Truth:
To see It is beyonding evil.
Praise we that Grace
And gain the life divine.

Troubled once by the slings and arrows of outer reality, Bharati composed 'Vinayakar Nan Mani Malai' on the local god at Pondicherry. It is a prayer to Ganesa in a variety of metres, and is suffused with traditional symbolism; besides, it also serves as an outlet to the emotions seething within the poet. Only one extract can be given here:

No fear, no death by water;
No shame, no body's trembling;
No sin, no hiding;
We shall nothing fear.
Let the earth quake, yet fear not!
Let the seas boil and rise, yet be not afraid!
We shall fear none and nothing,
Fear nor place nor time.
The sky is here, and the monsoon too;
The sun, wind and water,
Fire, earth, the moon and stars;
We have body, life and knowledge,
Food for life and maids to love,
Songs to hear, and the world to see,
And Ganapati's name to chant —
Eternal these . . .

In 'Kannan Pattu' Bharati mints his love divine with a variety of images. The soul confronts the Lord now as suppliant, now as beloved, now as disciple, now as child. On the other hand, love waxes as absolute self-surrender in the 'Shakti' songs. The emotional frenzy that drives the poet to sacrifice himself at the altar of the Goddess must of course be untranslatable in terms of language — even poetic language. Bharati is indeed so overwhelmed by the emotional tempest that he can do nought but repeat the word 'Shakti' over and over again, and the frenzy is such that the distinction between the Mother and the devotee seems to wither away:

Manifest in all, O Kali,
    Thou art everywhere;
The evil and the good
    Art but Divine Play.
The elements five, O Kali,
    And the senses five, art thou;
Knowledge, and the transcendent,
    Art thou, O Kali.

Joy art thou, Kali,
You've invaded me;
Unless you be, O Kali,
How may I myself be?
You've given me love, Kali,
And manliness too;
You've expelled evil, Kali,
And annulled worry.

In one incandescent poem at least, Bharati has perfectly fused emotion, mood, metre and word, and attuned the wild heart's abandon to the Mother's cosmic dance:

As the worlds mightily clash
And crash in resounding thunder,
As blood-dripping demon-spirits
Sing in glee amid the general ruin,
To the beat and the tune
Leapest thou, O Mother, in ecstatic dance,
Dread Mahakali!
Chamundi! Gangali!
Mother, Mother!
You've drawn me
To see thee dance!...

When the demon-hosts clash
Hitting head against head,
When the knocking and the breaking
Beat the rhythmic time,
When the sparks from your eyes
Reach the ends of the earth,
Then is the doomed hour
Of universal death!
Mother, Mother!
You've drawn me
To see thee dance!

Bharati is the poet of patriotism; Bharati is the poet of devotion; and, of course, Bharati is the poet of love. For Bharati love is the emotions' emotion, love is verily the heart and soul of our emotional life, and love is also the heart-beat of cosmic order. In Dante's words,

> "For good, as good, as far as understood, kindleth love, and so much more by how much more of excellence it graspeth in itself."

Primal love is the theme of Bharati's 'Baby Song', and this love finds expression in the minutiae of everyday life. Bharati himself enacted

the law of this love in his daily life, but he also hankered after ideal love. While the 'Kannamma' poems are an attempt to explore the nature of sensuous love, 'Kuyil Pattu' is the all-out assault on the fortress of ideal love. Love is here symbolized by a cuckoo, who is besieged by creatures of sensuality like a bull and a monkey. But the cuckoo would rather wed the poet, who is the creature of emotion and memory and aspiration. But even the cuckoo appears treacherous at times — isn't that the nature of all earthly love? The cuckoo's previous birth as a tribal belle, with the poet as her Prince Charming, had had a tragic ending; and the present lease of life has been equally frustrating. Then, suddenly, at the touch of reality, the dream passes, and the cuckoo vanishes. Is ideal love, then, an impossible thing in this sublunary sphere? If Shelley thus wrote of the spirit of solitude in *Alastor* —

> But thou art fled
> Like some frail exhalation; which the dawn
> Robes in its golden beams, — ah! thou hast fled!
> The brave, the gentle, and the beautiful,
> The child of grace and genius —

Bharati sang in like memorable accents of the vision of love:

> A wonder passing strange! O miracle!
> Nectar from the sea of love! A realm
> Of light and glimpse of heavenly Womanhood!
> A maid stood there with radiant delight
> And eyes cast down; she looked at me and bowed.
> Lord, to limn her beauties in homely speech!
> The man-devouring wonder of her eyes!
> To seize the poetry that swam in her gaze!...
> This is all I can say to the learned and wise:
> Mixing the juice of poesy and the essence of verse,
> Seasoning with nectar and congealing with love, —
> Even so Brahma fashioned this angel.

Of all Bharati's works, *Kuyil Pattu* alone persistently baffles our understanding. What was the passion that moved Bharati to indite this quaint, tantalizing yet also exquisite poem? If *veera rasa* sustains *Pānchāli Sapatam* and *bhakti rasa* the Krishna and Shakti songs, doesn't *Kuyil Pattu* glow with its *adbuta rasa?* Wonders are many, but the most wonderful of all is love. The everyday sentiment of *sringara* is

purified and greatened through the intrusion of wonder, and at last becomes the mystical tremendum of primordial universal love. Love is light, life, knowledge, bliss; and we must love one another, or die!

> Love, oh love without end:
> And love failing,
> Death, but death for ever.

With *Kuyil Pattu* Bharati's emotional odyssey may be said to have reached fulfilment in a calm of mind brightened and lighted up by the lamp of eternal Love.

POETIC ASPECT IN BHARATHI'S PERSONALITY

VIJAYA BHARATHI

> "தெளிவுறவே அறிந்திடுதல்; தெளிவுதர மொழிந்திடுதல்;
> சிந்திப்பார்க்கே
> களிவளர உள்ளத்தில் ஆனந்தக் கனவுபல
> காட்டல், கண்ணீர்த்
> துளிவரஉள் ளுருக்குதல், இங் கிவையெல்லாம் நீ அருளுந்
> தொழில்க ளன்றோ?
> ஒளிவளரும் தமிழ்வாணீ அடியனேற் கிவையனைத்தும்
> உதவுவாயே."

> "Clarity of thought and clarity of speech; a mind filled with glee and many-splendoured dreams of supreme joy; tear drops straight from a melting heart — are not these, Vani, your boons unique? Vouchsafe them to me, O! Goddess of Light!"

This prayer of Bharathi to the Goddess of Learning discloses the poetic aspect of his personality. It was this aspect that predominantly impressed the men of his time, and this had been the essential element in his personality even in his boyhood. This poetic aspect had attained its perfection even when he was very young.

Bharathi was a born poet; he was a poet not because he wrote poetry but his was poetry since poetry was his very life. Bharathi writes in one of his essays:

> "A poet is not one who writes poetry; but it is he who lives poetry and has transferred his life into poetry . . ."[2]

Bharathi lived a poetic life and so whatever he wrote became poetry. The poetic personality in which the aspect of poetry had reached its height, spontaneously gave birth to true poetry.

POWER OF VISION

The above cited prayer starts with the primary quality of the poetic aspect which Bharathi, with a burning desire of possessing it, requests

[1] C. SUBRAMANIA BHARATHI, *Bharathi-Noolgal (Poems); Panchalai Sabatam,* Madras Govt. Pub., Madras, 1954, p. 497.

[2] கவிதை யெழுதுபவன் கவியன்று; கவிதையே வாழ்க்கையாக உடையோன், வாழ்க்கையே கவிதையாகச் செய்தோன், அவனே கவி.

C. SUBRAMANIA BHARATHI, *Bharathi-Tamizh* (A collection of Bharathi's works), P. Thooran, Amudha Nilayam Limited, Madras, 1953, p. 151.

the Goddess to bestow on him. In Bharathi's poetry one finds the term 'Clarity of knowledge' repeatedly, which reveals his thirst for knowledge as the quest of his soul.

> "தெளிவுறும் அறிவினை நாம்—கொண்டு
> சேர்த்தனம், நினக்கது ஸோமரஸம்
> ஒளியுறும் உயிர்ச் செடியில்—இதை
> ஓங்கிடு மதிவலி தனிற் பிழிந்தோம்."[3]

"Clarity of knowledge we fetched and it is the very essence of life. And we poured it on the very roots of the plant of Light."
"A muddled mind cannot keep the head clear. Unless and until the minds settle down in clarity, the head cannot be clear."[4]

This mental clarity and purity are the fundamental qualities in Bharathi's personality which guide and pave the way for his poetic vision. The poet's vision is the understanding of the truth of the objects, without being perplexed by their seemingly contradictory appearances and it is this power of vision that Bharathi indicates in his poem as 'the power of clear understanding'. So, this power of vision is the primary and dominating quality in the poetic aspect of his personality.

POWER OF IDENTIFICATION

Another quality of this aspect which Bharathi implies here, is the power of identification. 'Vision' is possible for the poet only when he is able to become one with the object. The dream of the poet in his conscious state, as Bharathi sings in his *Kuyil-Song* brings to his heart an extreme joy, from which occurs creation.

"The poet is he who is absorbed in the stars of the sky, solitude, tranquillity and in the conversation of many, and becomes one with Nature."[5]

The state of identity comes next to the state of realization of the truth of the objects. This mental purity gives the poet the power of identification and both these powers, combining together form good poetry. When these two powers of realization and identification fuse together, the poet gets into a state of ecstasy in which poetic vision is achieved and poetry is born.

[3] C. SUBRAMANIA BHARATHI, *Bharathi-Noolgal (Poems), Devotional songs (Shiva-Shakti)*, Madras Government Publication, Madras, 1954, p. 125.

[4] ஹிருதயம் தெளிந்தாலன்றி புத்தி தெளியாது. ஹிருதயத்தில் பரிபூர்ணமான சுத்தநிலை ஏற்படும் வரை, புத்தி இடையிடையே தெளிந்தாலும், மீட்டு மீட்டும் குழம்பிப் போய்விடும்."

C. SUBRAMANIA BHARATHI, *Bharathi-Noolgal (Prose Works)*, vol. II, "Introduction to the Bhagavat-Gita", Bharathi Prachuralayam, Madras, p. 50.

[5] "வானத்துமீன், தனிமை, மோனம், பலர்களின் பேச்சு இவற்றிலே ஈடுபட்டுப்போய், இயற்கையுடனே கன்றுகி வாழ்பவனே கவி."

C. SUBRAMANIA BHARATHI, *Bharathi-Tamizh*, P. Thooran, Amudha Nilayam Limited, Madras, 1953, p. 151.

POWER OF COMMUNICATION

The other important quality in the poetic aspect is the power of communication (தெளிவுதர மொழிந்திடுதல்). Only when the poet has got the power to communicate his inner vision, through the medium of words and sounds, would his poetic personality be a complete one. One cannot be a poet, if he does not have the capacity to communicate his experience, although he might have achieved poetic vision.

"A genius is a person who, seeing farther and probing deeper than other people, has a different set of ethical valuations from theirs, and has energy enough to give effect to this extra vision and its valuations in whatever manner best suits his or her specific talents."[6]

This passage of Bernard Shaw, defines genius as one who possesses both the powers of vision and communication. These genuine qualities of the poetic genius distinguish him from others.

In these three qualities, I would like to take only the third one, the power of communication since the first two are too large in scope to be brought within the limits of an essay.

Bharathi's biographers speak of his ability to compose poems even when he was in his teens and his creative talent had been appreciated by many senior poets of his time. The name of the Goddess of Learning and Knowledge 'Bharathi', was conferred on him as his title at the age of eleven, in the Court of the Raja of Ettayapuram, by great poets of the Samasthana. The title 'Asukavi' was also given to him, with the implication that he could compose extempore, whatever might be the subject matter. These illustrations show that the technique of utilizing language as an instrument for the expression of his experience, was perfect from the beginning of his career, till the end.

We are now in possession of Bharathi's poems from the year 1905 and only very few of the poems written during the period 1905 and 1907 have been published. Some of the critics of Tamilnad are of the opinion that the development of Bharathi's poetic personality — particularly the development of his power of communication and composition has been gradual in its course; they think that his art of composition had not been developed in the beginning stage of his poetic career but that it took shape only in due course of time.

I have already mentioned above some incidents which exhibit Bharathi's capability of composition and power of communication. If Bharathi's development is that of his power of communication, there should have been so much difference between his earlier and later poems. But it is not so. Perhaps very few of his poems might not have succeeded in their form, for they might have been his, written when he was not in the ecstatic state or they might have been his experimental poems in his endeavour to give new forms to poetry.

[6] GEORGE BERNARD SHAW, preface, *St. John*.

With minor exceptions, most of his poems, his earlier poems as well as later poems, are both effective in communication and expression almost in equal degree.

CREATIVE ABILITY

Creative ability is the ability to express the inner vision, through the medium of words and sounds.[7] "Materials as materials are savage; they are solitary; they are ready to hurt one another. They are like our individual impulses seeking the unlimited freedom of wilfulness. Left to themselves they are destructive. But directly an ideal of unity raises its banner in their centre, it brings these rebellious forces under its sway and creation is revealed, the creation which is peace, which is the unity of perfect relationship."[7] — Thus has Gurudev Tagore given us a word-picture of the history of the universe so to say. The elemental forces in their native state are rebellious and destructive and they settle down to their ultimate role only when they are brought under the banner of unity.

'Creation' is a harmony of all the various forces of the universe, under the control of one power, 'Truth'. Likewise 'creation' is possible for the poet, only when all his inner forces have been united into a song, for which 'love' is the basic note of harmony (Adhara Sruti). The passions of the senses, the never-ending conflicts of the intellect, the continuous flow of emotional disturbances of the heart — are all, as separate forces, savage; but when they have been united and brought under the control of a single force 'love' — they form a 'music of unity' on the basic note of 'love'.

"The joy of unity within ourselves, seeking expression, becomes creative; whereas our desire for the fulfilment of our needs is constructive."[8]

Creative ability is only the capacity of a person to 'see' the world around, the creation, with all the aspects of the infinite personality of the creator and it is also the capacity to express the quintessence of what he looked at through his personality.

POETIC VISION — THE THEME OF POETRY

The experience of the poet's consciousness, becomes the theme of his poetry; this vision of the poet is expressible, in poetry through many of its aspects. It may be revealed through the aspect of imagination, or style, idea or rhythm or even through the combination of some words or through a powerful emotion. For example, if we take emotion as the instrument to reveal the vision of the poet, the greatness of that particular poem does not depend upon only emotion but also the vision which is carried in the wings of emotion and which adds to the greatness of poetry. So, vision is the life-giving spirit of poetry. The instrument, with the help of which we trace the poetic vision, may be any one of

[7] RABINDRANATH TAGORE, *Creative Unity*, Macmillans, London, 1926, p. 7.
[8] Ibid. p. 5.

these aspects of poetry. So, in the chronological survey of the development of Bharathi's poetic aspect, we should seek the development in the depth of 'poetic vision'.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE ASPECT OF POETRY IN BHARATHI'S PERSONALITY

Even in his earlier poems written in the year 1906, one could perceive Bharathi's clear expression of his vision. It has been stated by Sri P. Thooran, "I have heard that Bharathi composed a poem on Lord Muruga, in the metrical form 'Kavadi-chindu' as a challange to the poets of Ettayapuram Court who wondered whether anybody could sing *Kavadichindu* as effectively as Annamalai Reddiar had. Only one stanza of the poem is available."[9]

"பச்சைத் திருமயில் வீரன்-அயங்காரன் கௌமாரன்-ஒளிர்
பன்னிரு திண்டியப் பாரன்-அடி
பணிசுப்பிர மணியர்க் கருள்-அணிமிக்குயிர் தமிழைத்தரு
பக்தர்க் கெளிய சிங்காரன்-எழில் பண்ணுமஞ்சலத்தூரன்."

In this song, the poetic vision is expressed through the emotion of Bhakti and through the rhythmical metre of *Kavadinchindu.*

In the poem *Chandrikai* (the Moon) which was written in the year 1906, Bharathi's inner vision is expressed in one or two lines.

"கடற்புற மணல்மிசைத் தனியே கண்ணயர்ந்(து)
இடைப்படும் இரவினில் இனிதுகண் விழித்துயான்
வானக நோக்கினேன் மற்றதன் மாண்பினை
யூனமா நாவினி லுரைத்தலும் படுமோ?
நினைவறுந் தெய்விகக் கனவிடைக் குளித்தேன்."[10]

Bharathi displays his wonderful inner vision the divine dream which the moon created by removing all memories from his heart and by making him forget himself, in the following two lines full of emotional fervour.

"ஊனமா நாவினில் உரைத்தலும் படுமோ!
நினைவறுந் தெய்விகக் கனவிடைக் குளித்தேன்."

Among the Tamil verse metrical forms, 'Asiriam' is the least expressive of the poet's imagination and emotions. And yet Bharathi was not hampered, for his power of communication could be transmitted through any metre without the slightest loss of emotion and thought-content.

We shall now take one of his later poems, which deals with the same subject, on the title *Vennilave* (வெண்ணிலாவே). When we compare these two poems, we will notice the difference between the depths in the former and the latter. There is also the vision which creates in him

[9] P. THOORAN, *Bharathi-Tamizh,* Amudha Nilayam Limited, Madras, 1953, p. 3.

[10] C. SUBRAMANIA BHARATHI, *Bharathi-Tamizh,* P. Thooran, Amudha Nilayam, Madras, 1953, p. 30.

a 'poetic frenzy' and conscious dream in the poem written in 1906 and that could be understood in the single line "நினைவு அறும் தெய்விகக் கனவிடைக் குளித்தேன்". But his later poem is deeper in vision than the earlier. The mode of inspiration he gets by looking at the moon is the same in both these cases; the inspiration and vision have become more intense in course of time because, his receptivity or understanding and identifying capacities of his personality have been developed in due course. It is not the form or power of communication that developed in his poetic personality; but it is the depth of his vision and power of identification that have increased. It is not the development in the power of communication and composition because, even in the former, the form and communication are quite satisfactory.

> "சொல்லையும் கள்ளையும் நெஞ்சையும் சேர்த்திங்கு
> வெண்ணிலாவே-நின்றன்
> சோதி மயக்கும் வகையது தானென்சொல் வெண்ணிலாவே
> நல்ல ஒளியின் வகைபல கண்டிலன் வெண்ணிலாவே-இந்த
> நனவை மறந்திடச் செய்வது கண்டிலன் வெண்ணிலாவே
> கொல்லும் அமிழ்தை நிகர்த்திடுங் கள்ளொன்று வெண்ணிலாவே-
> வந்து
> கூடியிருக்குது நின்னொளி யோடிங்கு வெண்ணிலாவே."[11]

Bharathi had been introduced to the people by his national songs. Chronologically, the subject matter for his poetry is in the order: National songs — devotional poems of Shakti — *Panchali Sabatham, Kuyil-song, Kannan-songs* etc.

Investigating the subject matter of his poetry in the chronological order, in order to find out the development of the poetic aspect of his personality, will lead only to wrong conclusions.

This kind of research will not serve our purpose; the understanding of the poetic aspect, deals only with the power of vision, power of identification and power of communication whatever may be the subject.

The fact is that Bharathi was a born-poet who, early in life resolved all the inner conflicts. Since his mind was clear and he knew his goal, he was never at a loss for words. And that was how he came to shape the rainbow bridge between the actual and the ideal worlds.

[11] C. SUBRAMANIA BHARATHI, *Bharathi-Noolgal (Poems)*, Madras Government Publication, Madras, 1954, p. 205.

TRACES OF EARLIER LITERATURES IN THE POETICAL WORKS OF BHARATI DASAN

LOGANAYAGY NANNITHAMBY

Literature at any one stage or period is produced by one of two opposing techniques. One, by accepting the popular traditions and conventions of the past. The other, by revolting against whatever was the past and producing some original piece of work. Creativity and originality are preferred today to the trite and hackneyed; but what is old is not forgotten so easily. Lowes says, 'The great constructive element in both life and art is the dealings of genius with the continuity of tradition. And poetry becomes original by breaking with tradition at its peril. Cut the connection with the great reservoir of past achievement and the stream runs shallow, and the substance of poetry becomes tenuous and thin.'[1]

The lofty and voluminous works of the Caṅkam period and the subsequent *Tirukkuraḷ* and Epic periods have been a living fount of inspiration for modern poets like Bharati Dasan. But it is a paradox when we consider the fact that Bharati Dasan — known as the poet of revolt owes comparatively more to the Caṅkam and other earlier literatures, than many other poets of the modern age.

In following the earlier literatures in Tamil, Bharati Dasan has not quoted off sections from books. *Tirukkuraḷ* is the only literature from which he quotes.[2] *Kuṟuntokai* songs are given in a simplified form.[3] Ideas and themes have been fitted into different songs or stories. Poetic conventions have changed considerably, but in the use of similes the common ones of the earlier period still appear in his works together with very many new ones.[4] Nature still seems to play a predominant part in the poet's works as it did in the earlier literatures. Songs are long drawn out narratives or dramatic sequences like those of the epic period unlike the single monologues of the Caṅkam period.

In dealing with Bharati Dasan's poetical works, I have not included his recent works (மணிமேகலை வெண்பா), *Maṇimēkalai Veṇpā* and

[1] J. L. LOWES, *Convention and Revolt in Poetry*, Constable, London, 1938. p. 81.

[2] BHARATI DASAN, *Icai Amutu*, pt. ii, Pari Nilayam, Madras, 1960, p. 24.

[3] Ibid., pp. 17-20.

[4] BHARATI DASAN, *Alakin Cirippu*, Centamil Nilayam, Trichy, 1960, p. 20. *Katal Ninaivukal*, p. 30, Centamil Nilayam, Trichy, 1958.

(கண்ணகி புரட்சிக் காப்பியம்), *Kaṉṉaki Puraṭcik Kāpiyam,* for they are modified versions of the original epics themselves. Moreover this paper does not provide scope to survey exhaustively the author's debt to the original and what is left to his credit.

I have also ignored the type of metres employed and his diction, on comparing him with the earlier poets. The two main points under discussion in this paper are (1) treatment of the subject — how ideas and thoughts are presented or expressed, (2) similes.

PANTYAN PARICU

The calibre of *Pāṇṭyaṉ Paricu* as an epic or a minor epic is disputed. But the plot certainly has a classical bias. *Kalittokai* speaks of brave young men subduing wild cows to marry maidens of the pastoral or Mullai regions. Rama claims for Sītā's hand in marriage after bending the bow. In *Pāṇṭyaṉ Paricu* this tradition passes to hunting the lost treasure case, to have Aṉṉam the princess for wife.

The courageous and strong willed mothers of the *Puṟanāṉūṟu* period are seen sending their husbands and their youth to fight for the country.[5] In Bharati Dasan's works we see women themselves, including the Queen of Katir Nād taking up arms against the country that waged war on theirs. Her heroic feat is more noteworthy when we consider the fact that the war was between her own country and that of her brother's.

Aṉṉam's foster mother too is no less a comparison with these heroines of the past. Vēlaṉ Āttā's (Aṉṉam's foster mother) son is Āṉṉam's lover. Vēlaṉ is in the battlefield and Aṉṉam enquires after him. But Āttā dismisses her anxious question, giving a curt reply, 'Let him die for the country.'

The character portrayal of Narikkaṇṇaṉ — the villain in the story is similar to that of the goldsmith in *Cilappatikāram* and Kūṇi *in Rāmāyanam.* In *Cilappatikāram* the goldsmith wins the king's favour to pursue his cruel deeds by playing on the King's weakness. But in *Pāṇṭyaṉ Paricu,* Narikkaṇṇaṉ causes havoc to Katir Nād and its people by virtue of his eloquence and glib tongue, as Kūṇi does in *Rāmāyanam.*[7] Though not sincerely meant, Narikkaṇṇaṉ expresses his gratitude to his king by speaking of his services eulogistically. This euology is comparable with that of Kumpakarṇṇaṉ's in *Rāmāyaṇam,* though he said it in all sincerity to Ravana unlike Narikkaṇṇaṉ.[8]

In *Pāṇṭyaṉ Paricu,* Narikkaṇṇaṉ spreads the rumour that a ghost inhabits the hills where the lost treasure case is believed to be hidden. This rumour causes great confusion and commotion in the city. This

[5] *Purananuru,* 279, 5-11.
[6] BHARATI DASAN, *Pantyan Paricu,* Centamil Nilayam, Trichy, 1954, p. 47.
[7] *Kamba Ramayanam,* Ayodyakantam, pt. i, Mantarai Culchi Padalam 1543, Annamalai University, Annamalai Nagar, 1960.
[8] *Kamba Ramayanam,* Yutta Kantam, pt. ii, 150, Annamalai University, Annamalai Nagar, 1960.

episode is similar to that of the song in *Kuriñcik Kali*, which speaks of a witty heroine and her companion who spin a false story to make her lover realize that the clandestine meeting during the night is dangerous. They relate how a Brāhmin leper who pretended to be the heroine's lover was frightened off by the heroine acting as a female devil. The Brāhmin's cry in fear awakens the whole village, as the howling for fear of the ghost does in *Pāṇṭyaṉ Paricu*.[9]

The description of the battlefield and the war that took place between the Katir Nād and Veḷa Nād is reminiscent of the battle of Bārata and the war that took place between Rāmā and Rāvaṇa in *Rāmāyaṇam*, though this is on a much smaller scale. The grief stricken words of Aṉṉam having lost her father and mother remind us of the Pari makalir who lost their father.

'If it is a tragedy to lose one's parents
It is a double tragedy to lose one's parents
who were the rulers of the country.'[10]
'Then when we had our father we had our hills
Now when we have lost our father we have
also lost our hills.'

Nature forms a background to human life in the early and the later works. The scene of the setting sun has attracted Bharati Dasan as much as it has attracted Bharati. Arjunā is depicted as enjoying its beauty with his wife Pāñjāli, while in *Pāṇṭyaṉ Paricu*, Āttā and Aṉṉam find pleasure in viewing the brilliant sundown.[12] Another such setting is where Aṉṉam is hovered over by the sweet breeze, the glossy leaved trees and the buzzing bees. Kuriñcip Pāṭṭu gives us a similar description of nature.[13]

'The inviting laurels stood amidst
the cool sweet breeze that filled
her with ecstasy. The buzzing
bees entertained her.'

(Pantyan Paricu, p. 116.)

Human feelings and emotions do not change with the other aspects of life. Shyness, reserve and other associated qualities are innate in

[9] BHARATI DASAN, *Kalittokai*, 65, 17-23, *Pantyan Paricu*, Centamil Nilayam, Trichy, 1954, p. 84.
[10] BHARATI DASAN, *Pantyan Paricu*, Centamil Nilayam, Trichy, 1954, p. 43.
[11] *Purananuru*, 112.
[12] *Maha Kavi Bharatiyar Kavitaikal*, "Panjali Sabatam", 147-149, Sakti Publications, 1957, p. 397.
BHARATI DASAN, *Pantyan Paricu*, Centamil Nilayam, Trichy, 1954, p. 91.
[13] *Kurincip pattu*, 98-106.

women. Bharati Dasan depicts Aṉṉam — the love-stricken maiden as proof to what the Tirukkuraḷ says,

> 'I look on her, her eyes are on the ground the while
> I look away; she looks on me with timid smile.'[14]

Bharati Dasan being a social reformer has depicted his hero and heroine as hailing from two different strata of society. Caste is no barrier to their love life and marriage. This was also the practice of the Caṅkam time. A young man from the mountain region could fall in love and marry a maiden of the Mullai tract or any other region. The land division did not restrict them.

Bharati Dasan's imagery of the moon hiding itself behind the dark clouds, not wanting to see the plight of Vēlaṉ is comparable to that of Kambaṉ when he speaks of the day fading into darkness, not wanting to witness the sad scene of Tacaratā being tortured by the adamant will of Kaikēyi.[15]

Kamban refers to Kaikēyi as the poison that killed Tacaratā. He also says that wise men shunned women, for they were dangerous. The same words echo in *Paṇṭyaṉ Paricu* when Vēlaṉ cries over some other lady's corpse at the grave, thinking that it is Aṉṉam who was dead.[16] The words of Paṭṭinattār too resound in Vēlan's soliloquy.

TAMILACCIYIN KATTI

Tamiḻacciyiṉ Katti has a woman, Cuppammā, for heroine as *Cilappaṭikāram* has Kaṇṇaki. Sudarsan Singh, an army captain from the North bribes Cuppammā's husband Timmaṉ into taking her North, by offering him a new post in the army, so as to have access to her. But Cuppammā stabs Sudarsan Singh when he approaches her with evil intentions. Timmaṉ is arrested. The energy with which she speaks at the court and her ability to canvas the support of the local people makes one recall the effort Kaṇṇaki made to defend her husband.

> "You say the Tamils have no vigour or courage
> But ask the North Indian who carried rocks from
> the Himalayas. He would tell of Cēra's ability."[17]

are lines that speak of the days when the Cēra king punished the North Indian kings by making them carry slabs of stone on their heads. The poet records many such historic events with pride. Another instance is

[14] *Tirukkural,* with translations in English by Rev. Dr. G. U. Pope, Rev. W. H. Drew, Rev. John Lazarus and F. W. Ellis, The South India Saiva Siddhanta Works Publishing Society, Tinnevely (Madras, 1958), 1094.

[15] *Kamba Ramayanam,* S. Viswanathan, Madras, 1958, Ayodya Kantam, pt. i, Kaikeyi, Culvinaip Padalam 50.

[16] Ibid., Mantarai, Culvinaip Padalam 29.

[17] BHARATI DASAN, *Tamilacciyin Katti,* Bharati Dasan Publications, Pondicherry, 1953, p. 109.

where he speaks of the Pāṇṭyaṉ king in *Cilappaṭikāram* who died for being unjust.

In *Rāmāyanā*, Rāmā is led astray by the deer so as to enable Rāvaṇā to capture Sītā. Here, Timmaṉ is lured by the offer of a post in a remote area so as to seduce Cuppammā. The two maids who are left with Suppammā to coax her into accepting Sudarsan Singh are like the maids who persuade Sītā to accept Rāvaṇā in the garden of Asokā.

ETIR PARATA MUTTAM

Though the theme in *Etir Pārāta Muttam* is not similar to that of *Cilappaṭikāram*, the characters involved are from families of traders, as in *Cilappaṭikāram*. The northward trip made by Ceṅkuttuvaṉ was for political purposes, but here it is on a cultural basis, to propagate Saivism in the North. Instances where the author describes the natural background of the bathing spots calls to our minds the descriptions given in *Paripādal* and the Nīr Viḷayātu Padalam in *Rāmāyana*.[18]

Naṟṟiṇai speaks of a shy young maiden who is reluctant to make love to her lover under the laurel (புன்னை) tree that she grew. She regards it as a sister.[19] *Kuṟuntokai* tells us about a heroine who finds satisfaction by just watching the hills of her hero while he is away.[20] In *Etir Pārāta Muttam* the heroine, Puṅ Kōtai, hugs and cries over the laurel tree, to which her lover was tied and beaten up for having met her in secret.

Unlike the Caṅkam heroes who went on missions to accumulate money Poṉ Muṭi, Pūṅ Kotai's lover was sent up North by force, on a trade mission, so as to forget Pūṅ Kotai. But unfortunately he was killed up there. Pūṉ Kotai, the faithful girl went North to see him and dies instantly, when she witnesses her lover's death. This incident goes to prove the *Kuṟuntokai* tradition that 'man is the soul of woman'.[21] This also is in keeping with the tradition of the faithful wives like the *Pāṇṭya* wife, who dies with the husband in *Cilappaṭikāram*.

The raid that took place between the North and South traders in which Poṉ Muṭi died can be compared to that of the highway robberies that took place in the Pālai Region. Trading groups are often attacked and victimized by these marauders of Maṟavās.

KUTUMPA VILAKKU

Kuṭumpa Viḷakku is Bharati Dasan's five fascicule work, which has been presented on the basis of the *Tirukkuraḷ* philosphy. All Tamil literatures speak of hospitality as the fundamental duty of a family man

[18] *Kamba Ramayanam*, S. Viswanathan, Madras, 1958. Nir Vilayattup Padalam 3-4.
Pari Padal, 11, 76-92.
[19] *Narrinai*, 172, 6-10.
[20] *Kuruntokai*, 240.
[21] Ibid., 135, 2.

and his wife. Caṅkam literature speaks of men going on such ventures as to accumulate money (Poruḷ Vaiyit Pirital), so as to be hospitable and also to render other such services. In *Cilappatikāram*, the dairy-maid is seen entertaining Kaṇṇaki and Kōvalaṉ with utmost hospitality. It is this hospitality and service that Vēṭappaṉ wants to render to his friends. Aware of the Tamil tradition, the poet sends Vēṭappaṉ on a venture to accumulate the wealth he needs before he is married.

Another *Kuṟaḷ* idea that gleams in the words of Bharati Dasan is,

'There is no lack within the house
where wife in worth excels.'[22]

Here we also recall the very words of Pisirāndayār, a Caṅkam poet who was asked the art of keeping young at an old age. He attributes his youthful looks to his virtuous wife among many other factors.[23] Maṇavaḻagar in *Kuṭumpa Viḷakku* too ascribes his progress in life to his able wife.[24]

Kuṟiñci is the land where clandestine union of lovers takes place. During such meetings the heroine invites the hero to dine with her (though this practice was not very common).[25] *In Kuṭumpa Viḷakku* we see Vēṭappaṉ dining with Nakai Muttu.[26]

The women intellectuals of the Caṅkam times like Avvai, Āti Manti and Kākkai Pāṭini have inspired the poet quite considerably, that the mothers who appear in his songs recall these poetesses in the lullabyes.[27]

KATALA KATAMAYA

The news that their country is freed from Maḻai Nād the sovereign power brings great joy to the people of Koṉrai Nād. The poet's description of their reactions and excitement is similar to that of Kamban's, when he describes the arrival of Rāmā for the coronation.[28]

Chastity was and is the coveted virtue of women and Bharati Dasan's heroine in *Kātalā Katamayā* reasserts this.[29] In *Tamiḻacciyiṉ Katti*, Cuppammā kills the adulterer. Rāvaṇā in *Rāmāyaṇam* worked to his downfall by coveting another man's wife.

[22] *Tirukkural*, with translations in English by Rev. Dr. G. U. Pope, the South India Saiva Siddhanta Works Publishing Society, (Madras, 1958), 53.
[23] *Purananuru*, 191, 123.
[24] BHARATI DASAN, *Kutumpa Vilakku*, Pari Nilayam, Madras, 1956, p. 73.
[25] *Kuruntokai*, 312.
[26] BHARATI DASAN, *Kutumpa Vilakku*, pt. iii, Pari Nilayam, Madras, 1956, p. 24.
[27] Ibid., pt. iv, p. 31.
[28] *Kamba Ramayanam*, pt. i, 1522, Annamalai University, Annamalai Nagar, 1960.
[29] BHARATI DASAN, *Katala Katamaya*, Bharati Dasan Publications, Pondicherry, 1953, p. 83.

KAVITAIKAL — PARTS I, II, III

The narrative poem 'Puraṭcik Kavi' stands to prove that Bharati Dasan has been influenced not only by Tamil literature, but also by North Indian literatures like *Bilkānium*. *'Vīrat Tāi'* may have been produced by the poet with Jīvakan's mother in mind. The suffering she undergoes for the sake of her son is well adopted in Bharati Dasan's poem when Queen Vijayā makes a real effort to train her son in war tactics to fight the king who usurped her husband's kingdom.

The lines in *Cilappaṭikāram* ring in her ears when we hear the war minister describing the state of the country in the absence of the king.[30] The poetic imagination of Utāraṉ, the poet hero of *Puraṭcik Kavi* is similar to that of the Kali odes. He feels the cool effect of the glowing sun while the moonlight gives a blazing effect to a poet in *Kalittokai*.[31] The problem of the love stricken young lady who has been separated from her lover is in no way different, be it the Caṅkam age or the age of Renaissance. Here we see Saroja pining for her lover as the ladies who wait faithfully for their lovers in the Caṅkam time. This patient waiting was the theme of the Mullai class of songs.

The Pālai songs in Caṅkam works like *Akanāṉūṟu*, give us vivid descriptions of the frightful animals of the thick jungles and the unguarded paths in the midst of the forests. Kuppan in *Cañjīvy Parvatattin Cāral* has been assigned the unfortunate task of collecting a medicinal herb from a forest-clad hilly area if he is to marry Vañci.

A phrase which is used by Kamban is quoted by Bharati Dasan in one of his songs in the first collection. 'Kaivaṇṇam iṅkuk kaṇḍēṉ, kāl vaṇṇam aṅkuk kaṇḍēṉ.' But it has not been aptly used as in Rāmāyaṇam. The power of Rāmā's leg is spoken of when he says Akalikā was cursed to remain a stone until a virtuous man stepped on her. The power of his hand is referred to when speaking of the killing of Tāṭākai. But Bharati Dasan has used this phrase for a very insignificant reference.[32] He refers to the pumpkin's two-fold purpose, employing the same phrase. One, to decorate new houses and the other, preparing a tasty dish with it. This may be due to the fact that Kamban did not find the poet's favour as the author of a great epic.

ALAKIN CIRIPPU

The appreciation of nature is more intent in modern poetry than in the earlier literatures. Earlier poets give elaborate and vivid descriptions of the many manifestations of nature, but it had not been loved for its own sake. The song entitled ('Kāṭu') 'forest' is comparable to

[30] *Cilappatikaram*, Saiva Siddhanta Publications, Tirunelvely, 1956. Anti Malai Sirappu Cei Katai, 9-12.

[31] *Kalittokai*, 41, p. 24.

[32] BHARATI DASAN, *Bharati Dasan Kavitaikal*, pt. i, Pari Nilayam, Madras, 1956, p. 188.

the Pālai descriptions of the Caṅkam literatures and that of Kāṭu Kāṉ Kātai of *Cilappaṭikāram.*

Young ladies play in the garden throwing stones at parrots. One of them cries out loud that she has stoned one. But the others laugh at her saying, that it is only a leaf of the laurel and not a bird. This piece of illustration is created on the same lines as the Caṅkam scene which speaks of the hero running to help young maids who play among the Vēṅkai trees shouting, tiger! tiger! for the tiger is also known by the same term, Vēṅkai.[33]

ICAI AMUTU I AND II

Most of the songs in this collection can be sung to music like the ones in *Kalittokai* or *Paripādal.* Simplified version of the *Kuṟuntokai* anthology are in this collection. 'யாயும் ஞாயும் யாராகியரோ', 'செல்வார் அல்லரென்றுவளி கழ்ந்தனளே' are two, to quote a few examples. 'Muḻaṅkum Kuraḷ' is a didactic poem which quotes *Tirukkuṟaḷ* in speaking of unity, perseverance and other associated themes.

TEN TRUVI

This is another collection of songs which has many songs that are direct adaptations of Caṅkam verses. The Tamils divided land into five main divisions. Each of these divisions formed the background for the poems dealing with definite subjects. This union of lovers for example was spoken with Kuṟiñci as the background. This poetic convention is observed by Bharati Dasan's Tēṉ Aruvi where he has assigned particular 'Tiṇais' and 'Tuṟais' to songs. 'Tēynta Puri Kayiru-a Pālait tiṇai' song is an adaptation of Tēi Puri Palaṅ Kayitranār's song in *Naṟṟiṇai.*[34] In the Kuṟiñci song 'Murukaṉāl Vanta Nōyām', he speaks of the mother making offerings to Lord Murukā, in a satirical fashion. The mother of the girl believes the fortune teller (Kuṟatti) who says that Lord Muruka is the cause for her daughter's illness and wastes her money and time on such formalities. There are a few songs of the opposite group or of Puram class, corresponding to the Akam class.

In other songs, lines from Caṅkam songs are inserted in a very subtle manner. The song entitled 'Aṭikkaṭi Pārtukkoṇṭiruntāl Pōtum' calls back to our memory the *Kuṟuntokai* line which runs, ஊர்ந்தின் புருவிடினும் ஈர்ந்தின்புறும் இளையோர்,[35] for the young lady seems to find satisfaction at least in seeing her lover often, though she is not able to be closer to him.

The songs in the section (துயருற்ற மகளிர்) 'Bereaved Women' portrays characters which illustrate the 'Peruntiṇai' type of love that *Tolkāppiyam* speaks of.

[33] *Akananuru,* 48.
[34] *Narrinai,* 284.
[35] *Kuruntokai,* 61, 2-6.

SIMILES

Similes have always been an effective form of expression in Tamil literature. This may be one of the reasons why conventional similes are popular in modern literature. Cankam literature abounds in similes where the heroine's teeth are compared to the buds of the Mullai flower. Her face is likened to the moon. Her fingers are said to resemble the Kāntal flower and her shoulder the bamboo. Beautiful maidens who appear in the various works of Bharati Dasan are also described by these stock phrases.

The poet speaking of the virtue of giving, pictures the rich-yellow Koṉrai flower like gold pouring down from the Kāntal-like fingers of a young lady. Women's eyes are frequently compared to young green mangoes cut open, for the black stains left by the knife in the white seed resemble the pupils.[36] Kambar is rather fond of comparing the vastness of the army to the sea.[37] This simile is applied in *Pāntyaṉ Paricu* to describe the army of Vēḻa Nād. In Mahābāratā the flag that stands at the palace gate flaps in the wind, side to side, expressing its disapproval of Turiōtaṉaṉ's arrival. Here the flag at the Katir Nād palace waves as if beckoning the Vēḻa Nād army to come in.[38]

The darkness spread by the clouds is likened to the dullness of the ignorant as in *Kalittokai.*[39] Kōvalan speaks of Kaṉṉaki's beauty comparing her speech to that of the parrot and her gait to the swan. In *Pāntyaṉ Paricu,* Vēlaṉ describes Aṉṉam in the same fashion.[40] In Bharati Dasan's literature similes relating objects of nature to human beauty are very common as seen from the above examples. Human nature, emotions and feelings too are expressed by such similes, but these are not of the type employed in the earlier literature. The tears rolling from the eyes of Timmaṉ bring to the mind of the poet, the picture of water spurting out from a hole.[41] Another brand new simile is where the poet describes the sudden storm that came like a big stick thrown on a bunch of fully ripe fruits.[42] The freshness of these new similes is striking in Bharati Dasan's works.

36 *Akananuru,* 29.

37 *Kamba Ramayanam,* Annamalai University, Annamalai Nagar, 1960, Yutta Kantam, Elucpip Padalam 827.

38 BHARATI DASAN, *Pantyan Paricu,* Centamil Nilayam, Trichy, 1954, p. 2.

39 *Kalittokai,* 38, 124.

40 *Cilappatikaram,* Saiva Siddhanta Publications, Tirunelvely, 1956, Manayaram Paduta Katai, 55-60.

BHARATI DASAN, *Pantyan Paricu,* Centamil Nilayam, Trichy, 1954, p. 104.

41 BHARATI DASAN, *Tamilacciyin Katti,* Bharati Dasan Publications Pondicherry, 1953, p. 112.

42 BHARATI DASAN, *Pantyan Paricu,* Centamil Nilayam, Trichy, 1954, p. 92.

CONCLUSION

Though Bharati Dasan has borrowed extensively from earlier literatures, he is not caught in its trappings. This is discernible in the many different ways his adaptations are fashioned. Thoughts and themes, ideas and imageries, in their conventional moulds are given a modern twist. This is done by simplifying and evaluating tradition objectively. These borrowed materials interlace the poet's compositions so neatly and subtly that they do not obscure the creativity and originality of the poet's works. In this mind, previous poetry seems to have become part of his own thought and own expression.

SPECIAL FEATURES OF KALKI'S NOVELS

R. DHANDAYUDHAM

INTRODUCTION

Sri R. Krishnamurthi (1899-1954), popularly known as Kalki, is author of thirty-five volumes of short stories, novels, essays, travelogues, and biographies. Though his eminent scholarship was found expressed in all types of literature still he is recognized and appreciated more as a writer of social and historical novels.

Novel as a new literary genre in Tamil had its beginning in the later part of the 19th century and there were a few works of originality and high quality in that century. But the dawn of the twentieth century witnessed only poor imitations of Western detective fiction. It was an era of translated and adapted novels first from Bengali and then from English and Marathi. The flowers that blossomed were of foreign origin and did not display the colour and fragrance of this soil. The novels of J. W. M. Reynolds rambled in the garb of this country and their influence was so great that even a scholar like Maraimalai Adigal had adapted a story of Reynolds for his *Kumudavalli or Naganttrasi.*

With the appearance of Kalki in the literary scene Tamil novels had entered another era. His first novel *Kalvanin Katali,* when serialized in *Ananta Vikatan,* stole the hearts of the readers by its features of realism and description. It echoed the *vox populi* of this country and blazoned the colour and quality of this soil. These qualities raised the standard of the Tamil novel and increased the number of novel readers with literary taste.

Three reasons can be cited for the phenomenal success of Kalki's novels. First of all, he possessed in abundance the gift of story-telling. Secondly, he introduced healthy humour in his writings. And lastly, he threw light upon the cultural and social aspects of this country as well as the current time. "Like the great European novelists of the 19th century, Kalki was a master of striking scenes and episodes. With something of the burning patriotic fervour too of the humour of Dickens and the gift of portraiture of a Thackeray Kalki spread out his novels in impressive sequence."[1]

[1] K. R. SRINIVASA IYANGAR, "Kalki", *The Indian PEN,* vol. xxi, no. 3, Bombay, March, 1965, p. 78.

Almost all of Kalki's novels appeared first in the serial form and only then in the book form. So they had both the advantages and disadvantages of serialization.

Tiyakabumi (1937), *Solaimalai Ilavarasi* (1947), *Magudapathi* (1942), *Apalaiyin Kannir* (1947) *Alai Osai* (1948), *Devakiyin Kanavan* (1950), *Poiman Karadu* (1950), *Punnaivanattupuli* (1952), *Parthiban Kanavu* (1941-42), and *Amara Thara* are his other novels.

KALKI AND HISTORICAL NOVELS

In a broad sense, novels may be classified into historical and social novels. Historical novels deal with the society of the past while social novels, with that of the present.

The historical novel is 'one in which the characters, setting and events are drawn from the past".[2] It is a hybrid combination of history and fiction which like opera springs from music and dance.[3]

There are many difficulties in writing a historical novel. As Brander Mathews says, "a tale of the past is not necessarily a true historical novel: it is a true historical novel only when the historical events are woven into a texture of the story."[4] It depends upon the historical personages depicted, its setting, description of the past and the presentation of historical events.

"In a perfect historical novel nothing should be written against the facts of history. It should only state what can be proved from history, though it might also state what cannot be disproved by history."[5] The major incidents must be true to history, the life of the major characters must be agreeable to historians and the novelist has no liberty either to alter or add events contrary to historical facts. With his super-abundance of imagination he can only create a few causes for the events and raise emotions with the literature of the period, inscriptions and other sources. He has also the freedom to create a few non-historical characters, but they should not in any way affect the historical facts. So, the result of the process of history becoming art with the literary and non-literary sources of the age, is a historical novel. Fact and fiction intermingle here and the successful outcome lies in dramatization of historical events.

As Ernest E. Leisy says in his work, *The American Historical Novel*, the historical novel offers instruction in patriotism[6] and it "is an excellent introduction to history, biography, and travel. It is an enrichment of our

[2] JOSEPH T. SHIPLEY, ed., *Dictionary of World Literature*, Criticism — Forms — Technique, The Philosophical Library, New York, 1943, pp. 407-8.

[3] ERNEST E. LEISY, *The American Historical Novel*, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1950, p. 5.

[4] BRANDER MATHEWS, *The Historical Novel*, Charles Scibner's Sons, New York, 1914, p. 21.

[5] K. V. RANAGASWAMI IYENGAR, Introduction, *Sivakamiyin Sabadam*, Mangala Noolakam, Madras, 1951, p. iii.

[6] E. ERNEST LEISY, Introduction, *The American Historical Novel*, University of Oklahoma Press, November, 1950, p. vii.

experience, an enlargement of our interests. We feel at one with all that has happened."[7]

Like Walter Scott, who in theory and practice laid the foundation of the English historical novel, Kalki laid the foundation for the historical novel in Tamil. It is true that the Tamil novel had its evolution with Vedanayakam Pillai's *Prathapamudaliar Charitram* in 1876, but the historical novel started only with Kalki's *Parthiban Kanavu* which appeared on the 16th of October 1941, *Kalki* number and ended on the 10th February 1943. With its appearance 'a star of the first magnitude had appeared in the firmament of historical fiction'. The success of this novel made him write two or more novels *Sivakamiyin Sabadam* and *Ponniyin Selvan.*

Kalki loved his country, her scenery and her people and this love widened his imagination of the past. The social set up under the great Cholas and Pallavas made him admire the past and in his attempt to glorify and glamorize it, he began to write historial novels. His power of giving life to historical movements and characters helped him to erect these remarkable literary monuments. He mingled history with imagination and painted it with the touch of emotion too.

There are two more reasons for the rise of historical novels during this period. They are the urge to free the country from foreign bondage and the literary revival. Through his novels, he instructed that we too had a historic past and stressed the need for freedom. In short, he taught history to his countrymen in an entertaining form and prepared the ground for the freedom fight.

Parthiban Kanavu and *Sivakamiyin Sabadam* give a picture of the great Pallava Age of the seventh century A.D., while *Ponniyin Selvan* paints the age of the glorious Cholas. Both the periods are a mixture of many aspects of the history of Tamil Nad such as that of religions, literature, art and architecture and also of administration. Kalki had been a keen student of these aspects which he learnt through epigraphic, inscriptional and numismatic sources and he enriched his novels with all these facts of history.

Kalki got inspiration to write *Parthiban Kanavu* and *Sivakamiyin Sabadam* on the seashore of Mahabalipuram, when he was accompanied by Rasikamani T. K. C. and where he saw thousands and thousands of ships and boats carrying warriors on one side, and other people, architects, Ayanar, Sivakami, Mahendravarmar and Mamallar on the other side in his mental vision. They left a deep and lasting impression upon his heart and only after finishing *Sivakamiyin Sabadam,* twelve years later, they bade adieu to the novelist.[8]

Kalki had also the genius to classify the historical and non-historical events, historical and non-historical characters and how much the novel

[7] Ibid., p. 4.

[8] KALKI, Introduction, *Sivakamiyin Sabadam,* Kalki Publications, Madras, 1948, pp. 2-3.

owes to history. In his introduction to *Sivakamiyin Sabadam* and conclusion to *Ponniyin Selvan,* he explains the percentage of fact and fiction.

Really speaking, Kalki's interest in history, the features of his historical novels and the popularity they gained, made others enter this vast and new field and contribute works of merit.

KALKI AND SOCIAL NOVELS

The great English novelist, Walter Scott, is remembered only for his historical novels and no novel was written by him with the period in which he lived, as background. In this respect, Kalki excels him and his social novels are in a way the social history of his time.

Among them, *Solaimalai Ilavarasi* needs special reference. It is the bridge that connects Kalki's social and historical novels. On one side, it throws light upon his contemporary life and on the other it enlivens the early nineteenth century. In it, he compares India of 1842 and of 1942 side by side and explains how the Britishers were able to establish and expand their rule and the epic struggle for freedom. *Alai Osai* also has the national events as its background and in the preface Kalki states clearly : "... The work of the author is to paint the eighteen years of national history as the background of this story. Between 1930 and 1947 many wonderful incidents happened in the history of our Motherland. The readers will find them continuing as the background to this 'Noise of the Waves'."

Kalki himself was a real patriot. While he was a student in the National College, Tiruchirappalli, he took part in the non-cooperation movement and was arrested (1921). Again he was incarcerated twice, in 1931 and in 1940 for participating in the freedom movement. His political experiences during this period made him portray excellently and thus his novels are true to life.

Many national and international events are revealed in his masterpiece, *Alai Osai* and in other novels. The Sepoy Mutiny (1857), Gandhi-Irwin Pact (March 1931), Civil Disobedience Campaign (1929), Salt Satyagraha (6-4-1930), its failure, and the imprisonment of Mahathma Gandhi and Nehru, Congress Party's decision to continue Civil Disobedience, Satyagraha at Coimbatore (6-6-1931), the 'Quit India' movement (1934), the Second World War (1939-45) and its impact on England, Japan's invasion of Malaya, the fear of bombardment in the city of Madras, the dropping of atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki (1945), the great August movement of 1942, the announcement of the Prime Minister of England to send three members of the cabinet to study the Indian opinion, the formation of Interim Government, the proceedings of Karachi and Haripura Congresses, the Socialists' Conference in Lahore, the radio speech of Subash Chandra Bose from Berlin, the forming of the Indian National Army, the birth of the Muslim League, India's Independence (15-8-1947), the Independence-day celebrations in Delhi, the separation

of Pakistan, the cruelties of Razakars and Communists in Hyderabad, the integration of Indian States, the Hindu-Muslim tumult and Gandhiji's fast to stop it are recorded with rare understanding and skill in his novels. From the entrance of Gandhiji into the political field to his tragic end (on 30-1-1948), many important incidents are delineated with great understanding.

His novels also picture with faith the social life of his time. Love, marriage, family life, social set-up, administration and even corruption and the black-market, the act of prohibition are vividly described. In brief, "the Gandhian Age in our national history has been fittingly described as our modern Heroic Age and Tamil Nad found in 'Kalki' a writer of genius and fully equal to the task of recording both the outer happenings and the inner movements of the heart and mind of that Age."[9]

According to W. H. Hudson, the study of literature is a form of travel in one way[10] and while we glide through Kalki's novels we become acquainted not only with the great Pallavas and the glorious Cholas of the middle period but also with the Gandhian era. This sort of communication of experience is an important characteristic of his novels.

STRUCTURE

"Structure will simply mean interconnection between elements or qualities";[11] or it is the "sum total of the elements that make up a work".[12] The way in which the elements are interwoven is called the structure of a novel.

Story is the fundamental aspect of all prose fiction. As said earlier, Kalki's novels are based upon the past or contemporary events. The structures of Kalki's novels, except *Ponniyin Selvan,* are good because the stories are under the control of the novelist during construction. In *Ponniyin Selvan,* the story is as vast and wide as the Chola Kingdom itself so that it develops beyond the control of the novelist and seems to be rather loose in structure.

The beginnings and endings of Kalki's novels reveal some special features. Besides the conventional beginnings and endings in *Alai Osai, Kalvanin Katali, Sivakamiyin Sabadam* and *Ponniyin Selvan,* some of his novels begin with a conversation between the author himself and a character of the novel. *Apalaiyin Kannir* begins with such a conversation and its ending is also striking. The hero of the novel, all through his life, fights against the black-market, but alas! the author makes him buy sugar from a blackmarketeer in the end. *Poiman Karadu* also begins

[9] K. R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR, "Kalki", *The Indian PEN,* vol. xxi, no. 3, Bombay, March, 1965, p. 78.

[10] WILLIAM HENRY HUDSON, *An Introduction to the Study of Literature,* Harraps, London, March, 1960, p. 10.

[11] BRENTS STIRBING, *Unity in Shakespearian Tragedy,* Columbia University Press, New York, 1957, p. 3.

[12] T. JOSEPH SHIPLEY, ed., *Dictionary of World Literature,* The Philosophical Library, New York, 1943, p. 553.

with the novelist's experience at a tea-party. This sort of beginnings and endings provide his novels with flesh and blood.

In fact, *Poiman Karadu* develops without any major incident. In this novel, there happens one horrible murder but nobody dies and a fire accident with nobody injured. Even then the story is interesting and the structure good.

Kalki has also introduced some psychological effects into his novels. Sita's hearing of the noise of the waves in *Alai Osai* is one such. It is an indicator of the forecoming joy or sorrow and Surya describes it as a divine power. *Alai Osai* utilizes this device fully and its influence upon the author is so great that he names his novel *Alai Osai* or *'Noise of the Waves'*.

Another feature of structure is the novelist's direct intervention into his novels. When Abirami is waiting for her brother in *Kalvanin Katali,* Kalki interferes and comments like this:

> "Abirami! Oh poor Abirami! Don't think that your brother will return within a minute. He will not come back. Hereafter God alone is your Companion."[13]

At times, he leaves his characters at a critical juncture and diverts the reader's mind for some time. Muttaiyan, in *Kalvanin Katali* enters Kalyani's house through the roof in order to take revenge but suddenly and unexpectedly he meets her there. Kalki leaves them there looking at each other and goes about explaining some past events. In the same way, he pushes Magudapathi before Karkkodakkavandar's rifle and turns to describe the heroine's sorrows leaving them to remain in the same helpless position in *Magudapati.* There are many instances in *Ponniyin Selvan* and *Alai Osai* where the novelist enters directly and comments upon the events.

Of all, the structure of *Solaimalai Illavarasi* is the most complex one. The author combines two stories, one that happened in the early nineteenth century and the other in the year 1942 and narrates them side by side skilfully. The characters of the two stories are the same but with different names, the incidents are not the same but similar. With these two stories in one novel, Kalki manages to picture two periods. This type of structure exhibits Kalki's power in combining two stories of different periods into one.

CHARACTERIZATION

The creation of character is the foundation of good fiction and in fact, the events of a novel flow logically from the nature of the characters.[14]

[13] KALKI, *Kalvanin Katali,* p. 52.

[14] ARNOLD BENNETT, quoted in *Dictionary of World Literature,* ed. by Joseph T. Shipley, The Philosophical Library, New York, 1943, p. 89.

Kalki's success lies in the creation of impressive characters in his novels and most of his characters are true to life. In a period where there were only detectives, his *Kalvanin Katali* sowed the seed for revolution in characterization. The hero of the novel is a thief and with unusual individuality and powerful imagination, he makes the readers sympathize with the hero. The descriptions of his affection for his sister Abirami and his love for Kalyani move the readers and compel them to take part in their joys and sorrows. It is no exaggeration to say that this characterization of a thief successfully inaugurated the change in the taste of the readers from detective novels to social novels.

Yet, another feature of charactization is his intermingling of fictional and non-fictional characters. In his historical novels, there are not only the great Mahendravarma Pallavar, Narasimhavarma Pallavar, Paranjothi, Pulikesin, Maravarman of Ceylon, Hieum-t-sang, the poet Bharavi, Raja Cholan, Rajendra Cholan, Kundavai and Vanama Devi but also Naganandhi, Ayanar, Nandhini and Sivakami. All the four non-historical characters figure from the commencement till the end of the novels. Even in his social novels the imaginary characters are familiar with Gandhiji's personality, Nethaji's heroism and Nehru's vision.

Another feature is that Kalki makes his imaginary characters take part in the actual events of the day. Kumaralingam, Magudappathi, Sivaraj, Surya, Tarini and Pattabi are connected with the political movements of the day and among them Kumaralingam and Magudapathi participate in the famous August 1942 movement. In *Solaimalai Ilavarasi* he mixes the experiences of a patriot with an imaginary prince and paints on the canvas, the political history of a hundred years in myriad hues and shades.

The other thing to be mentioned is the number of characters in *Alai Osai,* which is the story of a generation like Tolstoy's *War and Peace*[15] and in *Ponniyin Selvan.* They are several in number and Kalki gives due importance to all the characters. This feature of introducing numerous characters is rare in Tamil novels.

In addition, there is more than one heroine in *Alai Osai* and Kalki leaves to his readers to decide as to who is the heroine, Sita or Tarini or Lalitha.[16]

Like Walter Scott, Kalki is fond of describing his characters in disguise. The story of *The Talisman* by Scott, develops upon the disguise of Sultan Saladin. In the same way, *Parthiban Kanavu* develops

[15] T. P. MEENAKSHISUNDARAM, *A History of Tamil Literature,* Annamalai University Publications, p. 182, Annamalai Nagar, 1965.

[16] "அலைஓசை" என்னும் தொடர் கதையில் சீதா, லலிதா, தாரணி என்னும் மூன்று கதாநாயகிகள் வருகிறார்கள். இவர்களில் யார் பிரதம கதாநாயகி, யார் இரண்டாவது கதாநாயகி, யார் மூன்றாவது கதாநாயகி என்று சொல்வது எளிய காரியமல்ல. நேயர்கள் தங்களுடைய உசிதம் போல் தீர்மானித்துக்கொள்ள வேண்டியது" — Kalki, A note to readers, *Kalki,* vol. 7, no. 33. (14-3-1948.)

upon the disguise of Narasimhavarma Pallavan. In fact, the whole interest lies in the disguise of Narasimhavarman. King Narasimha Pallava also meets Sivakami at Vatapi in disguise and Surya in *Alai Osai* escapes from the police in the disguise of an ascetic.

Like Alexander Dumas, Kalki utilized the device of creating original and duplicate in his novels. Naganandhi — Pulikesin in *Sivakamiyin Sabadam.* Maduranthakar — Sendan Amudan in *Ponniyin Selvan* and *Tarini* — *Sita* in *Alai Osai* exhibit the success of this device.

Another feature is that Kalki's villains in the sociological novels are not so clever and charming as his villains in the historical novels. The creations of Naganandhi Adigal and Nandhini are in no way inferior to other villains of the world whereas the villains of his sociological novels are dull and drab. The freedom in creating characters in social novels is more restricted than in historical novels and this may be the reason for this shortcoming.

Some of his characters are created in such a way that they live for ever in the hearts of the readers. Naganandhi, Sivakami, Sita, Rashia Beham, Sundara Cholan, Raja Raja Cholan, Mahendravarman, Mamallan and Nandhini have the unique charm of literary immortality.

HUMOUR

Kalki introduced healthy humour as against the dull and the vulgar. His humour does not hurt anybody and so makes everybody laugh. "A story is considered poor if it makes some person blush with embarassment, if it makes something sacred appear common if it makes a man's weakness the cause for laughter, if it has to have profanity or vulgarity to be funny, or if everyone cannot join in the enjoyment of the joke."[17] Kalki's humour is free from all these maladies. Sengodan's first experience in seeing a cinema in *Poiman Karadu,* Alwarkkadiyan's witty utterances in *Ponniyin Selvan* and the humorous disputes between Rao Bahadur Padmalochana Sastrigal and Professor Pavi Rajaka Sarma in *Alai Osai* will be ever remembered by the seekers of wit and humour.

CONCLUSION

These are the special features found in Kalki's novels in their background, theme, subject matter, structure and characterization and these features certainly pushed the Tamil novel forward. These features also weaned the readers from detective novels to sociological and historical novels and gained more readers for literary novels. In fact, a new era is ushered in with Kalki's *Kalvanin Katali* in the history of Tamil novel, and *Parthiban Kanavu* heralds the birth of a pasture new, the historical novel, in Tamil.

[17] M. JACOB BRANDE, *The World Book Encyclopaedia,* vol. VIII, Field Enterprises Educational Corporation, Chicago, 1960, p. 389.

A DISCUSSION ON AKILAN AS A SHORT STORY WRITER

ANNAPOORANI CHANDRASEKARAN

Though the art of short story writing in Tamil is only thirty years old, today it has achieved great progress due to the fact that there are more newspapers now than there were before. The human mind has always been interested in stories, and in the rush of modern life people prefer to read what can be finished in a short time to something lengthy that takes days. This interest in stories and the time factor have been catered for by the numerous newspapers and various magazines that are printed and published in South India today.

In India today short story writers are numerous, among the best known being Pudumai Pithan, Ku Pa Rajagopalan, Kalki Krishnamurthi, Ki Va Jagannathan, Mayavi, P. S. Ramaiah and Akilan. The fact that short stories by famous writers are constantly in demand has led sometimes to writing that is not of a good literary standard. This generalization cannot be applied to all writers, and one outstanding exception is M. Varadarajan who in the words of Chidambaranatha Chettiar "makes no bid for cheap popularity".

Though the short story is used mainly for leisure reading, writers have expressed their views on social injustices through this medium and there is a wealth of material that can be gleaned from short stories if one is looking for it.

Many short stories today are filled with events. It should be borne in mind that a story lives not by its events but by the writer's imagination and his capability of expression. There is no need to impart all that the writer feels directly. The suggestion can be made and the conclusion left to the reader.

Chidambaranatha Chettiar writes that according to Vachell the short story is not a serious contribution to literature, and hence writers in all languages usually cater to a public that wants to be amused at a short sitting rather than be instructed. This is where Akilan differs from many other writers as he himself says in his introduction to "Pavai Vilakku". "Writing what readers like is not enough, but writing what they should

like in language they can appreciate is writing."[1] His stories may be enjoyed, and yet there is plenty to think about if one ponders on them afterwards. His stories are varied. He writes about family life, children, poverty, male and female temperament, and social injustices. He criticises subtly the position in which widows are placed in India, the wide range of poverty in India, but he does not preach or use his stories as a means of propaganda. His own views on writing in general and on the writing of the short story best illustrate his prowess as an author.

In his book *Kalaiyum Vayirum,* Akilan says that three writers who influenced him were Kalki, Ku Pa Rajagopalan and Pudumai Pithan. Kalki aroused his interest in short stories, Ku Pa Rajagopalan had the power to make him identify himself with his characters and Pudumai Pithan made him think. They all taught him the manner of imagination and to create according to his imagination. The resultant imagination was his, but the power to put it into writing came from them. Imagination he says is absolutely essential if one is to write successfully, and this should be coupled with the ability to feel strongly and think deeply.

A story can be based on love, courage, devotion, friendship, poverty fear or treachery. The incident one writes about can be an ordinary one but the power to feel and see something beyond the ordinary is what matters if one is to write well. Akilan says that ideas can be seen in the eyes of young women, in mothers delighting with their children, in street brawls, in the theatre, in short everywhere if you are an artist.

The more deeply one thinks about an event, the more powerful the story will be. When one thinks deeply, one thinks about the circumstances leading to the event and the questions, why, how and wherefore spring to the mind. There is no need to ask the people who were concerned with for their true story. In our imagination we can give a past to their story, create a future and a conclusion. It is the questions and the subsequent answers one asks oneself which will make up the story and its development. The way it takes its final shape will depend on the particular mood of the author at the time he is writing.

Akilan also feels strongly on the language used in many love stories and suggests that authors restrict themselves in their use of language when writing one love: "We cannot see art in vulgar language," he says.[2]

Another feature he critizes is the tendency to deliver sermons on social injustices that prevade short stories now and then. A writer should put in his views briefly so that they do not interfere with the story. He says, "Point out faults, but if you want to advocate changes or suggest remedies, keep them for stage speeches. There is no place for them in the short story."[3]

[1] AKILAN, Introduction, *Pavai Vilakku,* p. 10.
[2] AKILAN, *Kalaiyum Vayirum,* p. 42.
[3] Op. cit.

Language, according to Akilan, is an important feature. A writer should be able to write correctly and language is the powerful instrument which enables the writer to bring out his thoughts. He should be able to use and manipulate language successfully.

We will now proceed to a study of Akilan's short stories. It is impossible in a paper like this to do justice to the vast range of his ideas and themes and I propose to discuss only his social themes, his understanding of relationship between men and women through which we can see his magnificent portrayal of character and the variety of his subject matter.

SOCIAL THEMES

Akilan cannot be called strictly a "social critic' because though he does write upon social injustices he does not use strong language directly or advocate immediate remedies. He sees what is around him and writes about it but does not commit himself.

The position of widows in Hindu society is a theme which can be seen in at least five or six of Akilan's short stories. Nowhere does he lash out at the society which is still retarded over this question, but he nevertheless feels that widows, especially young ones, should be given another chance. In the story of Cānthi he describes her unfortunate marriage to a rich man which had been arranged by her father to enchance his status. The man who was diseased through his own evil life was never a husband to her; she was only his nurse till his death. Cānthi had always considered her father broadminded but when she tells him she wants to marry again, he says, "Think, of the family, its pride and its greatness. Is it right for you to think of remarriage?"[4] Finally Cānthi realizes that she need not remain a widow for ever and then only is her heart at peace, though when the story begins Akilan says "Cānthi's mind was not at peace."[5] The way the story is constructed, one feels that Akilan's sympathies are with Cānthi, and the last line suggests a happy ending.

In another story he describes how Ramu's mother refuses to let him marry Banumathi because her aunt had remarried; and if he did so she would take her own life, while his father would leave home. "Mother did not fall into the well, father did not leave home, but I became a wanderer"[6] says Ramu. He comes back after some years for Banumathi's brother's wedding only to find that she has been widowed. The description of her is startling. "Her head is covered. She was wearing a white sari, a white blouse. There was no 'tilakam' on her forehead. Bangles would not jingle on her hand again, flowers would not bloom on

[4] AKILAN, *Canthi*, Pudukottai, 1952, p. 72.
[5] Ibid., p. 65.
[6] AKILAN, *Aan-Pen*, Pudukottai, 1957, p. 105.
[7] Ibid., p. 108.

her head, and the tilakam would not decorate her forehead."[7] Akilan has given the end here though the story goes on. Ramu asks her to go away with him, but she refuses because tradition is too strong for her and he becomes a wanderer again. But her love for him still remains and towards the end of story, we see Banumathi in tears. She is now ready to go with him wherever he goes and however he lives. Again we see his sympathies with the widow. The story is left on this pathetic note and the reader left at will to form his own conclusion. Akilan does not even say directly that Ramu's parents were wrong, but the impression is there. The language is very suggestive of his views and this can be said of his stories where widows feature as the main characters. His views are clear but he does not have to state them directly or preach about them, his language does it and we are left in no doubt as to his meaning. Some of his stories on widows end tragically. It is almost as though Akilan wishes to state that what a handful feel cannot alter what millions practise and though the position of widows has been the subject of much controversy, yet little has been done to change it.

Poverty is another feature which Akilan chooses as the theme in some of his stories. In these stories, some end tragically, the characters being finally overcome by hunger, as if to symbolize that poverty is too widespread to be eliminated in a short time.

The story of Koshi, the little beggar boy, is pathetic. He earns his livelihood bringing water for train passengers in his little container. When he has no food or water for a few days he comes to a railway station where there is a water tap but it is too hard for him to turn on. In despair he asks a rich man for some water when he fills his own water-vessel. The furious man throws the water on his head. Koshi sheds tears but even they to do not wet his lips. He dies in the end. Two short lines in the story are very touching: "He had given water to many. But he got none."[8]

In another story entitled "Hunger" the opening line of the story is, "The kitchen fire was not lit for two days in Karuppan's house."[9] This is another sad story where Karuppan, in an attempt to earn a livelihood, leaves his village to go to Tanjore. The family lives under the shade of a tree and daily eat the green leaves that grow around. Finally, Karuppan gets a job and that night the family has its usual meal and they go to sleep happily thinking of the job he will be starting the next day. Morning comes but none of them see it because the leaves they had eaten were poisonous. The ending is striking, "They died because they ate. The hunger which they wanted to kill killed them."[10]

There are stories of beggars and in most of these the human need to live and love is portrayed, though most of them have a hand-to-mouth

[8] AKILAN, *Saktivel*, Madras, 1957, p. 154.
[9] AKILAN, *Senkarumpu*, Madras, 1952, p. 83.
[10] AKILAN, Ibid., p. 94.

existence. In these stories he presents a contrasting picture of the wealth and opulence that flourish admist this poverty. But Akilan realizes that poverty cannot be wiped out in one day by one person. In the story of the rich boy who buys blankets for the fisherfolk with his pocket money, we see the frustration he feels when his work is undone. In the story "Puyal', the boy's own mother retrieves the three blankets unknowingly at a third of their original cost. When the boy sees this "the storm that had raged outside was a mere breeze compared to the storm in his own heart."[11]

CHARACTER PORTRAYAL

Akilan's stories of the relationship between men and women allow the reader to get a deep insight into his characters. Though he is a man he does not hesitate to criticize his own sex especially over the injustices it commits towards women. Akilan understands human nature only too well and some of his character studies of women cannot be excelled by women writers themselves.

In the book of stories entitled *Āṇ-Peṇ*, each story shows a different aspect of this relationship between man and women. The story 'Iravum Pagalum' is about a married man, whose wife goes to her village for childbirth. A friend's wife is staying in the house. Ramalingam is attracted to her. He is a man who follows the dictates of his mind and has not much strength of character. The other man's wife, Cānthi, is a good woman, but loneliness and circumstances lead her almost into his arms. But her character is strong. She resists the temptation. The woman's character triumphs and she returns with her husband, still chaste.

In the story 'Deepavali Vanthathu' Sivasankaran is a man capable of love but it is all buried with his dead wife and he ignores his second wife but again the woman triumphs because of her love for him and wins his love in return.

The story 'Inba Thi' has the struggle for independence as the background. Alakammāl though she realizes that her lover is mortally wounded lets herself be consumed by fire first, before he is burnt. The same theme is seen in another story entitled 'Neruppu' where also the wife voluntarily throws herself upon the funeral pyre. Here we see women whose love is so great that they kill themselves deliberately.

The nature of women is studied in different ways. In one story he mentions how a woman whose husband had been unfaithful forgave him readily when he seemed repentant. He joins the army and she gets money. Her son falls ill and she is desperately in need. She finds out then that the money that has come so far is not for her but for his mistress. She had borne all the humiliation where it concerned her but

[11] AKILAN, *Vazhi Piranthathu*, Madras, 1954, p. 78.

now her son is fighting for life. In her anger she breaks her tali which she declares is a noose round her neck, sells it and takes her son to the hospital. The fact that she breaks her tali shows how deep her sufferings had been, and we feel that she is not doing wrong by destroying this symbol of marriage.

In another story of a childless marriage, Akilan shows with pathos how a woman is ill-treated and abused by her mother-in-law. The fault is not in her but in her husband. He refuses to tell his mother who as a last resort tells them to go and bathe in the Ganges River. The wife commits suicide and in a letter to her mother-in-law writes that she wished to live. But her husband had failed her by not telling his mother the truth. She goes to say how it is the son's fault that they have no children and entreats her mother-in-law that if he should marry again she should treat his wife like her own daughter. Childless marriages are frowned upon in India. Bakirathi asks, "If a lady is childless is it her fault? Is there anything to be gained by punishing her?"[12] Here she speaks for all womankind. Though she has not seen any happiness in her married life she does not grudge it to the one who might take her place.

The story 'Kula Deivam' is a character study of a man who was stupid and ill-treated by his teachers and school mates as a boy. One such who had always troubled him most was Kandiah. Both grow up, and meet after many years. Kandiah sees Pasupathy married to a good woman. His lust makes him take advantage of the fact that she cannot see at night. When she finds out what has happened she dies. The one person who had loved him despite his nature was dead through the misdeeds of Kandiah. Pasupathy attains a strength of character never seen in him before and offers Kandiah as a sacrifice at the 'shrine' he has built for her. His love for her had made a man of him. Here again, though Pasupathy is the hero, it is a woman who has made him strong. Through simple stories Akilan depicts a deep understanding of human nature. The stories are based on ordinary people and ordinary events but out of them he moulds his characters who are representations of true human beings.

VARIETY OF SUBJECT MATTER

Akilan's stories cover a vast range of human society and whatever he is writing about his language is suited to the theme and the type of people he has chosen as his characters.

To illustrate this point of variety in his writing I would like to discuss two stories. The first is 'Puchandi', which shows how a man who has done wrong all his life dies through fear. The story is full of suspense and the scene well set on a dark moonless night. The story

[12] AKILAN, *Amaravathik Karayil*, Madras, 1960, p. 19.

starts with the talk of ghosts and Akilan describes one such. "As the man watched the light grew bigger and bigger. It was not a star nor a moon but a demon. Like a tiger that has smelt a deer in a bush it came nearer."[13] This description we see is that of a train but the reader would never guess this till he comes to the point where Akilan mentions it. A railway policeman is left there to guard the body. As he stands there, thoughts of his past deeds come back to mind. In his mind he sees a beggar woman who had fallen from the train into a river; from a running train rather than become a prey to his evil desire. The corpse seems to be a man he had once sent to prison, and as he watches it, it seems to move and speak to him. The whole place has the atmosphere of a turbulent river with the beggar woman's voice above the waves and he fancies that the corpse tells him, 'Your time has come'.[14] Through sheer fright he dies. The whole story from beginning to end holds one spellbound and proved so successful that it has been translated into other languages, having been selected by the Sahitya Academy for translation purposes.

The story of 'Kāsu Maram' is a study of the mind of children. Children are very vulnerable and believe everything they are told. Kaveri swallows her hard-earned coins in the belief that they will grow into a tree so that her mother will be rich. She thinks her mother needs money more than she and dies telling her mother that she will have plenty of money. The story will move any person who reads it. Akilan has depicted exactly how the minds of children work. The conversation between children is very naturally written and the whole story is very touching.

In his stories on prostitutes, he does not run them down. Rather they emerge as the stronger characters because Akilan implies that it is through the fault of men that they are forced into that sort of life. He does not frown on prostitutes but on the conditions which build up prostitution.

Akilan's stories are brief. He seldom dwells on lengthy descriptions of nature or the countryside. He is concerned only with the characters who make up the story. But where he does dwell on nature, his pictures are in accord with the story. In one he describes a lotus which when it has blossomed attracts a bee. It does not need the old leaf which has supported it as a bud any more. The picture is the end of the story of a friendship between an old man and a young girl which ends when the girl gets married. The scene and the words, 'The ripe leaf had no more work there,' are full of meaning.

His mastery of language is superb. He does not have to give lengthy explanations but well chosen words reveal exactly what he means. The

[13] AKILAN, *Vazhi Piranthathu*, Madras, 1954, p. 11.
[14] Ibid., p. 33.
[15] AKILAN, *Saktivel, Madras*, 1957, p. 143.

events which make up his stories are ordinary but through his imagination the final outcome is not just a drab picture of life — there is much that can be pondered over. His stories are not gay but that is not to say that he is a pessimist. He sees life as it really is and adds a touch of colour to it in his stories but does not exceed the limits of imagination because then his stories would become fantasies. He is a master writer who sees much in everyday happenings and is troubled by social ills. His stories are well-worth reading for the pictures of life they present at every stage of society up to the middle class. The extremely rich have no place in his short stories because they form only a minority and his concern is with the majority, about whom he writes with a purpose.

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GROWTH OF MODERN TAMIL LITERATURE IN MALAYSIA

MURUGU SUBRAMANIAM

In this short paper I shall try to give a general picture of the modern Tamil Literature of Malaysia.

Even though the publication of Tamil newspapers started as early as 1924, it took some 25 years after that date to get the first set of Tamil writers for the field. Up to that period Tamil newspapers and magazines had to import short stories and everything else to cater for the readers here. Only in 1950 local Tamil writers began to show their talents and their writing was given a humble place in local newspapers.

Tamil newspapers opened columns for publishing "Readers' Letters" and this channel paved the way for creative Tamil writing in this country. Readers began to write on various problems affecting the country and through this column they made an impact on newspaper editors. Editors who till then hesitated to print anything written locally, became aware of local talent.

After this discovery, Tamil newspapers conducted some short story competitions and published those selected best. After this Tamil writers concentrated on short stories. Short story writing set the beginning for modern Tamil literature in Malaya.

Tamil newspapers encouraged short story writing by conducting short story classes through their columns. Lessons on short story writing were published every week in Sunday editions and in those columns merits of the local writing were discussed and valuable suggestions given. In *Tamil Nesan* Sunday Editions these lessons were jointly written by Mr. S. P. Narayanan and Mr. Bairoji Narayanan and this intensive course on short story writing helped to mould many good writers for the Tamil literary field. Apart from this Mr. G. Alagirisamy who was one of my predecessors in *Tamil Nesan* and who is one of the best short story writers in Tamilnad today, took keen interest in local Tamil writers and encouraged them to a very great extent. He conducted regular classes for Tamil writers and bestowed personal attention on them. These classes also helped to discover many new talents. The Singapore *Tamil Murasu* also opened a Tamil Writers' Club and that column was entirely devoted to discussion on new Tamil writing. Mr. V. T. Arasu who is at present

with the Ministry of Culture, Singapore, has made a very good contribution in encouraging new writers through the Writers' Club column.

In fifteen years the Tamil writing field has grown tremendously and we now have some three hundred writers who can write not only short stories but also novels, poems, radio plays, literary articles etc. From this big group we can easily pick out some fifty whom we can classify as standard writers. These fifty can easily match the literary standard prevailing in Tamilnad.

Most of the Tamil writers — roughly eighty percent. of them — are Tamil school teachers and most of them live in Estates. Of the rest a cross section is employed in newspapers, radio, television and the Information Department. We also have Harbour Board labourers, railwaymen, government clerks, municipal employees and Telecoms staff among Tamil writers. We are also proud to have a few enterprising ladies in our camp.

One notable feature of this whole group is that none of the Tamil writers depend on writing for his livelihood. Most of them, if not all, regard writing as a hobby and they do not expect any big rewards in return.

Now I wish to go into various literary forms now prevailing in Malaysia and try to illustrate their development.

Short story is the most popular form among Tamil writers and a considerable percentage are short story writers. Before 1950 all stories for local newspapers were imported from Tamilnad and now in 1966 after a period of 16 years we can proudly say that we have completely stopped this import business. Now the short stories published in various newspapers and magazines are all written by local writers and this attainment of self sufficiency shows that short story writing in Malaysia has developed in great measure at a very great pace.

As most of the writers are young and many unmarried the theme of writing in many of the stories is love and they are very fond of writing love stories. After a period of maturity we now get stories which reflect the problems of family life. In earlier days short stories were based on the life, customs and manners prevailing in Tamilnad and this trend has completely changed and we now have portrayal of Malaysian life, especially estate life, in our short stories.

We have some stories which portray the situations of Japanese occupation period and our writers now depict Indonesia's confrontation in their stories.

Though we have many short story writers, only very few care to maintain short story forms and I want to name a few who are considered good: Messrs. S. V. Subramanian (R.R.I., Kuala Lumpur), S. Vadivelu (Tamil teacher, Negri Sembilan), S. V. Shanmugam (Harbour Board, Singapore), Thillai (*Tamil Nesan*), Miss N. Maheswari (Tamil teacher, Kuala Lumpur). Miss N. Maheswari has been awarded a gold medal

in a short story competition conducted by the Tamil Writers' Association and she has been voted the best writer for the year 1963 by *Tamil Nesan* readers.

Most of the short stories perform the function of moralists and our writers try to reform the way of life by their writings. This moral aspect and stress spoil many a good writing and it makes short stories look more like moral essays.

In my opinion short story writing in general lacks literary form and variety. Tamil writers, except a few, have to go a long way to obtain standard and perfection in short story writing.

With regard to novels, Malaysian Tamil writers have just made a beginning and we still rely on imported stuff in this field. All main serial stories published by local Sunday editions are written by famous writers of Tamilnad. We are very keen to stop this import and encourage local writers. Already local newspapers and magazines publish and encourage serial stories written by local writers. *Tamil Nesan* has so far published some 16 serials written by local people. Messrs A. V. M. Hazah, T. Navamani, P. Santhirakantham, Nachiappan, Tarzis Xavier, M. Arivanandan, Miss N. Maheswari are some of the serial story writers whom I like to mention.

Even in novels, our writers simply narrate the events and try to create all-perfect noble characters. They are not very successful in describing the situation. Character formation is not up to the standard we expect. In spite of all these setbacks, we hope to mould a good team of novel writers in the near future.

One of the most developed field is modern Tamil poetry and some of the pieces written by our local poets, excel in all aspects the modern poetry written in Tamilnad. We have got some fifty people who can write very good verses. Even though we look forward to some more depth and variety in local poetry, form and diction are at a desired level. Messrs K. Perumal, Muhilan, V. K. Subramanian, Thiruvarasu, Ulaganathan, Anbanandan, Somasanma are some of the poets worth mentioning. Some have written poetic plays and long poems.

In Tamil poetry the main themes are social reform, patriotism and love for the mother tongue. I have to make a particular mention about poems written with a stress on patriotism. For Merdeka Day (Independence Day) and other national occasions, our poets come out with very good verses. In the present context of confrontation Tamil writers have written hundreds of poems calling for unity and solidarity of the nation. They appeal to people to sacrifice everything for the sake of the nation. They call upon youth to parade in the battleground to defend the nation. In many of the poems this kind of patriotic call is being manifested in full vigour.

All newspapers devote one full page in Sunday editions for publishing poems and this generosity is the main reason for the abundant growth

of Tamil poetry here. There is already a collection of Tamil poetry in book form containing poems written by nearly forty poets. Many more such collections can be published with the material already published in the press.

Another literary form which is very popular is radio play. The simple reason is: it pays the writer. Because of the encouragement given by Broadcasting Department, hundreds of radio plays have been written so far. Among radio plays literary dramas count most and Malaysian Tamil writers have contributed much in this respect. Pulavar Sethuraman, Messrs. Bairoji Narayanan, N. Palanivelu are some of the eminent writers who have produced literary radio plays. Comic sketches, detective serials and social plays are also broadcast and Messrs. C. Kone, P. Santhirakantham, Pakkiasirpian, Resuvappa are some of the well known radio play writers.

Literary articles and literary talks are given important places in newspapers and radio broadcasts. In this field the late K. Ramanathan Messrs. M. TR. Arasu, V. T. Arasu, Pulavar Sethuraman, Pulavarmani Retnam are some of the writers who top the list. Travelogue also is popular and some successful attempts have been made in this respect.

"Our Kampong", "Our Estate", "Our School" are some of the popular essay themes encouraged by newspapers for new writers. "Readers' Mind" is another column specially allocated to new writers. In that column a current topic is discussed and new writers write pros and cons of the specific problem. As the best essay is given a prize, this "Readers' Mind" is very popular among writers as well as readers.

One-minute stories, fables and light sketches are some of the other forms attempted by Tamil writers. But these forms are very rare and many dare not attempt.

Regarding translations, I should say that they are not very popular among our readers. But many attempts have been made in this direction. As it is now, no attempt has been made to translate English material into Tamil. But I should say a beginning is being made to translate stories from the National Language into Tamil. Already, some Malay stories have been translated into Tamil. We have got writers who can directly translate National Language into Tamil and vice versa. In course of time I hope that this process of interchange would be made in a bigger scale which in turn would help to mould the Malaysian national literature in its true prespective.

Our Tamil writers are very keen to master the National Language and the day will not be very far for them to write their own original writings in the National Language.

I wish to say a few words about newspapers and magazines. We have no literary magazines and only with the help of Sunday editions of daily newspapers, our Tamil writers have to build up their writing. Many attempts to publish literary magazines have failed miserably and this is

one of the handicaps for Tamil writers here. Mismanagement and insufficient capital may be the reasons for these failures. To some extent these reasons may hold good. Another factor that affects the local magazines are the imported magazines from Tamilnad. The literary and story magazines we get from Tamilnad are priced cheap and their standards are very high. Local magazines cannot compete with them in price and quality.

Literary magazines can create a healthy atmosphere for writers and essentially a Malaysian literary magazine for Tamil writers is a great necessity. I hope this gap would be successfully filled up in the near future.

We have got some cinema monthlies with good circulation and they allot a section for short stories.

In book publication also Malaysian Tamil writers have not made much headway and so far the total number of books published is less than fifty. This is another field which needs attention and development.

Finally I would like to say something about our Tamil Writers' Association which is enjoying a membership of only a hundred writers. There is another association in North Malaya which wishes to merge with the main body. Last year our annual conference was opened by the Honourable Inche Senu, Minister of Information and Broadcasting and in that conference we awarded three gold medals for the best writers: one for poetry, one for short story and the other for essay. In 1963 our association jointly sponsored a big seminar on "Kalki" in conjunction with The Department of Indian Studies. Many eminent scholars including Professor X. S. Thani Nayagam participated in the seminar.

DUTCH STUDENTS OF TAMIL

F. B. J. KUIPER

The title of this contribution finds its justification in the history of the Dutch nation. Although not a few Dutchmen in the last four centuries have occupied themselves with the study of Tamil, no scientific work in this field was done in the Netherlands proper before the beginning of this century. Therefore, a contribution confined to Tamil studies in Holland only, would have had to exclude the work done in former centuries by Dutchmen in India, Ceylon, and Indonesia. Hence this study extends to all Dutch students of Tamil.

It was the impact of the Western world on the Orient in the 17th and 18th centuries which gave so many men, coming from small and far-off countries, the stimulus to the study of Oriental languages, so exotic and embarrassing for scholars accustomed to consider Latin grammar as the model of any linguistic system. By far the most important contributions in this field were made by the Portuguese missionaries. For several reasons the work of the Protestant ministers, not to mention that of the merchants, executive officers and ambassadors, could not compete with theirs. Still, all these categories have made their contributions, however modest the scientific importance of these may have been. As far as the Dutchmen are concerned, all these people were employed by the "General Chartered East-Indian Company", which had been founded in 1602.

Among those who had acquired some knowledge of Tamil, the first to be mentioned is, of course, Philippus Baldaeus (1632-1671). Although his real name was Balde, he published his scientific work, as was customary among scholars of that time, under a latinized form of his name. After having worked one year in Galle (1656-1657), in the very south of Ceylon, he was stationed in Jaffna, where he must have worked from 1658 to 1667. After his return to Holland he wrote the big volume, whose first part, entitled *Naauwkeurige Beschryvinge van Malabar en Choromandel, Derzelver aangrenzende Ryken En het machtige Eyland Ceylon* . . . (1672), contained a very brief sketch of the Tamil grammar (pp. 195-198).

The circumstance that he was a scholar with a considerable knowledge of several foreign languages enabled him to give a systematic account of the script and some aspects of the grammatical system which, judged by the standards of those days, was not too amateurish. On the other hand, he laid no claim to any proficiency in Tamil, as he considered himself only a beginner. The few paradigms of the nominal and verbal inflection hardly justify the heading "Malabaarsche Spraak-kunst." It it true, on p. 195 he referred to a more complete grammar, which he hoped to publish afterwards. However, owing to his early death in 1671, before the appearance of his "Beschryvinge", this grammar was never published and the manuscript was apparently lost. A study of his short grammatical notes was published by T. P. Meenakshisundaram in "Indian Linguistics" 1958 (*Turner Jubilee Volume* I, pp. 7-19). For continental Tamil of that time, however, not much information can be obtained from a sketch written by a foreigner who had great difficulty in understanding the phonemic and the morphological system of the language such as he had learnt from a Portuguese speaking assistant in Jaffna.

Baldaeus was the first Dutch minister to come into contact with speakers of Tamil and to be faced with the task of learning their language. It was in those very days that the Dutch troops were expelling the Portuguese from most of their strongholds in Ceylon and South India and that the Protestant Church had to take over a task which the Portuguese missionaries had performed up to that time with much zeal and success. This circumstance explains (as Baldaeus states in the introduction to his grammar) why the Dutch had not been acquainted with Tamil before, since the Dutch East India Company did not send ministers to areas over which it had no control. In these circumstances it would not be surprising if Baldaeus, who had a perfect knowledge of Portuguese, had been acquainted with Portuguese descriptions of the Tamil language and had made use of them. This might account for some peculiarities of his transcription system. In any case he was much impressed by the achievements of the Roman Catholic priests, and especially of Father Gasper d'Aquilar, in this field.

As far as I know, no attempt has been made by later ministers to replace his brief sketch with a full-fledged grammar. This is the more remarkable because the first Dutch grammar of Sinhalese was published as early as 1708. The reasons become clear from François Valentijn's *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën,* vol. Vb (1726), which deals with Ceylon. On the one hand he points out that most ministers lack the energy and the talent of the Portuguese priests for learning the native languages (p. 237), although Tamil, according to him, could be learnt in two years (p. 238). Indeed, out of a long list of ministers he could name only three who, after Baldaeus, had learnt Tamil so as to be able to preach in that language (p. 459). On the other hand he complains of a disregard of

the Governors of the East Indian Company for scholarship and of the discouraging effect of their omission to have dictionaries and Bible translations printed (p. 456). It appears that as early as 1694 D. Kat was engaged in translating the Old Testament into Tamil. In illustration of the highly civilised and ethical character of the native literature, he gives a translation of part of *Conreivendan* and of the 90 stanzas of *Anna Pidavi*. Curiously enough, the later text (annaiyum pitavum) is in fact the *Konrai vēntan*, and his translation is much more accurate than the paraphrase which Ziegenbalg had made some twenty years before, but which had never been published. The *Connevendam* consists of 113 short maxims. Education started with *Connevendam* and *Anempidee* (annaiyum pitavum). It further comprised the study of Modirei, Urichal (uriccol), and *Tivagaram*. Of the latter work he gives an analysis of the contents of each of the twelve books. Most interesting is his long list of the most important works of classical Tamil literature (pp. 399-401), which shows that at least the titles of such works as *Devarum, Diruwaschagum, Periaporanum, Tiriwalluwir, Nalariar* and *Dolkabiam* were known at that time

Unlike the few scholars, the executive officers of the Company can hardly be expected to have had more than a very modest knowledge of the language for practical purposes. In this connection it should be noted that the so-called *Malabar Dictionary*, which occurs among the instructions and memoranda which Stein van Gollenesse had prepared in 1743 for the new "Commandeur" of Cochin, does not deserve this name. This alphabetical list of geographical names, titles, and technical terms is in fact a small encyclopaedia, rather than a lexicographical work. It has been edited in the Proceedings and Reports of the Dutch Academy of 1942 by van Ronkel, who somewhat overrated the scientific importance of this document of colonial administration.

In Ceylon the situation improved considerably in the next decade after the publication of Valentijn's encyclopaedic work, owing to the fact that the Company had shortly put up a press at Colombo. From that time there was an opportunity for the ministers of the Protestant Church to have their translations published, and the list of their publications shows that they were not slow to seize it. In 1739 they published a short catechism, and in 1748 a Tamil translation of the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles from the Greek. A second edition of the latter work, published in 1759, bears the names of the two ministers Sigisbertus Abrahamsz Bronsveld and Johan Joachim Fijbrants. In 1744 Bronsveld, minister at Colombo, published a *Catechism in Tamil* (643 + 144 pp.; 2nd ed. of 1769, 128 pp.) and in 1754 an *Epitome of the Christian Religion* (12 + 22 pp.). Of his *Catechism for Children* a 3rd edition appeared in 1738. In the same years Phillippus de Melho, "minister at Jaffna-patnam", published a translation of the Psalms (1755, 105 pp.) and a Liturgy (1760, 115 pp.).

This short account, based upon the collection of the University Library of Leiden, is certainly far from complete. It is possible that a more thorough investigation will also bring to light the existence of a grammar. Towards the end of this century, in 1784, an "undermerchant and chief of Cranganoor", Johan Adam Cellarius, published a study of Tamil Manners and Customs with some notes on the language in the *Transactions of the Society of Arts and Sciences* at Batavia (vol. III; 2nd ed. 1824, pp. 187-212), which testifies to the interest that some merchants took in the country in which they had been living for some time.

The French Revolution and the ensuing occupation of Holland by the French put an end to the Dutch rule in Ceylon and South India. In 1795 the Dutch factories and possessions fell into the hands of the English East India Company. It took a long time before the purely scientific research led Dutch scholars back to the field of Tamil.

The versatile and brilliant scholar Hendrik Kern (1838-1917), who in 1865 became the first Dutch professor of Sanskrit at Leiden, had some knowledge of Tamil, but it was his linguistic studies in Indonesian rather than Sanskrit that induced him occasionally to refer to Tamil. Thus he explained the Malay word *bedil* "gun" as a borrowing from Tamil.

The first man to study Tamil more intensively, however, was one of the greatest authorities of Indonesian linguistics in the 19th century, Hermanus Neubronner van der Tuuk (1824-1894). His collection of grammars and texts, now at Leiden, testifies to this fact. As he spent his whole life in Indonesia, where he died a lonely man, the fruits of his vast knowledge became generally known only through his etymological notes added to H. von de Wall's *Maleisch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek*, which van der Tuuk edited (Batavia, 1877-1884). As far as I can see, he was the first to point out the occurrence of a vast number of Tamil loan-words in Malay.

It was probably his initiative that gave Philippus Samuel van Ronkel (1870-1954) the stimulus to take up the study of Tamil. Van Ronkel had studied Hebrew, Persian, and Indonesian languages before, at the end of the last century, he came to Java, where he started his career in what was then called the "Office for Native Affairs". Later he became a teacher of Malay at a school for civil servants at Batavia (Djakarta). Here he found among the many Tamil-speaking barbers of that town an informant with whom he could study the language. At that time a Dutch student of Tamil, without the help of radio and tape-recorders, and with handbooks whose phonetic descriptions were at best vague, contradictory and amateurish, could hardly get an exact idea of Tamil phonetics unless a career in Indonesia gave him the opportunity of getting into contact with native speakers. The disadvantage that the idiolect of these informants was sometimes rather sub-standard was not so serious in van Ronkel's case because his object was not the study of Tamil for its own sake but the explanation of foreign words in Malay.

In a few articles published in the first years of this century he dealt with this problem (see the references in *Indo-Iranian Journal,* vol. 3, 1962, p. 238). In later years, when Professor of Malay at Leiden University, he once returned to this field of study in the article referred to above.

While van der Tuuk and van Ronkel had studied Tamil when living in Indonesia, and exclusively as a means of elucidating the origin of some Malay words, the first person to study the language more intensively in Holland was the Utrecht Professor of Sanskrit, Willem Caland (1859-1932). Although his main field of study was the Vedic ritual literature, he had become interested in the *History of the Discovery of the Veda* (1918), and this led him to edit, besides some old records of French and Portuguese travellers, the works of the 18th century German missionary Bartholomeus Ziegenbalg, viz. his *Malabarisches Heidenthum* (which appeared in the *Transactions of the Dutch Academy of 1926*), and his "Kleinere Schriften" (published in the *Transactions of 1930*). Ziegenbalg described Hinduism as he had found it in South India, and his "Heid enthum" was, therefore, interspersed with Tamil terms. But it was particularly the collection of Ziegenbalg's translation of *Nītivenpā, Koṉṟai Vēntaṉ* and *Ulakanīti* which required a philological analysis of some Tamil texts which Ziegenbalg gave in his own transcription. Caland's acquaintance with Tamil enabled him also to explain some curious expressions in other 18th century sources (see *Acta Orientalia* 5, p. 52 on periyappaṉ and ciṟṟappaṉ), and to point out syntactic Dravidianizms in the *Vaikhānasasūtra* (viz. anyāṁ vivāhaṁ kuryāt, *Proceedings and Reports of the Royal Academy of 1926,* p. 272 ff., cf. also Schrader, *BSOS.* 6, p. 481 f.).

Another Sanskrit scholar, Barend Faddegon of the University of Amsterdam (1874-1955), also learnt Tamil but did not publish anything in this field. The same is true of the Greek scholar and well known Dutch poet Johan Hendrik Leopold (1865-1925), if a personal communication to the effect that he knew Tamil and taught it to one of his pupils is correct. I have been unable to verify this. The present writer was the last Dutchman who had an opportunity to start his study of Tamil in Java with the help of a native speaker. However, the work of living Dutchmen is excluded from this historical survey.

To sum up this account it may be stated that the study of Tamil was first motivated by the needs of the Protestant Church, as long as the Dutch had control over Ceylon and South India; much later a new stimulus was given by the study of Malay and of the early accounts by European missionaries. Indeed, scholarship seldom develops in complete isolation from kindred branches of learning and from practical life. Thus the most recent development in Holland, which led to the study of Tamil for its own sake and its introduction into University courses, is the direct result of the modern awareness of the tremendous importance of the Dravidian substratum in the Indian linguistic area. It can

hardly be doubted, indeed, that the first traces of an adaptation of Indo-Aryan to the Dravidian linguistic system must be dated at a comparatively early prehistoric period.

GERMAN DRAVIDOLOGY PAST AND PRESENT

ALBRECHT WEZLER

I shall try to give a short survey on the lives and the works of the most eminent German Dravidologists. The look backward, the reflection on the history of this field of Indology, seems to me even today necessary in two respects. German Indology is to be reminded of its obligation towards Dravidology that arises from this tradition — the obligation to give the study of Dravidian languages, literatures and culture its own place. On the other hand, with the founding of "The International Association of Tamil Research" a review of past achievements would appear appropriate and helpful in defining our future tasks.

At the outset we are confronted with the striking feature: nearly all of the German Dravidologists reached the field of their studies not through academic instruction. Rather they took up the study of one or the other Dravidian language after some other task had brought them into immediate contact with people of the 'dravidas'. Most of them as you may know were protestant missionaries sent to South India to preach the Gospel. To do this, they first had to study the language and penetrate the religious ideas that surrounded them.

The first German Dravidologist and founder of the Lutheran mission and church in India under the auspices of King Frederic IV of Denmark, was Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg. According to recent research he was born on July 10, 1682, in Pulsnitz in Saxonia. For half a year he studied theology at Halle University. There his teacher was August Hermann Francke, the famous pietist. In 1705, he and his friend Heinrich Pluetzschau were sent to Tranquebar on the Coromandel Coast as royal Danish missionaries. At this place which had been a Danish settlement since 1620 he arrived on the 9th of July, 1706. With only a short break, he worked there zealously and with great success up to his death on the 23rd of February, 1719. With the far-sightedness of a true genius he directed all his work towards the establishment of an Indian Lutheran church: he studied thoroughly Tamil, Tamil literature and Hinduism; he began to create Christian books in the vernacular, he founded schools and instructed Indian catechists and preachers. Great talent and hard work enabled him to master the difficult Tamil language within a short time and speak it like his own. He translated the New Testament into

Tamil, the Old Testament up to the book of Ruth, the small catechism of Luther and religious hymns. But more significant seem to us his works on Tamil grammar, lexicography, literature and indigenous religion. Of these only the more important ones shall be enumerated following the order of their writing. Visitors, conversation, extensive correspondence, intensive reading of Tamil texts, especially on religion and philosophy, much travelling for the sake of preaching, enabled him to collect in his life span the tremendous amount of information on which his works are based and which even today are worth scrutinising.

In the year 1708 Ziegenbalg translated several didactic texts from the Tamil which only in 1930 were edited by W. Caland under the title of *B. Ziegenbalg's Kleinere Schriften,* namely the Nidi Wunpa (Niti Venpa), Kondei Wenden (Konrai Ventan), Ulaganidi (Ulaka Niti). To show the remarkable lack of prejudice in B. Ziegenbalg I should like to quote out of a host of relative passages only some sentences taken from the preface to his translation of the *Niti Venpa:* "Such is the opinion of most Christians in Europe that the Malabar heathens be a rather barbaric people which knew neither of erudition nor of morals, but all this arises only as their language was not properly known. ... But as soon as I somewhat came to know their language... and finally reached its full command so as to be able to read their own books and to realize that among them all those branches of philosophy as are studied in Europe are well taught... I was greatly amazed and became desirous of apprehending their paganism from their own texts."

In the same year Ziegenbalg also composed the *Bibliotheca Malabarica,* a description of the Tamil books in his possession. Of its four parts the third attracts our attention most. Here Ziegenbalg gives an almost complete account of the Tamil literature containing remarks on the contents and the literary form in 119 Tamil texts. In a letter, dated 27 August, 1708, Ziegenbalg tells of his work towards a Tamil-German dictionary. Its part relating to prose works at that time contained 20,000 words and idioms and four years later it had already doubled. Besides he collected 1700 words from poetry. This lexicographical work was used by the later lexicographers Sartorious, Geister, Fabrizius and Breithaupt and also formed the base of the first Tamil-English dictionary of 1779.

Ziegenbalg's most important work is, no doubt, his *Malabar Heathendom* of 1711. It was first edited after more than 200 years by W. Caland in 1926. It deals (to give an idea of its almost encyclopaedic character) with the scriptures, gods, virtues and vices, temples and festivities, their chronology and their castes, eating ceremonies and agriculture, sciences and medicine, art and literature, ethics and mantics.

Two years later he compiled in his spare time during only two months his *Genealogy of Malabar Gods.* A first, but incomplete edition of the *Genealogy* was published anonymously in Berlin, 1791, whereas a

complete edition became available only in 1867. Already the title-page informs the reader of the book's contents: "Genealogy of Malabar Gods wherein it is minutely reported who are the gods in whom the heathens believe, where they derive their origins from, which is their respective position in the hierarchy, how they are named and which are the different names they have in poetry, how they are formed, which are their duties and functions" etc., in short, it is the programme for a complete mythology of Hinduism.

Finally I should like to mention Ziegenbalg's Tamil grammar which was composed in 1715 and published one year later in Halle with the Latin title *Grammatica Damulica quae per varia paradigmata, regulas et necessarium vocabulorum apparatam, viam brevissimam monstrat, qua Lingua Damulica seu Malabarica, quae inter Indos Orientales in usu est, et hucusque in Europa incognita fuit, facile disci possit.* Ziegenbalg had done all this work in the belief that it is not a mean "result of our mission to provide our beloved Europe with many a report and treatise of the local paganism and the inner and outer state of these heathenish peoples which cannot be but agreeable." But in this he was mistaken. His "beloved Europe" disapproved, understandably so: he was told that the missionaries "had been sent forth to suppress the fables of gods not to propagate them in Europe." If Ziegenbalg's works had been given their due attention at that time, had been appreciated in their scientific merit, Indology at least in Germany could be older by 150 years and would probably have fulfilled Ziegenbalg's wish "that this (Tamil) language be studied and taught in Europe with as much zeal as other Oriental languages."

A master of the Tamil language was Johanan Philipp Fabrizius. Born on the 22nd of January, 1711 in Kleeberg near Frankfurt, he first studied law and afterwards theology at Halle University. In 1740 he reached Cuddalore and became one of the eminent missionaries of the Tranquebar-mission. After 1742 he worked in Madras as a Lutheran preacher and missionary and there he died on the 23rd of January, 1791.

J. P. Fabrizius knew High-Tamil, the language of poetry, with the same perfection as the colloquial language. A proof of his profound knowledge is his translation of the Bible, the so-called "Golden Version" which has been compared in its importance and influence with Luther's German translation. It was the first major prose work in Tamil and thus Tamil became the first Indian language to have its own complete Bible. But a perhaps even greater proof of his mastership can be seen in the religious hymns he composed. The first collection of his hymns was printed in Madras in 1774 and since then the *Fabrizius Hymn Book* has been reprinted over and over again. Together with Breithaupt he published in 1779 the *Malabar and English Dictionary;* it was continued and considerably enlarged later on by Rottler and Winslow.

The Indological work of Ziegenbalg the importance of which consists

also in this that he has made accessible a number of Tamil sources through German translations was not earnestly continued until the Leipzig-Mission had succeeded the Tranquebar-Mission. The first name that ought to be mentioned here is that of Karl Graul. Born on the 6th of February, 1814 near Dessau he became, after having studied theology, a high-school teacher. Then, from 1844 to 1860 he was the director of the Leipzig-Mission. In the years 1849 to 1853 he travelled in India. About this he wrote a five-volume *Journey to East-India* (1854-1856). From 1861 until his death on the 10th of November, 1864 he lived in Erlangen.

Graul is considered the greatest German Dravidologist of the last century. Even before he departed for India he had learned Persian and Sanskrit and had apparently acquired a working knowledge of Tamil and Telugu. But Tamil he mastered only when he was in India. Graul was not content with learning the spoken language only but he also studied High-Tamil. He spoke of Tamil as "an extremely peculiar and difficult tongue", but had to admit: "the Tamil language is if well spoken extremely pleasing to the ear: like honey it is!"

In the first place Graul was a translator. As such his conscientiousness towards text and content kept him from giving the central concepts a Christian bias. His chef-d'oeuvre is the *Bibliotheca Tamulica sive Opera Praecipua Tamuliensium* of which only four volumes were published. The first volume entitled *Tamil texts on the Vedanta System* contains a German annotated translation of the *Kaivalyanavanita,* the *Pancadasaprakarana* and the *Atma Bodha Prakasika.* In the second volume, *Kaivaljanavanita, a Vedantic poem,* he gives the Tamil text, an English translation, a glossary, some grammatical notes and the explanations of one hundred Vedantic Sanskrit terms. The third volume entitled *The Kural of Tiruvalluvar, a gnomic poem* offers a German translation of this "true pearl of the very old and rich literature of the Tamils". The fourth volume contains grammatical notes and a glossary of the *Kural,* the original Tamil text together with a version in common Tamil and a Latin translation. To translate it took more than 12 years. Graul was the first European to translate the whole of the *Kural* and publish it. He considered "the Kural in all its parts as a mirror of the Indian, more particularly of the Tamil spirit". Graul also translated some parts of the Siva-nana Sittiyar, of the Akapporul and last not least selections from the 43rd chapter of Tayumanavar. He collected Indian Tamil prints and for a longer period he had two copyists work for him. The resulting "Small Library" of 150 items which he made accessible at Leipzig was unique for that time.

Of the same age with Graul was Hermann Gundert. He was born on the 4th of February, 1814 in Stuttgart and studied theology at Tübingen University. Having graduated he went to India in 1836 and there he joined the missionary, Carl Rhenius. Two years later he joined the

Basel-Mission in Malabar. In 1857 he became an English government official as inspector of schools of Malabar and Kannara. Illness forced him to return to Germany in 1859 and did not allow him to go back to India.

He knew several Indian languages: Bengali, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam and Tulu. But most of his work as linguist and translator was dedicated to the Malayalam language. Of his publications only two can be mentioned here: *Grammar of Malayalam Language* and *Malayalam and English Dictionary* which rest unsurpassed even today and have been reprinted only recently. For this dictionary he made use of an immense amount of materials, as he states in the preface: "The materials for this work have been collected during more than 25 years' study of the language. The words have been taken from all available sources, from the lips of speakers of all ranks, castes and occupations, from the letters and records of many different districts, and from the writers in prose and poetry of every age."

For a dictionary and grammar of Kannada we are indebted to another German theologian who also served with the Basel-Mission: Ferdinand Kittel. His *Kannada-English Distionary* was published in 1894 in Mangalore. It was followed 9 years later by his *Grammar of the Kannada Language in English, comprising the three dialects of the language (Ancient, Mediaeval and Modern)*. Kittel was also interested in the influence of the Dravidian language on Sanskrit, a problem which had already attracted the attention of Caldwell and Gundert. Besides an investigation into the "Dravidian Elements in Sanskrit-Dhatupathas" we possess from him a 30-page list of such words in the preface to his dictionary, grouped as "words relating to the body, animals, plants, metals, colour, men" etc.

The two Dravidologists now to be dealt with were not theologians and missionaries but primarily and originally Sanskritists: Eugen Hultzsch and Friedrich Otto Schrader. Hultzsch came to India in 1886 as "Epigraphist to the Government of Madras, Examiner of Sanskrit and Fellow of the University of Madras". During his 15 years' stay he also studied Tamil, Telugu and Kannada. His work mainly consisted in collecting, deciphering and publishing inscriptions. We owe him not only the *Asoka-Inscriptions* but also a second monumental work, the first volumes of the *South-Indian Inscriptions* by means of which important historical and linguistic sources were for the first time made accessible.

Schrader was the director of the Adyar Library in Madras from 1905 to 1916. During this time he also studied with dedication South Indian languages, especially Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam. But only after his return to Germany in 1920 he began to publish his articles on problems of Dravidian philology and his numerous reviews. Mainly he treated the origin of the Dravidian peoples as well as of the

possible mutual influences of the different Indian language families. Of great consequence was that Schrader once again took up and discussed the question of the inter-relationship between the Uralic and the Dravidian languages. But instead of favouring common descent of the Finno-Ugric and the Dravidian languages he rested satisfied with the hypothetical assumption of a one-sided or mutual influence in prehistoric times.

Before we reach the present two more names have to be recalled: those of Hermann Beythan and Hilko Wiardo Schomerus. Both were theologians and missionaries, both departed for South India in 1902. In Germany every beginner in Tamil knows Beythan because of his *Practical Grammar of the Tamil Language,* a standard work which in the main describes the language of modern prose. Schomerus who like Graul continued the tradition of Ziegenbalg's Indological work merits our esteem especially because of his publications on comparative religion, missionary history and his translations of important Tamil texts. I should like to mention only his presentation of the Saiva-Siddhanta according to the Tauil sources, his translation of the hymns of Manikka-Vasagar, the aphorisms of Auvaiyar, the legend of Andal, the *Arputat-tiruvantati,* the *Tiruppavai,* the *Periyapuranam* and the *Tiruvatavurar-Puranam.* Besides he contributed the chapter "The Dravidian Literatures" to H. V. Glasenapp's *The Literatures of India.* Among the papers he left there were found about 1,000 pages of translated Indian texts in manuscript which still are awaiting revision and editing.

Nowadays, Dravidian languages, especially Tamil are taught at the following German universities: Halle, Hamburg, Cologne, Heidelberg and Marburg. In Halle Dravidology has been represented for years by Dr. Arno Lehmann, Professor of General History of Religions, Modern History of the Christian Church and Missionary History. He worked as a missionary in South India from 1926 to 1934. Besides numerous articles on the history of German Dravidology and the Tranquebar-mission on which he is the greatest authority at present he has published hitherto unedited letters of B. Ziegenbalg, and like Schomerus translations of Tamil sources. The most important of these are *The Hymns of Tayumanavar* and *Sivaitic Piety of the Tamil Religious Tracts, according to original translations of Tayumanavar and from the Devaram.*

At the other universities Dravidian studies are generally represented by Indian scholars and lecturers. Nevertheless, speaking of the present state of Dravidology in Germany I cannot help admitting that B. Ziegenbalg's wish "that this (Tamil) language be studied and taught in Europe

with as much zeal as other Oriental languages" still rests unfulfilled. But now more than ever are we encouraged to hope that German Indology will soon repair past neglect and admit the whole range of Dravidian studies to their rightful place.

The Sudasien-Institut in Heidelberg has had PROF. KAMIL ZVELEBIL lecture on Dravidology. He has also been invited there to deliver a series of lectures during the Spring and Summer semesters, 1968. — Ed.

EUROPEAN MISSIONARIES AND THE STUDY OF DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES

NOTES ON SOME BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS HELD IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

ALBERTINE GAUR

The Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts has altogether one hundred and fifty Dravidian manuscripts in its possession; some of them are written on palm-leaves in the traditional manner of the South, others on paper bound in book form. Little is known about the history of the collection apart from the fact that the earliest manuscripts belonged to Sir Hans Sloane (1660-1753), the founder of the Museum. They are but twenty-seven in number — Oriental languages did not rank highly amongst Sloane's many interests — and none of them can be dated earlier than the beginning of the 18th century. Quite a large number of manuscripts are extracts from the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyana* or works on sectarian Hinduism. There are two letters of Haidar Ali written in Kannada and a Telugu bond from the year 1755 which relates gravely that the 'second son of Kasuvana of Kolambakam' has borrowed 'six pagodas of the Chennapatnam coinage' from the wife of Mr. Gramson. Two Telugu manuscripts on local history — a history of Kondavidu and a more general outline of Indian history giving the genealogy of some ruling families — might interest the historian whereas the student of Malayalam literature might like to look through an abridged version of 'Rāmānujan Eṟuttacchan's *Bhāratam*. With eighty-seven manuscripts Tamil is not only the best represented language; it has also some of the most interesting manuscripts of the whole collection. There are, to name but a few, grammatical works like *Nannūl* and *Tolkāppiyam*, a material vocabulary and works by the famous Auvaiyār and the even more renowned Kampaṉ. It is possible that a few palm-leaf strips belonging to the original Sloane collection — a work on bodily organs, some Tamil-Portuguese sentences and the tiny fraction of a Tamil alphabet — were written before the 18th century but they are so fragmentary that it is impossible to date, or even place, them with any accuracy. The two most valuable manuscripts, however, are the ones written by Father Beschi and Batholomäus Ziegenbalg.

The first Europeans who studied the Tamil language were Jesuit

missionaries working in Portuguese-owned parts of the subcontinent. Like the Spaniards the Portuguese had always claimed that their overseas conquests were not merely a result of greed for exotic riches but the direct outcome of a genuine desire to spread Christianity among the inhabitants of the globe. To justify this argument they saw to it that their bands of reckless marauding adventurers were accompanied by pious friars, and when Vasco da Gama landed in India at the close of the 15th century he faithfully followed the same tradition. Some of those early Portuguese priests acquired, without doubt, a knowledge of the vernacular but we know of none who had specially distinguished himself in this field. St. Francis Xavier, on the other hand, far from interesting himself in a realistic study of native languages, considered the translation of the Catechism into Tamil to be a task one could accomplish with the help of some intelligent bilingual natives in a matter of several days'.[1] He saw only one aim, a quick conversion of as many as possible, and while still in India, his eyes were already fixed on China and Japan. Fortunately some of his successors were less singleminded. Roberto de Nobili, a Jesuit like the restless visionary Xavier, not only acquired a thorough knowledge of Tamil, Telugu and Sanskrit, but also made the first tentative attempts in the realm of Tamil prose. The most gifted among the early pioneers, however, was Father Beschi. A linguist and a creative poet of equal distinction, he made a definite contribution towards the development of the language by reintroducing the *puḷḷi* and the distinction between long and short 'o' and 'e'. The Department possesses his Tamil-Latin dictionary (See: Plate I); written in Beschi's neat hand, it bears the date 1744 on the title page.

The 18th century saw a general increase in the study of vernacular languages. In 1706, four years before Beschi joined the Jesuit Mission in India, the German Lutheran Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg and his colleague Heinrich Plütschau landed in Tranquebar. They came under the patronage of the Danish King Frederic IV who had suddenly decided to take an active interest in the spiritual life of his Indian subjects. Whether this desire was genuine or whether Frederic saw himself as an 18th century João III is difficult to tell; in any case, his interest soon waned and the newly founded Tranquebar mission had to look elsewhere for moral and financial support.

Received with what amounted to an almost open hostility by the majority of Europeans living in Tranquebar, Ziegenbalg was immediately thrown into close contact with the natives of the town. Within eight months he had mastered the Tamil language and was busy exploring the literature of the people he had come to convert to a new faith. There is a manuscript numbering 23 folios in the Departmental collection which

[1] J. A. RICHTER, *A History of Missions in India*, pp. 47, 48.

bears the title *Verzeichnis der Malabarischen Bücher.* Written in German, in a thin ornate hand, it is a catalogue of some hundred and twelve Tamil works. It had been composed by Ziegenbalg and sent to Denmark in the year 1708. Though Ziegenbalg's name is not mentioned in the manuscript, those acquainted with his other works and the numerous letters he wrote during his stay in India cannot fail to recognise him as the author. The little manuscript — a description of Ziegenbalg's vernacular library in Tranquebar — is valuable for two reasons; first it gives an account of a number of Tamil works which have since been lost, and secondly, due to Ziegenbalg's special way of writing, it allows interesting glimpses of popular Hinduism and local social life as they must have appeared to a foreign missionary some two hundred and fifty years ago.

The Museum has a good number of Ziegenbalg's early printed works. Most of them are letters giving detailed descriptions of his life in Tranquebar, his studies, all the impressions and discoveries a man in his position and with his particular bent of mind was apt to make every day in a confusingly strange and utterly different country. There are three issues of the *Propagation of the Gospel in the East;* a first edition printed in London in 1709 and two third editions published in 1718. The two third editions contain an appendix entitled *An Account of the Malabarians* in the form of questions and answers. Another set of letters appear in *Merkwürdige Nachrichten aus Ost-Indien* of which the Museum has a third edition published in Leipzig in 1709. Ziegenbalg's interest in Tamil literature and his study of the Hindu religion, though, as he himself was always quick to point out, only pursued for the purpose of converting the 'heathens' more easily to Christianity, did not always find approval among his more orthodox associates in Europe. The Museum has an amusing little pamphlet, published anonymously in 1710 and modestly entitled *Aufrichtiger Beytrag zum Kirchen- and Schul-Bau in Ost-Indien* which is, in fact, a rather spiteful condemnation of Ziegenbalg's work and method, talking hypocritically about the 'two dear young and unexperienced people' (i.e. Ziegenbalg and Plütschau) who, themselves badly misguided, 'deceive the poor heathens' and turn them into 'children of hell twice over'.[2]

As a Lutheran, Ziegenbalg saw his main task in a propagation which, in his circumstances, meant translation of the Bible. The Museum has a few early works by Ziegenbalg, Gründler and Schultze, like, for example, the *Novum Jesu Christi Testamentum ex originali textu in linguam Damulicam versum opera & studio* printed in 1722, the *Biblica Damilica* published 1714-1728 and a book of psalms *Liber Psalmorum Davidis Regis et Prophetae, ex originali textu in linguam damulicam* by Benjamin Schulze bearing the date 1724. There is also a palm-leaf

[2] *Aufrichtiger Beytrag zum Kirchen- und Schul-Bau in Ost-Indien,* p. 2.

manuscript in the Departmental collection which the List of Oriental Manuscripts, vol. i, describes as *Novum Testamentum, lingua et characteribus Malabaricis, codex in foliis palmarum 106 exaratus atque e tranquebar transmissus.* Apparently the manuscript had been purchased at the same time as the already mentioned *Verzeichnis der Malabarischen Büchner.* It was written at the beginning of the 18th century and is undoubtedly the work of a missionary from Tranquebar but before identifying it as one of Ziegenbalg's own manuscripts careful study would be needed.

The history of printing Dravidian, mainly Tamil, characters falls into two parts; the history of printing vernacular languages in India and the history of printing those languages in Europe. In 1556 the Jesuits had brought a printing press to Goa. At first this press was mainly used for printing Portuguese tracts meant to be distributed amongst resident members of the Society but soon a set of 'Malabar' characters was cut and in 1578 the first Tamil book, a translation of Francis Xavier's *Doutrina Christe* by Henrique Henriques, appeared in print. The fact that the Portuguese used the term 'Lingua Malabar' for denoting the Tamil language caused a considerable amount of speculation as to whether the language of this work was Tamil or Malayalam but Georg Schurhammer, in a recently published study, decided the question definitely in favour of Tamil.[3] Though the Jesuits began to set up printing presses in several parts of Portuguese held India, trying their hands, with varying degrees of success, on the Kannaḍa and Devanāgarī scripts, they did not succeed in establishing the idea of printing firmly on the subcontinent and towards the middle of the 17th century all their efforts came to an end. Fifty years later, in 1711, Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg persuaded the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in London to send a further 'Portuguese' printing press to India and soon afterwards he was able to obtain a set of 'Malabari' letters from Germany. From then on printing seems to have progressed steadily in India. The position of the Protestant missionaries was, of course, very different from that of the Jesuits. Having no institutional power like the Inquisition at their disposal, they were forced to rely to a much larger degree on the persuasive power of the written word. Moreover, not being directly connected with any political authority, their labours could not be brought to a sudden halt by purely political considerations like the decree of 1684, which had ordered that the venacular languages of Goa should be replaced by Portuguese.

None of the early prints produced by the Jesuits is in the possession of the Museum. What has survived seems to have found its way more easily into archives in Portugal or in the Vatican. But, as we have seen above, the Ziegenbalg circle is rather well represented. The Museum has altogether five lengthy Tamil works printed in Tranquebar between

[3] GEORG SCHURHAMMER and G. W. COTTRELL, *The First Printing in Indic Characters.* Harvard Library Bulletin, vol. vi, no. 2, p. 148.

the years 1714 and 1730 and a good number of those which appeared later. Most of those early works have two title pages, one written in Tamil, one in Latin. (Plate II.)

In Europe no Dravidian language appeared in print before the middle of the 17th century. The first work to display Tamil characters was Philippus Baldaeus, *Naauwkeurige beschryvinge van Malabar en Choromadel, der zelver aangrenzende, ryken, en het machtig eyland Ceylon.* The Museum has two editions of it, one in the original Dutch, one in German; both published in Amsterdam in 1672. The book, a large volume beautifully illustrated, gives but three pages of what is called 'Malabarische Letter-Konst'; i.e. a set of Tamil characters with a very peculiar transliteration. ஞ , for example, is transliterated by 'nha', ட by 'r̲a', ண by 'hna', and க is supposed to stand for 'ca', 'l', 'ka' and 'qua'. A character written as 9 and transliterated by 'rra' obviously stands for the present ற. (Plate III.) To this is added a Tamil version of the Pater Noster and the Declaration of Faith with the original text in Latin written under each line.

A late and scanty beginning. Moreover, Baldaeus's example was not taken up. No further Tamil character appeared in print until the year 1716 when Ziegenbalg's *Grammatica Damulica* was published in Halle. (Plate IV.) The Museum posseses four examples of this work. The characters are large and square, quite different from the ones used in Tranquebar. They resemble Tamil inscriptions of the 15th and 16th centuries but, on the whole, they are rather pleasing in design. There is, of course, no *puḻḻi;* Ziegenbalg and Beschi, though working simultaneously in India, were not on sufficiently good terms to exchange their discoveries for each other's benefit.

The relative lateness of Tamil printing in Europe is not really surprising. When, in the middle of the 16th century, the Jesuits started their printing press in Goa they did it to provide themselves with an additional aid to proselytism. To suggest that these pagan languages should be studied for their own sake by pious Christians in Europe would have been heresy enough to attract the attention of the Inquisition. It took a Lutheran priest from Germany in the pay of a Danish king, a mercenary in the realm of faith not bound by the rigidity of monastic traditions, to upset the old equilibrium. Even then many voices were raised in protest and the advance of modern linguistics had to wait for another century.

The Museum has two copies of the first Tamil book printed in England, Robert Anderson's *Rudiments of Tamil Grammar: combining with the rules of Kodun Tamil, or the original dialect, an introduction to Shen Tamil, or the elegant dialect, of the language,* which appeared in 1921. A year later Benjamin Guy Babington who, like Anderson, had worked in the Madras Civil Service, brought out the text and a translation of Beschi's *Paramārta-guruvin katai.* Both works were published

and printed by the same two firms, both make use of the *pulli* but Babington warns his readers in the introduction that 'one exception... occurs, in the letter 'na' ந, which is never marked as quiescent, and the reason is, that the fount of letters which I purchased did not contain the requisite character. It would have been easy to have had a new matrix cut, but of this circumstance I was not aware until a considerable portion of the work was printed; and then, for the sake of consistency it appeared better to make no alterations.' Having made this confession he has to add that 'the large type used for the heading of Chapters, does not contain any dotted letters',[4] either. The Tamil characters are square and quite attractive in appearance (PLATE V), bearing a certain resemblance to the types used in Halle.

The Malayalam-speaking part of southern India, now known as the State of Kerala, had, at quite an early stage, come into relatively close contact with European missionaries and traders. On his first journey to the East Vasco da Gama landed in Calicut and soon afterwards, with the help of the Raja of Cochin, the Portuguese began extending their influence along the coast. St. Francis Xavier too visited Kerala and a number of charming legends tell of his miraculous success. The Jesuit missionaries did not always see eye to eye with communities of native Syrian Christians which had been in existence since the 8th century, but on the whole their efforts brought more response in Kerala than in other parts of the subcontinent. As far as the study of Malayalam is concerned it seems that, from 1700 onwards, a number of serious attempts were made by some of the missionaries.

The Department of Printed Oriental Books and Manuscripts has in its collection an interesting palm-leaf manuscript containing eight Malayalam poems on Gosepl history, Christian doctrine and hagiology. (PLATE VI.) The Manuscript is supposed to have been written by Johann Ernst Hanxleden, a Jesuit who, it seems, was also known as Johannis Ernasidos or — among the native inhabitants of Travancore — as Arṇōs Pātiri. The date of his death is 1732. An accomplished Malayalam scholar, he composed a large number of religious works in this language and a Malayalam-Sanskrit-Portuguese dictionary. 'In estimating his writing', writes C. M. Agur on his *Church History of Travancore*, 'we have only to add that what Fr. Beschi was to Tamil literature in South India, Fr. J. Ernasidos was to Malayalam in Malabar.'[5]

The manuscript is written in a script typical of the 18th century. It consists of 104 folios and the poems are entitled *Maraṇam koṇḍ' uḷḷa pāṭṭ', Vidhi-vidhā, Narakam, Mōksa-lōkàm, Dēvasū-kanyaka-carita-gānà, Mār Trēsiyā-punya-strīyuḍe caritram, Ummā-duḥkham* and *Puttan-pāna.*

[4] C. J. BESCHIUS, *The Adventures of Goroo Paramartan.* A tale in the Tamil language, accompanied by a translation and vocabulary, together with an analysis of the first story. By Benjamin Babington, p. x.

[5] C. M. AGUR, *Church History of Travancore,* p. 1065.

Unlike Tamil, Malayalam characters were not committed to print before the end of the 18th century. The Bombay University Library is in possession of a Malayalam Grammar which was printed in Bombay in 1799.[6] The first Malayalam book printed in Europe seems to have been Giovanni Cristofano Amaduzzi's *Alphabetum Grandonico-Malabaricum sive Samscrudonicum,* an essay on the Grantha-Malayalam alphabets with tables and examples from material supplied by Clemens de Jesu. The book appeared in Rome in 1772 and there is a copy of it in the Museum's collection. (PLATE VII.) Clemens, who died in 1782, spent several years in Kerala where he devoted himself to mission work and a careful study of the Malayalam language. During a visit to Rome he cut and engraved a set of Malayalam types for the press of the Society of Jesus.

Apart from the material directly connected with the study of languages, the Museum has a good collection of letters from Jesuit missionaries in India, some of them written and printed as early as 1550. Reading through them, one cannot fail to be impressed by the remarkable insight of these men who came to India more than four hundred years ago. Trained in an intellectual discipline which did not allow them to come as sympathetic observers, and, unlike modern scholars, having no works of reference at their disposal, they yet penetrated deeply into the complex structure of popular Hinduism, seeing the absolute behind the symbol, the central idea in a maze of contradictory manifestations. Anybody attempting to understand South Indian culture beneath the surface of mere linguistics will find these documents an invaluable source of information.

[6] ANANT KAKBA PRIOLKAR, *The Printing Press in India,* p. 11.

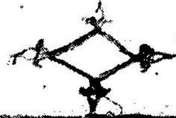


VULGARIS TAMULICÆ LINGUÆ DICTIONARIUM TAMULICO=LATINUM.

Additis in Præfatione aliquot Regulis, necessariò prælegendis.

AUCTORE
P. CONSTANTIO JOSEPHO BESCHIO
SOC: JESU
MISSIONARIO.

A. D. MDCCXLIV.



[*Courtesy: The British Museum.*]

PLATE 2

KORTE MALABAARSCHE LETTER-KONST.

De Malabaren sijn gewoon op bladeren van wilde palmeer of jagerboomen schrijven met ysere pennen, sy hebben hare letteren van ouden tyden af gehad. Hare letteren sijn aldus onderscheyden. 1. sommige korte genaemt of loopende. 2. andere lange. 3. sommige klinckers of vocalen, die by haer letteren van leven genaemt werden, om dat zy de ziele en't leeven aen de medeklinckers geven. 4. sommige medeklinckers of lichaem letters, waer van de klinckers het leven zijn. 5. sommige heeten sy gemengde letters, die wy diphtongen noemen, uit twee klinckers gesproten. 6. sommige werden genaemt letteren, die men alleen in't begin van een woort gebruyckt, sommige in't midde. 8. sommige in't eynde.

[*Courtesy: The British Museum.*]

CAP. III.

de

NOMINIBUS SUBSTANTIVIS.

OMnia Nomina substantiva in hac lingua æque declinantur & flectuntur, ac in lingua latina.

Quoad terminationes casuum hæc lingua non nisi unam agnoscit Declinationem, ad quam omnia nomina flecti possunt. Nominativus autem in singulari ac plurali habet aliquam varietatem, de qua genitivus in singulari ac plurali formari debet. Ablativus quoque triplex est, ablativus loci, instrumentalis ac societatis.

Ut hæc differentia eo melius observari queat, ex una quatuor hic exhibemus Declinationes.

Declinatio Prima.

	தனிவசனம்	Numerus Singularis.
N.	மனுஷன்	Homo
G.	மனுஷனுடைய	Hominis
D.	மனுஷனுக்கு	Homini
A.	மனுஷனை	Hominem
V.	மனுஷனே	O Homo!
Abl. Loci	மனுஷனிலே	in vel ab homine
	மனுஷனிடத்திலே	idem
	மனுஷனிடத்தில	idem
	மனுஷனுக்குள்ளே	Intra vel inter hominem
Abl. Instr.	மனுஷனாலே	Per hominem
	மனுஷனால	idem
Abl. Soc.	மனுஷனோடே	Cum homine
	மனுஷனுடனே	idem
	மனுஷனைப்பார்த்து	Respectu hominis
	மனுஷனைக்குறிச்சு	idem
	மனுஷனுக்காக	Propter hominem
	மனுஷனைக்கொண்டு	Mediante homine

வெகு



[*Courtesy: The British Museum.*]

ஆறவது

பிராமணனசேனன

புரோகிதக

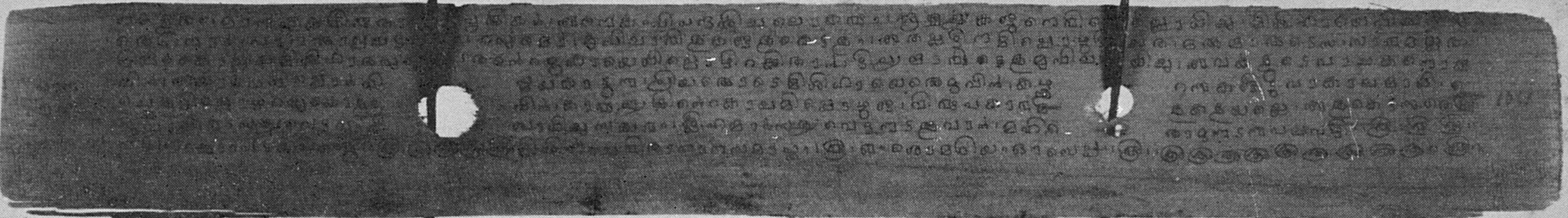
கதை.

மடத்துக்குச்சென்றபிற்பாடுகுருவா
னவர்வெகுகவலைப்பட்டிருநதார். தநதகுதி
ரைமிகவுங்குறைப்பட்டகுதிரையானாலும்
வைலையில்லாமல்வநததென்றுமிகவுஞ்சந
தோஷமாச்சு ஆனல்குதிரையினலேவ
ழியிலனுபவித்ததுக்கவானதுகளைநினைக்
கநினைக்கவெகுமனக்கிலேசப்பட்டுக்கொண்
டிருநதார். அப்படியேசீஷாக்களைக்கூட்
டிவைத்துக்கொண்டுதாம்பலபரமதா
ணங்களைச்சொல்லத்துவக்கினர்.

தம்பிமாரேவரவரநாமோறுமதிகமதி
கமாகப்பிறபத்சவாழ்வகளெல்லாம்
போய்யானவாழ்வென்றுகண்டுபிடிக்கி
றேன். தின்னுமகலப்பில்லாதநன்னுமையுங்
கசப்புக்கலப்பில்லாதவைணிப்புநதுக்கங்
கலப்பில்லாதமகிழ்ச்சியுமிங்கேகிடையா
து. ஐயையோவைலையன்றியுபகாரமாய்க்
குதிரைவநததென்றுநாமிகவுமகிழ்நததல்

[*Courtesy: The British Museum.*]


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BRITISH 1 MUSEUM 2 3 Inches 4



CAP. II.

De Consonis simplicibus, seu radicalibus.

Sexdecim itaque vocalibus statutis, ut a Malabaribus accepimus, veniamus nunc ad consonantes simplices, seu radicales, quae sunt trigintaquinque, quaeque sequenti ordine traduntur.

Figura.	*Nomen.*	*Potestas.*
ക	ka	k
ഖ	kkha	kk
ഗ	ga	g
ഘ	ggha	gg
ങ	nga	ngh
ച	cia	c
ഛ	cciha	cc
ജ	gia	g
ഝ	ggiha	gg

gna

Figura.	*Nomen.*
ഞ	gna
ട	ta
ഠ	ttha
ഡ	da
ഢ	ddha
ണ	na
ത	ta
ഥ	ttha
ദ	da
ധ	ddha
ന	na
പ	pa
ഫ	ppha
ബ	ba

[*Courtesy: The British Museum.*]

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Grammatica Damulica, quae per varia paradigmata regulas necessarium vocabulorum apparatum, viam brevissimam monstrat, qua lingua Damulica seu Malabarica, quae inter Indos Orientales in usu est, & hucusque in Europa incognita fuit. Halle, 1716.

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TAMIL LITERATURE AND SCHOLARSHIP: THE PIONEER WORK OF CHRISTIANS IN CEYLON

S. VITHIANANTHAN

With the entry of Christianity into Ceylon, there ensues a broadening of the channels of expression. Into a language that was characterized by its devotional and didactic literatures, were introduced science, translations, prose works, editions of books, pamphlets and journals. One of the important contributions of the Christians was the introduction of the printing press which revolutionized the very concept of education and literacy and resulted in the publication of thousands of books and in their distribution throughout the island.

PRINTING PRESS

The American missionaries were the first to bring the printing machine to north Ceylon. G. Garret of the American mission arrived with a printing press in 1821; when the restrictions placed on the mission were removed, the American Mission Printing Press was transferred to Manipay and many valuable books were printed in this press. Though the underlying idea of these missionaries was propagation of Christian faith, Tamil education and Tamil language advanced in various directions. It is these missionaries who imparted a sound education in English and even in Tamil at that time. The Catholics and the Hindus, following the lead given by the American missionaries, installed their own printing presses, published their own books and imparted higher education of great standard. Arumuka Navalar had the American missionaries as a model in installing a printing press, in printing and editing books and in the education of Hindu children.

WESTERN EDUCATION

In the process of achieving their main aim of spreading their faith, the Christians introduced into Tamil many literary forms and writings unknown to Tamil tradition. The education imparted at the Batticotta Seminary was channelled in this direction. To Christian missionaries is due the credit of being the earliest and most enterprising pioneers of western education in Ceylon. The Seminary which was started in 1823

imparted education in English Grammar, Arithmetic, Algebra, English Language and Literature, Natural Philosophy, Mental Philosophy, Logic, History, Chemistry and other allied subjects. The lecturers of the Seminary and the students trained there were instrumental for the development of the Tamil Language in new fields.

WORKS ON SCIENCE

It can be claimed that the first books ever written in Tamil on science where those published by Christian Missionaries and the contribution of the Batticotta Seminary ranks high in this field. Dr. Samuel Fisk Green is the person who was mainly responsible for this work. He came to Ceylon in 1847 and was attached to the Batticotta Seminary hospital at Vaddukkoddai. This hospital was transferred to Manipay in 1848, where besides his duties as a doctor he taught a number of students the science of medicine. Dr. Green's first classes were instructed in English, but he soon found that the English terms in the medical text book were practically unintelligible even to educated Tamils. The task of accurately defining in Tamil, i.e. the creation of a medical nomenclature in the Tamil language, was immediately undertaken — a stupendous task which occupied many years.

At first he translated Cutter's *Anatomy, Physiology and Hygiene.* This was published in 1857 by the A.M.C. Press in Madras. Dr. Green also induced the students who studied under him to take up the work of translation. Notable among his students were Chapman, Danforth and Evarts. Most of their translations were edited by Dr. Green. *The Science and Art of Surgery* (Irana Vaittiyam) compiled from Erichsen and Druitt was translated by Joshua Danforth and edited by Green in 1867.[1] It contained 504 pages and gave a general review of Human Anatomy and Physiology in the introductory chapter. All terms were fully explained in the Glossary. The work was designed for medical students. *Human Anatomy* (Manuśavaṅkātipātam) by Daniel W. Chapman was based on Gray's work and modified by the omissions of its surgical portions, by additions from Wilson's *Vade Mecum* and by illustrating with explanations from Smith and Horner's *Atlas.*[2] This contained 872 pages.

William Paul, medical practitioner, gave a modified Tamil version of *Hooper's Physician's Vade Mecum* (Vaittiyākaram) in 1872.[3] The

[1] J. DANFORTH, *The Science and Art of Surgery (Irana Vaittiyam).* Translated into Tamil. Compiled from Erichsen and Druit. Ed. by Green. A.C.M. Press, Manipay, 1867.

[2] D W. CHAPMAN, *Human Anatomy (Manusavankatipatam).* Compiled from Gray, Horner, Smith and Wilson. Supervised by Green. Press of Strong and Asbury, 1872.

[3] WILLIAM PAUL, *The Principles and Practice of Physic. (Vaittiyakaram).* Tamil version of *Hooper's Physician's Vade Mecum,* London Mission Press, Nagerkoil, 1872.

work running into 717 pages, was supervised and amended by Green. The original work was generally modified by omissions, additions and transpositions. In translating foreign words, brevity and smoothness have been introduced though the radical sound of the word or its accent have not been impaired. J. C. Dalton's *Human Physiology* (Maṉuśa-cukaraṇam) was translated by D. W. Chapman and revised and edited in 550 pages by Green.[4] Warring's *Pharmacopocia of India* was translated by Chapman under the name of *Intu Patārtacāram* and edited by Green.[5] *Physiological Vocabulary* was printed in 1872. This was based on Dalton's *Human Physiology* and contained an Index and Vocabulary in Tamil and English.

Chemistry (Practical and Theoretical) by David A. Wells was rendered into Tamil under the title *Kemistam*, by Dr. Green with the assistance of D. W. Chapman and S. Swaminathan.[6] This book of 516 pages contains an index and vocabulary in English and Tamil. William Nevins (Sithamparappillai), a clever mathematician and logician, who knew thoroughly the old Hindu system of logic as well as the modern European system, produced a work on logic in Tamil called *Niyāya Ilakkaṇam* (Elements of Logic).[7] The aim of the author was to initiate the Hindu mind in the principles of both the Aristotelian method of syllogistic reasoning and the Balonian system of induction. Other scholars like him produced in Tamil works on Algebra, Geometry and other subjects. These are not easily available now.

Thus the Christians started teaching science in Tamil but the official position which English enjoyed and the necessity to learn English to secure employment in the government stood in the way of the furtherance of Science education in Tamil. Besides this, there was also the undeclared boycott of the study of science by the more conservative among the Hindus; for they associated science with Christian missionaries and Christianity.

LEXICOGRAPHY

The American missionaries made a lasting contribution to the development of Tamil in another field which forms an indispensable part of any study in a language or of a language — the development of lexicography. They are the pioneers in the field of lexicography in Ceylon.

The missionaries settled in Ceylon in groups in important centres, mixed intimately with the Tamils and studied their language as it was

[4] D. W. CHAPMAN, *Human Physiology* (Manusacukaranam). Translation of J. C. Dalton's work. Press of Strong and Ashbury, 1883.

[5] ———, *Pharmacopocia of India* (Intu Patartacaram). Translation of Warring's work. A.C.M. Press, Manipay, 1884.

[6] S. F. GREEN, *Chemistry — Practical and Theoretical* (Kemistam). Tamil version of David A. Well's book. London Mission Press, Nagerkoil, 1875.

[7] W. NEVINS, *Niyaya Ilakkanam* (Elements of Logic). Jaffna American Press 1850.

very essential for their missionary work. To gain an intimate knowledge of the Tamil language it was very necessary to compile Tamil-English, English-Tamil and Tamil dictionaries. Work on these dictionaries was started in 1833 and from the material collected the *Manual Dictionary of the Tamil Language* was prepared by Pandit Chandrasekera, a scholar of Jaffna. This was published by Rev. L. Spaulding in A.D. 1842. It is popularly called *The Jaffna Dictionary* or *Manipay Akarāti.* This was the first Tamil dictionary written in Ceylon; also the first complete dictionary of the Tamil language in the alphabetical order compiled by anyone in Ceylon or India. It contains about 58,500 words.

This dictionary was very popular as it supplied the growing need for a good Tamil dictionary. Several editions of it appeared and almost everyone of them was an enlargement. A scholarly attempt was made in Jaffna to compile a dictionary from various sources studied expressly for the purpose. C. W. Kathiraivelpillai, originally a Christian and a product of the Batticotta Seminary, was the compiler of this dictionary. When one thinks of this solitary scholar, with painful industry, compiling a great national work, at least not inferior to productions which, in other countries occupied the attention of learned and richly endowed societies during a great number of years, one cannot but feel admiration for him and for his work. Every page of the dictionary bears clear proof of his profound scholarship, critical acumen and patient research. The accuracy of knowledge displayed and the precision of language used in the definitions and the citations used to illustrate the various shades of meaning have won for him the unqualified praise from those most competent to judge. Before the full dictionary could be printed he died and the materials were handed over to the Tamil Sangam at Madura. Because it was published by them it is known as *Canka Akarati* (Sangam Dictionary).

The first ever English-Tamil Dictionary was also compiled by Christians in Ceylon. Rev. Samuel Hutchings worked on the English-Tamil Dictionary; this was published by Rev. M. Winslow in 1842 and revised by R. W. L. Spaulding in 1852.[8]

The first Tamil-English Dictionary to be compiled in Ceylon was also done by Christian missionaries. The materials collected by Rev. J. Knight and M. Tissera were added to by Rev. P. Percival, Rev. L. Spaulding and Rev. S. Hutchings and edited by Rev. M. Winslow. It was published in 1862 and is popularly known as Winslow's Tamil-English Dictionary.[9] Words of common and poetic dialects of Tamil and

[8] L. SPAULDING, *English and Tamil Dictionary*. 2nd edn. Revised and enlarged. American Mission Press, Jaffna, 1852.

[9] M. WINSLOW, *A Comprehensive Tamil-English Dictionary*. American Mission Press, Madras, 1862.

terms dealing with astronomy, mythology, botany, science and allied subjects and names of authors, poets, heroes and gods were included in this dictionary. Winslow gave for the first time the root of the verb as the leading word. He separated Sanskrit from Tamil words, indicating the primitives of the former by an asterisk. Another noteworthy feature was the addition of Tamil rendering to all the principal words with English translation of the examples. This dictionary proved to be a great work and enjoyed great popularity.

JOURNALISM

Another field in which the Christians have been pioneers in Ceylon is journalism. Journalism has stimulated progress in every phase of literary activity. It has quickened thought, moulded opinion, modernized taste and given a fresh orientation of outlook in the world of letters. The first Tamil journal in Ceylon was the *Morning Star* published by the American mission in 1841 as a bi-monthly, Anglo-Tamil journal under the editorship of Henry Martyn, with whom was associated Seth Payson. It is to be noted that this first journal was edited by two Tamils from Jaffna and not by Europeans. Even the other journals which appeared subsequently were by Christians. In 1853 was started the *Literary Mirror* by C. W. Kathiraivelpillai which carried articles on literary and scientific subjects in its monthly issues. In 1802 the *Jaffna Freeman* was started by Nicholas Gould. The Jaffna *Catholic Guardian* was started in 1876 and still continues publications like the *Morning Star.* It was only in 1889 that the Hindus started a journal of their own when T. P. Chellappahpillai edited the *Hindu Organ.*

TRANSLATIONS

Pioneer work in Ceylon in the field of translation was done by Christians who by their translations interested the rest of the world in the literary and cultural heritage of the Tamils. Pioneer work in the translation of the Saiva Siddhanta texts was done in Ceylon. Rev. Henry H. Hoisington was the first to translate the *Sivagñanapōtham* and *Sivappirakāsam* into English in 1854.[10] About 6,000 proverbs prevalent among the Tamils was published with an English translation by Rev. O. Percival in 1842.[11] This is the first collection of *Tamil proverbs* with their English translation. Dr. Isaac Tambyah's translation of Tāyumāṉavar's poems is a class by itself.[12] It is the very first work of its kind containing a translation of 366 psalms and is the result of fifteen years of study.

[10] HENRY H. HOISINGTON, *Tattuvakkattalai; Sivagnanapotham and Sivappirakasam.* B. L. Hamlepon, Printer to Yale College, New Haven, 1854.

[11] P. PERCIVAL, *Tamil Proverbs.* 2nd edn. Dinavartamani Press, Little Bourne, Mylapore, 1874.

[12] ISAAC TAMBYAH, *Psalms of a Saiva Saint.* Luzac, London, 1925.

The Sangam works, as a collection, were translated for the first time in 1949 when Mr. J. V. Chelliah of Jaffna College published his translation of *Pattuppāṭṭu.*[13] It is a beautiful and scholarly translation of the Ten Poems and has been highly commended by professors and other competent judges. Translation of Auvaiyār's *Mūturai*[14] and *Nalvaḻi*[15] were done by a Christian missionary of Ceylon, Rev. E. Strutt.

PUBLICATION OF BOOKS

Publication of classical Tamil works too was started by Christians and the services of C. W. Thamotharampillai loom large in this field. Many of the ancient classical works in Tamil were till then preserved in manuscript on palmyrah leaves and jealously hidden by those Pandits into whose hands they had fallen. The archaic language in which they were composed and the alien religions they favoured, alike prevented their becoming popular with Tamil students. Even the transcription from ola to ola had ceased. Nature was steadily carrying on its process of decay and putrefaction. Worms and white ants were proving ruinous, stealing unobserved into every secret place. The owners themselves were unconsciously helping these vermins by the annual sprinkling, on their volumes, of cold water and scents on the day of homage to Saraswati.

Most of the ola leaves of the manuscripts were rotten, worm eaten, broken to pieces and torn to slips, sticking together in a process of putrefaction and hardly readable in many places. All these works would have crumbled to dust but for the enterprise of a few scholars who have, with considerable labour and research, rescued most of these from oblivion and published them in print. Foremost amongst these scholars is C. W. Thamotharampillai of Siruppiddy, Jaffna, who was trained at the Batticotta Seminary. He has the rare distinction of bringing out in print the entire *Tolkāppiyam.* His editions of *Iṟaiyanār Akapporuḷ, Ilakkana Viḷakkam, Kalittokai* and *Cūlāmaṇi* reveal his immense labour and research in this field. Many Hindus soon followed Thamotharampillai and flawless editions of ancient Hindu texts were brought out in print. Even Navalar's publication of Tamil works on Saiva religion and of some of the best known classical literary works were based on these earlier editions and his editions soon came to be celebrated for their flawless printing and useful connotations.

PROSE WRITING AND PROSE LITERATURE

Another great contribution made to the Tamil language by Christians in Ceylon was the creation of a lucid and easy style of prose

[13] F. V. CHELLIAH, *Pattuppattu,* trans., General Publishers, Colombo, 1946.
[14] E. STRUTT, "Wise Words (Muturai)", trans., *The Orientalist,* vol. I, 1884.
[15] ———, "The Good Way (Nalvali)", trans., *The Orientalist,* vol. II, 1885.

writing. Up to their arrival it was not customary to write in prose. Later on when these missionaries arrived, they cultivated the art of prose writing. In order to propagate their faith they issued prose publications in simple language to reach the ordinary man. Āṟumuka Nāvalar followed in their steps and made Tamil prose popular, both with the scholars and the masses.

The introduction of pamphlets in Tamil is due to Christians. Pamphleteering as an art was developed by them and the first pamphlets that were published were those issued by the Catholics who resented the intrusion of the Protestant Dutch into their field. The pamphlets issued by Yakkome Gonzal Vaz are noted for their pungence. The pamphlets issued by the American missionaries in the course of their conflict with Āṟumuka Nāvalar are interesting reading. They were written in simple grammatical prose, clear and easily intelligible to one and all. Āṟumuka Nāvalar outdid the Christians in their own field by writing catechisms and pamphlets on Hinduism and readers for use in schools. All these activities set the pace for the development of Tamil prose.

In the field of prose literature, the first novel to be written in Ceylon was by a Christian. Iṉṉācittampy of Trincomalee in his novel *Ūcōṉ Pālantai Katai* published by S. Thambimuttuppillai in 1891 unravels a story with a Catholic background.

PLATFORM - SPEAKING

The Christians are the originators of platform-speaking in Tamil in Ceylon. Till their arrival Tamil scholars delivered only long commentaries on verses occurring in the Puranas. It was not customary among them to deliver talks on topics which were not connected with these verses. Even these commentaries were often allegorical, couched in high Tamil and not easily understood by the common people. It was the missionaries who, in order to get a hold on the common man, spoke to him in simple language in the form of open air lectures on prepared subjects. Āṟumuka Nāvalar trained himself for platform speaking on these lines and even excelled the missionaries.

HISTORY OF TAMIL LITERATURE

The pioneer work on History of Tamil Literature in English and Tamil were written by Ceylon Christians. Simon Casie Chitty, one of the great orientalists and antiquarians whom Ceylon has produced, wrote the *Tamil Plutarch*, outstanding pioneer work in the field of history of Tamil Literature in English.[16] An account is given in the book of lives of the poets of South India and Ceylon up to 1859. Select specimens of their work are also given. The greatness of his work looms large

[16] SIMON CASIE CHITTY, *The Tamil Plutarch;* 1st edn. 1859, Reprinted in 1946, General Printers, Colombo.

when we consider the fact that most of the ancient books had not been printed then and easy reference to the lives and works of the poets was not available.

The *Tamil Plutarch* has been the authority for later works on history of Tamil Literature. This work has been quoted by Dr. Caldwell in his *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages* and has been referred to in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica.* Earlier in 1848 he read a paper at a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, on "A Catalogue of books in the Tamil Language with the names of the authors, the subjects and dates."[17] He also contributed two articles to the *Ceylon Magazine*, one on the Tamil philosophers and poets[18] and the other on the language and literature of the Tamils.[19]

The first book in Tamil on the history of Tamil literature was written by J. R. Arnold. His book *Pavalar Carittira Tipakam* or *Galaxy of Tamil poets,* written in Tamil, gives an account of 410 poets.[20] It is a pioneer work in this field. It was after the publication of this book that other books on history of Tamil literature were written in Ceylon and India.

The cumulative effect of the pioneering work by Christians in Ceylon is the broadening of the channels of Tamil studies and scholarship which ushered in the modern era of Tamil literature.

[17] SIMON CASIE CHITTY, "A Catalogue of books in the Tamil Language with the names of the authors, the subjects and dates." *J.R.A.S.C.*, vol. II, no. 4, 1848.

[18] ———, "Brief notices of the Tamil Philosophers and Poets in the South of India and Ceylon", *The Ceylon Magazine*, vol. I, pp. 8, 64, 144, 194 and 229.

[19] ———, "Remarks on the language and literature of the Tamils", Ibid., p. 51.

[20] J. R. ARNOLD, *Pavalar Carittira Tipakam or Galaxy of Tamil Poets.* Strong and Asbury, Printers, Manipay, 1886.

THE AMERICAN CONTRIBUTION TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF TAMIL LANGUAGE IN CEYLON

ARUMUGAM VIMALACHANDRA

From early times, the Tamil language had the patronage of kings, rulers, and various philanthropic friends, all of whom assisted in its development. In later centuries, the religions of India, like Buddhism and Jainism, made their own contribution to the development of the oldest living language of the Dravidian family. With the arrival of the European communities, from the fifteenth century onwards, pioneer Christian missionaries, made their contribution to the propagation of their faith and to the development of the Tamil language.

Of these external influences, the American contribution was one of the last to come, both in the Indian sub-continent and in Ceylon. So far no concentrated effort has been made to assess the American contribution to the development of Tamil. It is the purpose of this paper to undertake that assessment, especially with regard to the development of Tamil in Ceylon. The extent of this contribution can perhaps best be glimpsed in a statement made by Reverend Miron Winslow in 1862, in the preface to his monumental *Tamil and English Dictionary.*

Quoting Reverend W. Taylor, Winslow wrote that Tamil was "one of the most copious, refined, polished languages spoken by man".[1] It is in the light of Winslow's obvious admiration and understanding of Tamil that we can best understand the quality of the American contribution to its development, all the more surprising in that the United States was only forty years from its own independence.

ARRIVAL OF THE AMERICANS IN CEYLON

It may be appropriate here to take a general look at the American Foreign Mission in Ceylon. It had its birth in a haystack in Williamstown, Massachusetts,[2] at the beginning of the 19th century. Six students

[1] REV. MIRON WINSLOW, *Tamil & English Dictionary,* American Mission Press, Madras, 1862, preface, p. vi.

[2] REV. C. D. VELUPILLAI, *A History of the American Ceylon Mission,* A.C.M. Press, Tellippalai, 1922, p. 4.

from Williams College in Massachusetts, who had been to a prayer meeting, took refuge in a haystack during a storm. They talked of far away Asia and the possibility of reaching other lands to spread the Gospel. As a result of their idea in 1810, a Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mission was started. From that time till today, hundreds of educated, dedicated men and women from America left their homelands, many never to return. This brave, pioneer American enterprise has fostered education, medicine, agriculture, and contributed immensely toward the development of foreign languages and cultures.

The graves in the vault at the Tellippalai and Uduvil churches in the Jaffna peninsula are a mute testimony to the ravages of disease and hardship which the pioneer band of Americans experienced in Ceylon. In many instances the Americans lost their wives and children in Ceylon to epidemics like cholera. To quote only one instance, Reverend Miron Winslow lost his wife and a baby on the same day, a daughter earlier, three of his sisters-in-law, and a brother-in-law during his stay in Ceylon.

The American missionaries had set up their first mission in India in 1812 among the Marathas. Historians say that the American missionaries who arrived in Ceylon were persuaded by the British to proceed to the dry, arid zones of North Ceylon — Jaffna peninsula. Once in Jaffna, the Americans found that North Ceylon was inhabited by a different race, with a language and culture of its own. Reverend Edward Warren was the first American missionary to arrive in Jaffna, on July 11, 1816.[3] He was soon joined by others and for a while they resided in Jaffna town. Wesleyan missionaries who had come two years earlier from England were by this time well established in Jaffna, however; this fact influenced the decision of the Americans to press out into the thickly settled countryside as yet wholly unreached by Christian influences. Tellippalai, a place eight miles north of Jaffna town, was chosen as the pioneer field for American missionary work in Ceylon. On October 15, 1816, Reverend Warren and Reverend Dr. Poor took up their residence at Tellippalai in the midst of the Tamils in Ceylon.[4]

EDUCATION

The major contribution of the Americans was in the field of education. Dissemination of the knowledge of a language is perhaps a greater contribution than the composition of great works, which few read. It is chiefly in this field that the Americans laboured. To assess the contributions made by the Americans in this field, we should understand the conditions prevailing one hundred and fifty years ago. Like

[3] JOHN H. MARTIN, *Notes on Jaffna*, American Ceylon Mission Press, Tellippalai, 1923, p. 12.

[4] REV. C. D. VELUPPILLAI, *A History of the American Ceylon Mission*, A.C.M. Press, Tellippalai, 1922, p. 34.

most governments in the world at that time, the colonial government paid little or no attention to education. The people themselves had no public school system worth the name. The British viewed benignly the attempts of the Wesleyan missionaries to found schools, but the British were not in favour of American influence spreading in their colonies, and feared schools. This did not deter the American missionaries and in effect they established the first schools in the area. In striking contrast to other missionary efforts before that time, the Americans in all their schools included in the curriculum a rich portion of Tamil and Tamil literature.

The Americans' passion for education is a logical outgrowth of their background in the Enlightenment. Like their contemporary, Jefferson, they believed that education was the only avenue to all forms of progress, and that social and economic development went hand in hand with growth of the spirit.

In 1816, the first public free school was established at Tellippalai.[5] Here students had their instruction in Tamil language, literature and poetry, as well as in arithmetic, geography and religion. Only after some time was English introduced at Tellippalai, making it the first English school under the American Mission. This was followed by the first of the boarding schools at Tellippalai and four others at Vaddukoddai, Uduvil, Pandattarippu and Manipay. By 1848, the Americans had planted in Jaffna no less then 105 Tamil schools and 16 English schools.[6] By 1915 the number of students studying in the American institutions was well over ten thousand. In 1833,[7] a school for small children was started at Pandatterippu by Mrs. Eckard. This was the first kindergarten in Ceylon, modelled after the leading ones in America at that time. With the arrival of the Americans the portals of learning were thrown open to everyone.

The contribution of the American missionaries in the field of education, lay not merely in the fact that they opened the gates of education to everyone but also in the fact that they opened it to women, because "everyone" in those days usually meant "men". It was not considered the province of women to acquire learning. Though according to the Tamil classics women had enjoyed great freedom at one time, the events and customs of later times had succeeded almost entirely in barring women from education and all other opportunities outside home.

[5] REV. C. D. VELUPPILLAI, *A History of the American Ceylon Mission*, A.C.M. Press, Tellippalai, 1922, p. 39.

[6] RT. REV. S. KULANDRAN, *Prize Day Speech*, Jaffna College, Vaddukoddai, 23rd February, 1963, Dioceasan Press, Madras, 1964.

[7] JOHN H. MARTIN, *Notes on Jaffna*, American Ceylon Mission Press, Tellippalai 1923, p. 16.

The efforts of the American missionaries in introducing women's education therefore restored to the women of Jaffna a right that had once belonged to them but had been subsequently lost.

Naturally, the missionaries encountered an almost impassable barrier of prejudice in this effort. A beginning was made in women's education at Tellippalai as early as 1818. This was followed by the establishment of four other schools at different points. But the chief project was the one at Uduvil founded in 1824,[8] by Mrs. Harriet Wadsworth Lathrop Winslow (wife of Reverend Miron Winslow) and great-great-grandmother of the late John Foster Dulles. She was the founder and first principal of the Uduvil Girl's School, best known among the contributions of the Americans to women's education in Ceylon. Uduvil was the first girl's boarding school in Asia; it was followed by the founding of satellite institutions for girls at different points in the Jaffna peninsula. In these American educational institutions more than 2,500 girls had their education between the years 1818 and 1912.

BATTICOTA SEMINARY

The schools referred to so far were primary or secondary schools. The Batticota Seminary was of collegiate (university) standing. The Seminary not only imparted learning but produced an intellectual ferment in the entire Tamil community of Ceylon.

The Americans established the Seminary at Batticota, (now called Vaddukodai) on July 22, 1823[9] parallel to then existing universities in England and in the United States. This was a great event in the field of higher education in Asia. The seminary came into being thirteen years before the establishment of the Colombo Academy (now Royal College, Colombo) and twenty-six years before the St. Thomas' Collegiate Institution (now called St. Thomas' College, Mt. Lavinia). The first Principal of the Seminary was Reverend Dr. Daniel Poor, who was undoubtedly the dominating personality of those years. Instruction at the Seminary was bilingual. The syllabus was purely academic, but special emphasis was laid on Tamil grammar, Tamil literature and Hindu astronomy. We find that among the books studied were *Skanda Puranam* (கந்த புராணம்), *Naidatam* (நைடதம்), *Nannul* (நன்னூல்), *Tirukkural* (திருக்குறள்), and various books on Tamil prosody and Sanskrit. Sir James Emerson Tennet, the accomplished Colonial Secretary and Lieutenant-Governor of Ceylon, paid a visit to the Seminary in 1848 and recorded that it was "no encomium that the collegiate institution of

[8] Rev. C. D. Veluppillai, *A History of the American Ceylon Mission*, A.C.M. Press, Tellippalai, 1922, p. 63.

[9] Ibid., p. 61.

Batticota is entitled to rank with many an European University."[10] Dr. Poor, and Dr. Richard Hoisington who followed him were scholars of the first rank.

The seminary produced such notable figures as C. W. Tharmotharampillai, Carroll Visvanathapillai, J. R. Arnold Sathasivampillai, William Nevens Sithamparapillai, Wyman Kathiravelpillai, and Evarts Kanagasabaipillai. Two of the first graduates who obtained their B.A. degrees from the Madras University in 1857 were earlier students of the Batticota Seminary. These two (C. W. Tharmotharampillai and Carroll Visvanathapillai) were then called "boy graduates" because they obtained their degrees quite young.

The Batticota Seminary was closed in 1855, because of the verdict of the Anderson deputation of the Mission that it did not subscribe to the basic missionary purpose. But during the years of its existence (1823-55), it imparted higher education to well over seven hundred students. While it lasted the Americans spent on it no less than three hundred thousand rupees, a mighty sum in those times.

To realize fully the contribution of the Seminary to Tamil, one must take into account the contribution made to it by the students of the Seminary. C. W. Tharmotharampillai is recognized as one of the greatest scholars of his day. The Tamil world will for ever be grateful to him for collecting, editing and publishing *Tolkāppiam* (தொல்காப்பியம்), *Vīrasoliam* (வீரசோழியம்), *Kalitokai* (கலித்தொகை), *Nīdinerivilakkam* (நீதிநெறி விளக்கம்) *Sūlamani* (சூளாமணி), and other works. For his services he was appointed Examiner and elected a Fellow of the Madras University. Carroll Visvanathapillai wrote the controversial pamphlet *Suprathīpam* (சுப்பிரதீபம்) and also did a Tamil translation of Colonenso's Algebra titled *Vīsa Kanitham* (வீச கணிதம்). Arnold Sathasivampillai was an eminent Tamil scholar, a prolific writer who will long be known for literary works such as *Meyvētacaranam* (The essence of true Bible) (மெய்வேத சரணம்), *Thirucatakam* (on Christ) (திருச்சதகம்), *Nannerikkotu* (A moral poem) (நன்னெறிக் கொத்து), *Gnana Venba* (On Wisdom (ஞான வெண்பா), *Illara Nondy* (A Poem on Domestic Life) (இல்லற நொண்டி), *Catarana Itikasam* (Universal History) (சாதாரண இதிகாசம்), *Vāna Catiram,* (Compend Astronomy) (வான சாஸ்திரம்), *Pāvalar Carittira Tibikam* (The Galaxy of Tamil Poets) (பாவலர் சரித்திர தீபகம்), a standard work on this subject to this day, and *Vellai Antāti* (வெல்லை அந்தாதி).

Evarts Kanagasabapillai was yet another notable from the Batticota Seminary. The distinguished Tamil poet and scholar is chiefly reputed

[10] JOHN H. MARTIN, *Notes on Jaffna*, American Ceylon Mission Press, Tellippalai, 1923, p. 168.

for his *Thiruvākkuppurānam*, (Scripture History) (திருவாக்குப் புராணம்). He also wrote *Cuvicedakandam* (The Gospel and the Acts)(சுவிசேட காண்டம்), as well as innumerable lyrics in Tamil.

Wyman Kathiravelpillai was another noted scholar. The compilation of the *Canka Akarāti* (சங்க அகராதி) is a monument to his scholarship. He started the short-lived *Literary Mirror*, a monthly magazine, which published articles on literature and science. In 1886 he forwarded a collection of Ola manuscripts of all Tamil classics with a brief account of each to the Colonial and Indian Exhibition held in London.

William Nevens Sithamparapillai was the author of the first book on Logic in Tamil, entitled *Niyaya Ilakkanam* (நியாய இலக்கணம்).

PRINTING PRESS

A noteworthy contribution the American missionaries made to the development of Tamil was the setting up of the first printing press in the Jaffna peninsula on August 1820.[11] Until then Tamil works had been preserved in ola manuscripts. Printing, a great factor in the intellectual life of the world, was brought to the Tamils in Ceylon by the American missionaries.

For some years, owing to the attitude of Governor Sir Edward Barnes towards the missionaries, the press could not be held by the American Mission and had to be sold to the Church Missionary Society, Jaffna. It was regained by the Americans in 1834 when the attitude of the government changed. During this period the Church Missionary Society printed the first book in Tamil in Jaffna titled *Muti Vaḻi* (The Way to Paradise) (முத்தி வழி). The press was used so much that within three years one million, two thousand, eight hundred pages of tracts were issued.

The American missionaries took full advantage of the printing press and produced an abundance of tracts and books. In 1834, for example, a selection from the Psalms in Tamil and one thousand copies of an abridged Tamil grammar were printed.[12] Available statistics show that between 1834 and 1854 an annual average of eight million pages were printed.[13] Some of the titles published by this press: *Poḻippu* (பொழிப்பு), one thousand copies, *Tiru viḻā* (திருவிழா), five thousand copies, *Nadana Naddam* (நடன நட்டம்), five thousand copies, *Nāvalu* (நாவலு), five thousand copies, *Vētavākkiam* (வேதவாக்கியம்), three thousand copies. The monumental *Manual Dictionary of the Tamil language* (மானிப்பாய் அகராதி) was printed here in 1842. In addition, some well known

[11] J. V. CHELLIAH, *Morning Star Centenary*, American Ceylon Mission Press, Tellippalai, 1941, p. 64.

[12] W. R. HOMES and REV. D. J. AMPALAVANAR, *A Brief History of the American Ceylon Press*, A.C.M. Press, Manipay, 1956, p. 5.

[13] Ibid., p. 7.

works by Tamil scholars like the *Pāvalar Carittiraṅepakam* (பாவலர் சரித்திர தீபகம்) by Arnold Sathasivampillai, the *Tamil Plutarch* by Simson Casie Chitty, and some of Dr. Samuel Green's Tamil editions of medical text books, such as *Irana Vaittiyam* (இரண வைத்தியம்) and *Manusha Ankātipātham* (மனுஷ அங்காதிபாதம்) were printed here.

It is also interesting to note along with the establishment of the printing press that the Americans were the first to introduce the art of photography in Ceylon in June 1853,[14] which opened another era in printing and publication of newspapers.

UTAYA TARAKAI

The Americans were not content with publishing tracts and books. They wanted a regular medium and this they found in a newspaper. The name of the newspaper was *The Morning Star* in English and *Utaya Tarakai* (உதய தாரகை) in Tamil. It was published for the first time on January 7, 1841. Dr. Poor, one of the founders of the newspaper explained that newspapers are the "first intellectual want of the civilized world". It was the second newspaper started in Ceylon (the oldest being the *Ceylon Observer*) and continues to this day as a bilingual weekly. It was started as a quarto size, eight-page bi-monthly. For a long time it was the only newspaper known to Tamil speaking readers in Ceylon and its name was synonymous with a newspaper.

The paper's columns were mainly in Tamil, but had many important articles in both English and Tamil. Utaya Tarakai at the beginning was edited by two Tamil scholars. The paper was devoted to education, science, literature and articles of public interest. A peep into the early editions of this newspaper shows many scholarly articles. In those years the Tamil columns were edited by reputed scholars like Carroll Visvanathapillai and Arnold Sathasivampillai, whose debut in journalism stirred unusual interest in Jaffna. The period of their editorship may be called the golden era of the newspaper. Another noteworthy feature was the publication of Tamil translations of English standard works and English translations of *Pañchatantra* (பஞ்சதந்திரம்) and important Tamil classics. Incidentally *Pāliar Nesan* (பாலியர் நேசன்), a bilingual magazine for children, was also started and published by the Americans as early as November 1859.[15]

DICTIONARIES

The concept of the dictionary is of comparatively recent date. In the English language Dr. Johnson's famous dictionary appeared in the

[14] JOHN H. MARTIN, *Notes on Jaffna*, American Ceylon Mission Press, Tellippalai, 1923, p. 206.
[15] Ibid., p. 29.

18th century, in France the Academy Dictionary appeared only at the end of the 17th century. In Tamil there had been works on synonyms, but the idea of arranging words in alphabetical order and giving their meanings came with the Christian missionaries. Constantine Beschi the Italian Jesuit put out his *Catur Akarati* (சதுர் அகராதி) early in the 19th century and the English scholar, Rottler, had put out his dictionary early in the same period. This dictionary contained 36,901 words but Jaffna was not willing to let the matter alone. About 1833 the American Mission planned the compilation of the Tamil-English Lexicon, an English-Tamil dictionary, and a Tamil dictionary. Reverend Joseph Knight of the Church Mission, Jaffna, with the assistance of Tamil scholars, launched the project by collecting material. The expenses for the collections were borne by the American missionaries. Following his sudden death the dictionary was worked out by Reverend Levi Spaulding, the American missionary who considerably enlarged it and published it in 1842. This was the first attempt at a complete alphabetical dictionary in the Tamil language. This *Manual Dictionary of the Tamil Language* was popularly called the *Manipay Akarāti* (மானிப்பாய் அகராதி). In later years this dictionary was utilized in the preparation of the Madras *Tamil Lexicon.*

The interest of the Americans did not stop here. Reverend Samuel Hutchings worked on the second dictionary but died before it was published. This material came into the hands of Reverend Miron Winslow who edited the *English-Tamil Dictionary* and published it in 1842. Reverend Levi Spaulding revised it in 1852. The work on the Tamil-English dictionary continued. The work began in Jaffna by Reverend Miron Winslow was continued in Madras and was printed in 1862. This *Tamil and English Dictionary* is popularly called the Winslow Akarati (உவிஞ்சுலோ அகராதி).

Winslow's dictionary, nine hundred and seventy-six pages without the introduction, is a standard work of reference and the main basis for the compilation of the Madras *Tamil Lexicon.* It contains altogether 67,452 words. Its advance on Rottler's lay in the fact that it contained not merely literary words but information on philosophy, religion and the customs of the Tamils. It included principal astronomical, astrological, botanical, scientific and official terms as well. It is both a dictionary and an encyclopædia, to some extent an etymological dictionary and a great legacy of Tamil culture.

Not only the American missionaries but the Mission Board in Boston contributed toward the production of dictionaries. Though the publication of Winslow's dictionary had to be defrayed by public subscriptions, we are told that up to 1858, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mission bore all the expenses.

TECHNICAL LITERATURE

Another noteworthy contribution made by the Americans towards dissemination of knowledge was in the field of translation of scientific and medical books into Tamil. Today in Ceylon science is taught in Tamil through the University level, whereas science in Sinhalese has been much slower in coming. A century ago an American medical missionary proved it possible to coin technical terms in Tamil, and thus to teach science in Tamil.

Dr. Samuel Fisk Green came to Jaffna in 1847[16] took charge of the medical establishment. He started his medical classes in Tamil in 1855. He saw that Western medical science was essential for Ceylon. With no assistance from the colonial government, doubtless for reasons of policy, he moved ahead. The task of defining the scientific terms accurately in Tamil was undertaken immediately. This job lasted many years.

With the help of other Tamil scholars, he succeeded in getting through the press books totalling more than four thousand printed pages. *Manusa Ankāti Pātam* (மனுஷ அங்காதி பாதம்) (Human Anatomy) was compiled from Grey, Horner, Smith and Wilson was translated by Daniel W. Chapman, and was edited by Dr. Green. The book, consisting of nine hundred printed pages and published in 1872, took three years for translation and one year for its edition. *Manusa Sukaranam* (மனுஷ சுகரணம்) (Human Physiology), published in 1872 and consisting of one hundred and thirty-four pages, was printed first as a handbook. This was based on Professor John C. Dalton's book. Many technical terms have been coined in this translation, the author's name is given as "Dalton Panditar".

Vaittiākaram (Physician's Vade Mecum) (வைத்தியாகரம்), consisting of nine hundred and eighteen pages, was translated by William Paul, edited by Dr. Green and published in 1872. *Manusa Sukaranam* (Human Physiology) (மனுஷ சுகரணம்) an enlarged edition of the original Tamil handbook, translated by Daniel W. Chapman and edited by Dr. Green, was published in 1883. *Kemistam* (Chemistry) (கெமிஸ்தம்), by David A. Wells, translated by Dr. Green and consisting of five hundred and six pages, was published in 1875. *Irana Vaitiam* (The Science and Art of Surgery) (இரண வைத்தியம்), by Erchens and Druitt, five hundred and four pages, was translated by Dr. Green and published in 1867. In the sphere of medical education, Dr. Green trained sixty-two students in Western medicine; of these thirty-three had their education in Tamil. The Green Memorial Hospital at Manipay, Jaffna, stands to this day as a tribute to Dr. Green's poineering.

[16] I. P. THURAIRATNAM, *Centenary Souvenir of the Green Memorial Hospital*, American Ceylon Mission Press, Tellippalai, 1950, p. 3.

BIBLE TRANSLATION

The translation of the Bible into Tamil was a routine affair, compared to what goes on in many languages throughout the world. The important fact about the translation of the Bible into Tamil was that it developed Tamil prose style. All Tamil works except commentaries had been in verse for several reasons: In the first place, writing material was scarce and writing had to be done on ola (leaves); and books were not easily available, thus what was written had to be easy to remember. The first available prose work in Tamil was turned out by the Jesuits in India, in the 16th century. Systematic prose writing began with Ziegenbalg's translation of the New Testament in India in 1715.

Some editions of the Bible had come out later in India but since there was dissatisfaction about their prose style, the Jaffna missionaries undertook to produce a version of their own to satisfy Tamil scholars. For their translation they enlisted the services of Sri Arumuga Navalar, a reputed Tamil scholar. Though Reverend Peter Percival, a Wesleyan missionary, was the chief translator, Reverend Levi Spaulding, the American missionary was the chairman of the Jaffna Bible Society and was considered its most learned member. Spaulding's profound knowledge of Hebrew, Greek and Tamil was treated with great respect on both sides of the Palk Strait.

In all disputes that arose between the Jaffna Bible Society and the Madras Society, Spaulding was the person who drew up the drafts. The Jaffna Version was considered too literary by the Indian Christians, who refused to buy it. A new version was prepared in India and the Jaffna Society suggested an enormous number of corrections on the text produced in Madras. In 1868 Reverend Spaulding was one of the two who went from Jaffna to Madras to put the final touches to the text of the version of the Bible which is still in use.

One notable result of the Bible translation work in Jaffna was that it inspired Sri Arumuga Navalar with the possibilities of prose writing in Tamil. When the Percival version of the Bible in Tamil was completed, Navalar embarked on his life's mission of reviving Saivite Hinduism. For all his writings he used prose. He is in fact the first Tamil scholar of stature to have written prose consistently and he is still considered one of the greatest. Reverend A. Kingsbury, an associate editor of the Madras *Tamil Lexicon,* said of his *Periapurānam* (பெரிய புராணம்), in prose that its style would endure for five hundred years.

RELIGIOUS LITERATURE

The part played by the missionaries in opening up the texts of various religions to the West and to the world in general is well known. Dr. G. U. Pope has called the Saiva Siddhanta which prevails in South India, the most elaborate, influential and intrinsically valuable of all the

Hindu systems. The persons who delivered Saiva Siddhanta to the Western world in most cases were missionaries. Dr. Pope and Schomarus followed Karl Graul of Germany and Dr. H. R. Hoisington of the American Mission in Ceylon who were more or less contemporaries.

Dr. Hoisington became the Principal of the Batticota Seminary, succeeding Dr. Poor, in 1839. His book on Hindu Astronomy, we are told, was prescribed for the M.A. examination in Mathematics at the Calcutta University. He took it upon himself to translate into English and comment on three important Saivite works: *Sivagnana Bodham* (சிவஞான போதம்), *Sivapragasam* (சிவப்பிரகாசம்), and *Tattuvakkalai* (தத்துவக்கலை). The first is a basic authority on Saiva Siddhanta and consists of twelve cryptic formulæ. The real guide book to Siddanta theology is to be found in *Sivagnana Siddhiyar* (சிவஞான சித்தியார்). *Sivapragasam* is a 16th Century treatise not so authoritative as *Siddhiyar* but substantially similar. *Tattuvakkalai* gives the epistemological principles of Saiva Siddhanta.

In writing his books Hoisington was up against many difficulties. The most important was that theological works like these contain many technical terms, and phrases. They often contain some allusions or embody a doctrine; such works must therefore be first studied under recognized teachers. Dr. Hoisington records that no Hindu Guru or Sastri capable of giving instruction in this case could be induced to impart his knowledge to any foreigner or even to any Ceylonese connected with the foreigner.

Inspite of this, Dr. Hoisington's commentaries are scarcely different from modern commentaries on these books. He records that to understand the Hindu books he had to rely solely on his "repeated" examination of the several texts and on extensive comparison of these texts with other standard works, a labour on which many an hour of hard study was employed.[17]

The books were probably published separately, as each has a separate introduction. It was brought out in New Haven, Connecticut, by B. L. Mamlen, and was printed for Yale College.

CONCLUSION

The contributions of Americans in Ceylon to the Tamil language have been varied. The American contribution has gained added significance with the passage of time. Though the Americans came to Ceylon as missionaries, they were in fact educationists. They worked along many lines; but their work always had as its object the accumulation and

[17] I am greatly indebted to Rt. Rev. Bishop S. Kulandran for guidance in this Section.

popularization of knowledge. As a result of their work, Tamils in Ceylon received education and got an insight into the treasures of knowledge, even in their own language.

This is perhaps the most far-seeing contribution of the Americans. These missionaries, when they arrived in Ceylon 150 years ago, took a deep and abiding interest in Tamil language and literature. They came to fulfil and not to destroy. Their labours to understand found expression in the study of the Tamil language, and through their studies they contributed to its development. To conclude, I can do no better than quote the late John Foster Dulles, a scion of these great forbears, when he visited Ceylon in 1956, and refering to the educational institutions established by the Americans, he said: "It is indeed a great gratification to me to find . . . that the good deeds initiated continue to bear fruit."[18]

[18] From a letter to Mr. P. Subrahmanyam Chettiar, 11, 18th Lane, Colombo 3, Ceylon.

THE CONTRIBUTION MADE TO TAMIL BY THE MISSIONARIES WHO SERVED IN CEYLON

K. E. Mathiaparanam

INTRODUCTION

Before discussing the contribution made to the Tamil Language and Literature by the European and American missionaries who ministered in Ceylon, it is indispensable to learn what the state of the Tamils was, how far they had progressed in their education and what the nature of their culture was when the missionaries arrived in Ceylon.

When the Portuguese arrived in the island, they found that the percentage of literacy in Ceylon was very small. However, there were here and there, few and far between, poets and scholars, who had acquired learning through the Guru-Sishya system. There were no schools as such. If any one desired to learn Tamil, he would go to a scholar and board with him, if necessary, live and move with him, do his biddings and even cook and wash clothes for him, and get whatever knowledge he would be willing to give him. This is the type of Guru-Sishya system that existed in South India and Tamil Ceylon.

The name, Sanguveli, a village near Manipay, it is said, is a corruption of Sangaveli, which implies the existence of a coterie of poets and scholars like Pararajasekharan, Sekarajasekharan and Arasakesari. A few years later, there lived Gnanapirakasar, who migrated to Sithamparam during the Portuguese period. Even during the Dutch period there were poets and scholars like Villavaraya Mudaliyar, his son Sinnathamby Pulavar, and about the middle of the 18th century Kandapillai, the father of Arumuga Navalar.

TAMIL EDUCATION IN JAFFNA UNDER THE PORTUGUESE AND THE DUTCH

The Portuguese who aimed at making the whole island Catholic found they could not do so, because the percentage of literacy was very low. Therefore with the main purpose of winning the people over to their faith they established schools. The Catholic Fathers, who came to Ceylon in four groups, learnt the languages of the country and made education possible for the majority of the inhabitants.

The Dutch, who followed the Portuguese, did much more to encourage learning. The Government established more schools and made education compulsory for all children. Therefore it is that we learn, from Government reports, that in Jaffna itself 18,000 children studied in Government schools. Further, a Seminary was established in Jaffna for the training of teachers and a College for Higher Education in Colombo.

The Dutch Government appointed as priest in Jaffna, one Philip de Melho, born of a respectable Tamil family in Colombo in 1723 and educated in the Seminary there. He was an excellent scholar in Tamil and was fairly well versed in Portuguese, Dutch, Hebrew, Greek and Latin. He has the distinction of having translated for the first time the whole of the New Testament in Tamil. The Government published in Colombo a book entitled *The Victory of Truth* written against Catholicism and popularized it there. The verses entitled, ‘உவமைப் பாட்டுக்கள்’ attributed to him are of a high standard. These poems appeared along with the ‘Nihandu’ (நிகண்டு) published by the American Mission Press at Manipay. De Melho continued as a priest in Jaffna till 1790 and died that year. Almost about this time it was that Father Beschi made his contribution to Tamil in South India.

The then Government with the help of this priest, De Melho, selected five young Tamil men from Jaffna and sent them to far-off Holland to receive higher education. Of these five, two died and the remaining three spent three years there and returned to Jaffna well qualified, having had university education in the different branches of learning available there then. Two of them were Don Philip Ilangaikone Mudaliyar and Ondaatjee.

CHRISTIAN DAVID AND EDUCATION IN JAFFNA DURING HIS TIME

Some of the pious Dutch Christians who settled in Jaffna during the Dutch Government remained in the peninsula even after the British took charge of the island. Christian David of Tanjore, born in the year 1771 was appointed priest in the year 1801 in charge of the community composed of the aforementioned Dutch Christians and the English Government officers. It is but fitting that a brief account be given here of the first Tamil protestant Christian priest who preached the Word in Jaffna and did a great deal to encourage female education in the peninsula.

It was Christian David who first systematically started to teach English in Jaffna, though Christian Frederick Schwartz, the famous Tanjore missionary, who preached the Gospel in 1760 under the Baldeus tree at Point Pedro and whose student and convert he was, did this to a certain extent earlier. At Ahundikuli an English school was founded by him, Matthew Philips, a student of that school, became a Munshi to Meigs, one of the first group of five American missionaries, who arrived in

Jaffna in 1816. The next year he became a school master in the Boarding School for boys established by the American Mission at Pandaterippu. In 1818 Rev. Spaulding, an American missionary, sent him to Nallore to teach Tamil to Rev. Knight, a missionary belonging to the Church Missionary Society, and also to help him in his work.

Though Christian David was born in the 18th century, it is learnt that he had the right notion regarding the place women should occupy in society. His contemporaries have remarked that he used to tell his fellow ministers that the conversion of one woman was more valuable than that of six men. It is this belief that made the American missionaries who came to Jaffna during the early part of the 19th century to impart Tamil education to the females of the peninsula in spite of opposition and discouragement.

"He who teaches letters is considered a Divine Being" says the Tamil proverb. According to it, beginning from the 16th century until now those who have come to Ceylon from foreign lands with different purposes deserve to be called Divine Beings by virtue of their teaching letters to unlettered people. However, as said before, the Tamils of this island were not all illiterate when the Portuguese arrived here. It is learnt that there was a small minority which was not only literate but highly educated. Authors like Pararajasekharan and Arasakesari were not only writers but poets as well.

TAMIL EDUCATION IN JAFFNA IN THE FIRST QUARTER OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

When Tamil education was in this state, the Government of the country passed from the hands of the Dutch to the English, who, to begin with, following the example of their predecessors, established schools here and there in the country and carried on with them. In 1801, in the whole of Ceylon there were 170 schools, 47 of them in Jaffna. Those in the peninsula were supervised by Christian David. In 1805, Governor Sir Thomas Maitland, discontinued all these schools owing to insufficient means.

When the Government did this, the different mission bodies that came to this island from different countries felt it their responsibility to do this service of establishing and maintaining educational institutions. Since the British Government granted freedom of worship, the Roman Catholic Church, that remained inactive during the Dutch rule came forward and established their own schools. The Presbyterian Church did the same. The Baptists, who arrived in Ceylon in 1812, the Wesleyans who came two years later, the American Missionaries who arrived in the land in 1816 and those of the Church Mission who came in 1818, all these bodies established their own schools. Of these, it is the last three

groups that chiefly propagated Tamil learning. The American Missionaries did a service in this direction which the citizens of the country could scarcely forget.

In 1817 the Wesleyan Mission established three schools, one at Vannarponnai, another at Navtkuli, and a third one at Puttur. The next year in the whole of the Jaffna peninsula there were in all 13 schools with 650 children, belonging to the Western Mission. Six years later the number went up to 21. This mission, besides establishing these schools, gave the Tamil land Peter Percival who contributed so much to the growth of the Tamil language and literature.

PETER PERCIVAL

Among the Wesleyan Missionaries, in Tamil scholarship he stands head and shoulders above the others and has made a real contribution to the development of Tamil. More than what he himself has done for Tamil he discovered in his student, Arumugam, a potential Tamil scholar and therefore encouraged him and did his part to develop his talents and intense desire to acquire Tamil scholarship. Percival, with the help of this student of his, who later was given the title, Navalar, and contributed so much to the development of Tamil prose, translated the Bible into clear Tamil prose. Further, he is the author of the *The Catechism of the Methodists, Service Order* and similar booklets, all written in Tamil for the use of Christians. He has to his credit two other books in Tamil which are useful to the whole of the Tamil world. They are an English-Tamil dictionary and a book of Tamil proverbs, which appeared in two editions, the first published in 1842 containing 1900 Tamil proverbs with their translations into English and the second one in 1874 containing 6000 proverbs.

The letter that Percival wrote in 1838 to the Wesleyan Mission Headquarters in London is clear evidence of how much he esteemed learning and especially, Tamil learning. He had the firm conviction that in order to faithfully carry on the ministry that God had entrusted him with, it was indispensable that he should endeavour to help those, with whom he came into contact, to drive away the darkness of ignorance by means of the light of knowledge. It is because of this conviction that he rejoiced when he saw that the Government and American missionaries established several schools, even though he knew that the Wesleyan Mission Schools would be affected in number thereby.

In his translation of the Bible, Navalar was not the only helper. There was C. W. Kathiravetpillai, a man with literary attainment, who had a better education in English and was a teacher at Central School, who proved of immense value to Percival in his translation. Because of the able assistance of these two outstanding men, it is said that the translation "for elegance and dignity of expression has never been

equalled". Among the missionaries there were Rhenius, Knight, Spaulding and Hutchins, who collaborated with him in translating the Bible.

Percival started collecting proverbs from the time that he arrived in Jaffna in 1826 and grew more interested in them when he was transferred to Calcutta in 1830 and remained there for four years because there was a missionary there who was interested in collecting Bengalee proverbs. He came back to Jaffna in 1834 and served here till 1851. During that time he collected more and was able to produce in 1842 the first edition with 1900 proverbs, referred to earlier. He had collected 15,000 by 1872 and published in 1874 in Madras a selection of 6156 out of this lot.

In passing, just to show how much Percival was interested in giving a really good and broad education to the youth of Jaffna, I cannot refrain from quoting what Dr. Poor, the first Principal of the Batticotta Seminary, wrote to him in 1849: "On looking into the state of your school establishment... I see ample reason to rejoice, that a reproach has been rolled away from the Wesleyan Mission in Jaffna and that the only unfavourable bearing of our school operations, namely the mental elevation of the country to the detriment of the town is now removed. You are laying a firm, not to say, the only foundation for the successful preaching of the gospel to the public."

In 1851 he returned to England and in a year or two he was sent as a missionary to Madras where for a few years he was Professor of Oriental Studies in the University of Madras. In 1855 he was appointed editor of the Tamil paper, *Dinavartamani.* About that time, he published his *English-Tamil Dictionary for European Officers* whose third edition was printed in 1877. It was during this period that Dr. Miron Winslow of the American Mission published his Dictionary and Rev. Percival lent a helping hand in the preparation of that work, the best Dictionary extant, only second to the more recent and elaborate one, the Madras *Tamil Lexicon.*

THE CONTRIBUTION THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY MADE TO TAMIL AND THE FIRST PRINTING PRESS SET UP BY THE MISSIONARIES IN JAFFNA

Now let us examine the contribution that the members of the Church Missionary Society that served in Ceylon made to Tamil. Besides establishing schools as the other mission bodies did, they gained the distinction of using a printing Press for the first time in Jaffna, even though it belonged to the American Mission and was brought for it from America. In the year 1821 the Board of Foreign Missions in America sent one Garret to Ceylon as a missionary with a printing press. The then Governor of Ceylon groundlessly suspected that the American missionaries might create political troubles and ordered that the missionary should leave the island within six weeks.

Garret left for India leaving behind the press with Rev. Joseph Knight the first English Missionary at Nallore, Jaffna. That was the

first printing press ever used in Jaffna and the first book that was ever printed in it was "முத்தி வழி" *The Way of Salvation.* This press which was kept at Nallore till 1834 was then handed over to the American Mission, its real owner, with the permission of Sir Robert Herton, the Governor of Ceylon.

When this was done, Strong Miner and his wife were sent from America to be in charge of the Press. To begin with, the Press employed 4 compositors and within six years it carried on its work with 81 employees. Though in particular this Press served to publish Christian literature, yet there is no doubt that it helped the growth of Tamil learning, in general, in Jaffna. There is no evidence of any other Press in Jaffna till 1855. Therefore all papers, tracts and books published in Jaffna before that time were printed in that Press and no other.

The text books and dictionaries in verse like *Shoodamany Nihandu* சூடாமணி நிகண்டு necessary for the Seminary at Batticotta started in 1823 and the Girl's School founded at Uduvil in 1824 were all published in the same Press. Moreover, books like "சாதாரண இதிகாசம்", "வீச கணிதம்", "நியாய விளக்கம்", *A Collection of Proverbs and their Translation* written by Arnold Sathasivampillai, Carrol Visuvanathapillai, Nevins Sithamparapillai and Peter Percival were also publications of the same Press. Some of the medical works, produced by Dr. Green and his students were printed there. Further all the literary and philosophic works like "நைடதம்", "பாரதம்", "இராமாயணம்", "கந்த புராணம்", "கடம்ப புராணம்", and "தத்துவக் கட்டளை", used in the different classes at Batticotta Seminary and Uduvil Girls' School must have all been published there or at least some of them. If only we take stock of all the publications of this Press beginning from 1821 up till now that service itself done by the Mission is great enough to fill our hearts with deep gratitude.

THE PIONEER NEWSPAPER IN TAMIL

One of the great benefits derived from the printing press was the publication of newspapers. In 1841 when the American Mission started to publish the *Morning Star* at Vaddukoddai, there existed in the whole of Ceylon only one paper, the *Ceylon Observer* started in 1834. The medium of the latter was English and that of the former was both English and Tamil. Dr. Poor, one of those instrumental in starting this paper says, 'of the means through which the civilized man acquired knowledge, the newspaper stands the foremost'. The aims of the paper are listed in the very first issue thus: "The Morning Star will be devoted to Education, Science, and general Literature and to the dissemination of articles on Agriculture, Government and Religion with a brief summary of important news."

Even though the missionaries were behind the starting of this paper, yet, beginning from then till now, it is the Jaffnese, who have been mostly

in charge of the paper. The very first editors of the paper were Henry Martyn and Seth Payson both of whom were Jaffna Tamils, who graduated from the Seminary. Martyn Read in Jaffna is named after the former of these two pioneer journalists. Payson is the one who served as Udyar of Sandirupay for a number of years towards the latter part of his life.

If one goes through the old numbers of this paper one will be able to learn that it served not only the Tamils of Ceylon, but also those of South India. During the early days scholars like Vatha-Giri Mudaliyar of South India contributed articles to the paper. Moreover, news about poets and scholars like Suriya Narayana Sasthiriyar of Tamil India were communicated to the public through this paper.

It has been a powerful means of helping the growth of Tamil prose. As a result of the controversy between Saiva scholars like Arumuga Navalar and Christians like Carrol Vishvanathapillai Tamil prose style developed. Besides the *Morning Star* a paper by the name of "பாலியர் நேசன் ", similar to *Arthur Mees Childrens' Newspaper* came into being in 1859. Also, 20 years later appeared *The Catholic Guardian* in both English and Tamil.

DR. GREEN AND MEDICAL LITERATURE IN TAMIL

In the field of medicine, due to the untiring efforts of Samuel Fisk Green, M.D., the founder of the Hospital which later came to be called Green Memorial Hospital, Manipay, a large number of medical books was published in Tamil. Out of the medical literature available then, both in Europe and in America, he selected the best and most valuable books and translated some of them himself and under his supervision had others translated by some graduates of the Seminary.

Dr. Joshua Danforth was one of them, who later became one of the surgeons of the Friend-in-need Society Hospital, Jaffna. Before he launched out on his pioneer work of translating medical books, he started to do the spade work of preparing a glossary of medical terms, which later in 1875, he published under the title of *Vocabularies of Materia Medica and Pharmacy of Midwifery and Diseases of Women and Children and of Medical Jurisprudence* (by Dr. S. F. Green, London Mission Press, Nagercoil, 1875, 161 pages).

What a tremendous and uphill task this would have been about a century ago when printing in Ceylon and India was in its early stages. For a foreigner to study a new language, master it and then to translate technical words into the language is not an easy task. Dr. Green could never have done it unless he had a natural gift for liguistic studies, the love of the pople of the country and above all the grace of God. Because he earnestly desired with all his heart that the people of Jaffna and the people of the Tamil land should enjoy the benefits of Western medical science it is that the Grace of God was available to him to perform this

tremendous task of himself translating and getting translated by his students over 4000 pages of medical literature that then existed in English. The Tamil translations that are available today in the Library at Jaffna College run to more than 4500 pages. Since only the second part of the book entitled "Practice of Medicine' is available to us, it can safely be inferred that the first part of the book also must have been translated but is not found in our Library. It might possibly contain more than 500 pages, because of the six available books of this nature, three contain more than 800 pages each and the remaining three, more than 500 pages each. Therefore it will not be far wrong to say that at least 5000 pages of Tamil translation have been done by Dr. Green and his students.

The book entitled *Life and Letters of Dr. Green* affords inspiring reading. When one reads it, one is reminded of the lines:

"Heights of great men reached and kept
Were not attained by sudden flight;
But they while their companions slept
Were toiling upward in the night.

Lives of great men all remind us
We can make our lives sublime
And departing leave behind us
Footprints on the sands of time."

One wonders how a young American of 24 who for the first time came to a foreign land so many miles away from his own country with a meagre hearsay knowledge of it, its people and its language, could, within about 18 months of his arrival there, preach in that language. Within less than 25 years of his stay in Jaffna he was able to produce 5000 pages of Tamil translation of medical literature of a fairly high standard. Just as it is said of an English poet,

"And still they gazed, and still the wonder grew
That one small head could carry all he knew,"

so is one filled with astonishment when one learns how, within 25 years of his service here in Jaffna, two of which were spent in America, he could have done such a tremendous task as mastering the language enough and producing such voluminous translations, which were in demand then not only in the different parts of Ceylon but in so many places in South India. All these translations he did in addition to his work in the Hospital and teaching medical classes, all single-handed.

Just a few days before he preached in Tamil, this is what he writes from Manipay to one of his brothers in America, "It is a fearful thing to walk through this world. I am dreadfully afraid of falling. But God will keep me safe so long as I hold upon His hand, His aid is my only

hope. Hoping to meet you in Heaven, both of us cleansed and perfected." He was only 27 when he wrote this and he had worked only two years and a few months since his arrival. These words give us an inkling of the strength of his character, the standard of his ideal, the sublimity of his purpose in life and his utter devotion. Because of this last quality of his, he went home only once during his missionary service here and that after ten years. Even after he had retired to America, his thoughts were about Jaffna and about the printing of the translations he left uncompleted. Also with the property that was willed to him and his brothers and his sisters he founded a Medical Professorship at Jaffna College.

This is what is said about the value of his work in the *Life and Letters of Dr. Green*. 'In both the lighter and heavier line of work, Dr. Green had already exerted a wide influence. He was regarded as a leader in the creation of science in the Tamil language. He was consulted by the Professor of Vernacular Literature in the Presidency College, Madras on his views upon the introduction of science in Tamil. Recent documents printed at Calcutta on the subject of "Terms" were sent to him for perusal. Below is given a list of his translations, and those of his students, all of which are preserved in the Library at Jaffna College.

1. *Human Physiology* by Professor Dalton, M.D., translated by Daniel W. Chapman alias Vaitilingam, Medical Practitioner. Revised and edited by Samuel F. Green, M.D., Jaffna, 1883, 590 pp.
2. *Human Anatomy,* compiled from Gray, Horner, Smith and Wilson. Translated by Chapman and supervised by Green, Smith and Wilson.
3. *Chemistry Practical and Theoretical* by David A. Wells, A.M. Rendered into Tamil by Green with the assistance of Chapman and S. Swaminathan.
   London Mission Press, Nagercoil, 1875, 516 pp.
4. *The Science and Art of Surgery,* compiled from Erishen and Dornitt and translated by Joshua Danforth, Head Dispenser of the F.N.S. Hospital, edited by Green, Jaffna 1867, 500 pp.
5. *Practice of Medicine,* Second part (Title page missing), 913 pp.
6. *Hooper's Physician's Vade Mecum,* a modified Tamil version by William Paul, Medical Practitioner, supervised and amended by Green, Nagercoil, 1872, 917 pp.
7. *Introduction of Professor Dalton's Physiology and Vocabularies of Medical Words,* translated by Green, 134 pp.
8. *Vocabularies of Materia Medica and Pharmacy of Midwifery and Diseases of Women and Children and of Medical Jurisprudence by Green.* London Mission Press, Nagercoil, 1875, 161 pp.

There were in all 34 students who graduated from his Medical School with a full three years' course in the English medium, and 33 students who had their 3 years' course in the Tamil medium. Joshua Danforth, William Paul Chapman, Swaminather were some of the outstanding graduates who translated some English medical books into Tamil under the supervision of Dr. Green, who was fairly well-versed in Latin, Greek, German and French. As such, the translations which he and his students produced were quite successful.

In 1850 he collaborated with Government Agent Dyke and started the F.N.S. Hospital, Jaffna and manned it with his students. After a few years it was handed over to the Government. Even after that, most of the surgeons and physicians who served there were the students of Dr. Green. He supplied doctors to other Government Hospitals of Ceylon as well.

DICTIONARIES

Now we have to consider another contribution made by the missionaries who served in Jaffna. Those early missionaries who belonged to each of the three mission bodies in Jaffna had been feeling the lack of a good Tamil-English Dictionary and had been doing their bit to fill up their lack. Rev. Joseph Knight, who arrived in Jaffna in the latter part of 1818 from the very beginning of his missionary services began collecting material for a large Tamil Dictionary. He obtained the able assistance of scholars like Gabriel Tissera of Colombo, Sandrasegara Pandithar of Uduvil and Senathiraya Mudaliyar of Irupalai and even that of Rev. Percival of the Wesleyan Mission. Unfortunately, before he completed his work, Rev. Knight died. Rev. Levi Spaulding, American Missionary at Uduvil, having been friendly with Joseph Knight, obtained the material he had collected, completed the work and had it printed by Rev. Samuel Hutchins in 1842. Ten years later a second edition was brought out by Levi Spaulding.

The next year, Dr. Winslow, the husband of the founder of Uduvil Girl's School, took upon himself the work of compiling a large dictionary. In 1855 when he went to America, he left the work in charge of Peter Percival. Three years later when he came back to Madras, he continued the work and completed it in 1862. The scholars who assisted him in his work were Ramanuja Kaviraya, Munshi in Madras, Visagaperumal Iyer (who in later years was one of those who taught Tamil to Dr. G. U. Pope), Veeraswamy Chettiar, Carrol Visvanathapillai, and Nevins Sithamparapillai.

Besides the above two dictionaries, there was one other published in Jaffna in 1842 by the Jaffna Book Society entitled *A Manual Dictionary of the Tamil Language* (Tamil-Tamil containing 58,500 words, nearly four times "சதுகராதி" of Father Beschi). Also, there was a dictionary published by Sandrasegara Pandithar and another produced

by Wyman Kathiravetpillai, a favourite student of Dr. Hoisington and one of those who helped Percival in the translation of the Bible.

DR. HOISINGTON AND HIS STUDY OF ASTRONOMY

The successor of Dr. Poor, the first Principal of the Batticotta Seminary, was Dr. Hoisington, the 'ablest scholar among the American Missionaries'. He knew Latin, Greek and Hebrew well and his linguistic attainments on his arrival were so extensive that he mastered Tamil and Sanskrit without difficulty. He was interested in Saivism and Hindu Astronomy. He had a great desire to build an observatory at Batticotta and even laid the foundation to the proposed building which was probably the southern side of the present Collegiate Section of the Jaffna College Library. But since his colleagues were opposed to the proposal, it was given up. However, he studied *Hindu Astronomy* (a translation). There are two editions of this book, one containing both Tamil and English and the other, Tamil alone. This was prescribed as a text book in mathematics for the M.A. examination of the Calcutta University. As a result of the teaching of Astronomy to the students of the Batticotta Seminary, his students like George Dashiell and Somasekharampillai of Vannarponnai, learned to prepare Tamil Calenders like Pachangam and Thiriangam.

DR. HOISINGTON'S TRANSLATIONS OF SAIVA PHILOSOPHIC WORKS

Since Dr. Hoisington was interested in Saivism, he prescribed *Kanthapuranam* as a text book to one of the classes in the Seminary. Though at the beginning there was much opposition from the Saivites to teaching this religious work in the institution, yet ignoring it he continued to teach it. As a result, the Saivites went out of the Seminary with at least some knowledge of their religion and the Christians had no opportunity to compare the religion and the country with the faith they took to. As he went on studying Kanthapuranam, Saiva philosophy enthralled him so much that he began to study works like 'Tatwakattalai', 'Sivangnanapotham' and 'Sivaprakasam'.

He was principal of the Seminary from 1836 to 1849, three years of which he spent in America. Within the ten years he was in Jaffna not only did he become proficient in Tamil and Sanskrit, but put his knowledge of these languages to the best use possible by translating the above mentioned Saiva works. The translations were done only after going to America. With no Tamil scholars to guide him there and very little by way of commentary, he attempted to translate three works, two of which were very abstruse, dealing with what someone has called 'hair-splitting Saiva Siddhanta philosophy' and came out quite successful in this pioneer effort. He first published these translations serially in the American magazine *The Orientalist* and then printed them together in book form.

One is filled with astonishment and admiration when one reads his translations and commentary. Though scholars like Nallasamipillai, who lived much later, believed that he had gone wrong here and there, yet as a pioneer work his translations are highly commendable. In fact, Dr. Hoisington's translation of 'Sivagnanapotham' was of immense value to this Saiva Siddhanta scholar when he produced another translation of the same work many years later.

In this connection it is interesting to note that in the year 1854 when Sivagnanapotham was published in America, Karl Graul, the famous nineteenth century Dravidologist, produced a German translation of 'Sivagnana Siddhiyar' another of the 14 Saiva Siddhanta sastras. He seems to have been a greater Tamil scholar than Dr. Hoisington and translated a variety of Tamil literary works. He tried his hand at Vedhanta works as well.

WORKS PRODUCED BY SEMINARY GRADUATES

In the 19th century, because of the deep and wide learning the graduates of the Batticotta Seminary had there, many of them became authors themselves and wrote several books of different types. The following are some of them:

> *Pathiviratha Vilasam* by Kumara Kualisingha Mudaliyar; *Esther Vilasam* by Henry Martyn; *Illara Nondi, the Galaxy of Tamil Poets* and others by Arnold Sathasivampillai; *Ilakkia Sankirahm* (a compilation), *Elements of Logic, Tamil Grammar* and *School Arithmetic* by Nevins Sithamparapillai; *Panchangam, Supira Theepam, Algebra in Tamil* by Carrol Visuvanathapillai. Moreover the fact that works like *Kalithohai Veerasolingam* and *Ilakkana Vilakkam* for the first time were brought into print by C. W. Thamotharampillai give ample evidence of the standard of learning that he received in the Seminary.

When we examine the foregoing and similar works we realize how indebted the whole of the Tamil land is to the Batticotta Seminary and the missionaries, who established it and carried it on. Not only did the aforementioned authors produce original works themselves, but imparted learning to others, who in their turn became authors themselves.

NEVINS SITHAMPARAPILLAI AND THE PREDECESSOR OF THE PRESENT JAFFNA HINDU COLLEGE

One of the graduates of the Seminary, Nevins Sithamparapillai, in 1887 started what was then called the 'Native Town High School' and later on handed it over to the Hindus to carry on. This is the institution

that, at present, goes by the name of Jaffna Hindu College, whose Principal for a number of years was Nevins Selvadurai, a son of the founder of the school, though he was a Christian by faith.

EDUCATION OF WOMEN

Though female education existed during the Sangam age and one or two centuries later, yet, after the 10th century A.D., there grew a popular notice that it was not proper for females to be educated. Therefore it is that, between the 10th and 18th centuries, female education became very unpopular both in India and Ceylon. As referred to earlier, realizing the attitude of the country towards female education, missionaries like Dr. Poor, Dr. and Mrs. Winslow felt, and felt strongly, that unless the women of the country were educated, the country itself would never improve. In this direction, propaganda work was already done by Christian David of Tanjore, who introduced English education for the first time in Jaffna. As a result Uduvil Girl's School was started by the untiring efforts of Mrs. Winslow, assisted by her husband and others. Just as children, who are unwilling to study are induced to do so by offering gifts like pictures and sweets, so also attractions like clothes, dowry, securing husbands, giving admission to brothers in the Seminary were held forth in order to attract students to the School. The girls, who had this education in a school that was established under such difficult conditions have been the means of propagating female education in Ceylon and elsewhere. Caroline Chester, a Jaffna Tamil, who received her education at Uduvil, has been of service in founding a school for girls at Nallore. One Anne Mann, educated at the Uduvil Girl's School, was at the suggestion of the missionary, Levi Spaulding, sent to Ramnad to teach a princess there. Again, Hamet Newell Ambrose, a graduate of the Uduvil Girl's School established a Girl's School in Jaffna Town in 1888. Thus female education spread throughout the different parts of North Ceylon during the second quarter of the 19th century. It was during this time that Vethanayagampillai of Kulathur wrote his book entitled *Female Education,* which was prescribed as a text book in Tamil for the Higher School Certificate Examination of the University of Ceylon some years ago.

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SOME NOTES ON THE FOUNDATION OF THE ROYAL DANISH MISSION PRINTING PRESS AND PAPER MILL AT TRANQUEBAR

OVE K. NORDSTRAND

In the heart of Copenhagen, near the building of the Danish Parliament, the Christiansborg Castle, there is a lovely small garden, which, because of its proximity to the building of the Royal Library, is known as the Library Garden. However, the area which is now occupied by the garden was in past days a harbour basin serving as the equipping base of the Royal Danish Navy. And from this very spot the naval expedition started which, under the command of Admiral Ove Giedde, led to the foundation, in 1619, of the Danish Tranquebar-colony. On a brick-wall in the Library Garden two large iron-rings still may be seen which date back to the times when the naval ships pulled up here for equipment. Visiting Tamils therefore usually regard these rings as symbols of the relations which existed in the past between Denmark and Tranquebar. However, in two of the buildings which face the Library Garden the real symbols of these past relations are preserved. At the western end of the garden, in the building now housing the National Archives, are found those of the records of the Danish Government-General at Tranquebar which have survived. And at the opposite end of the garden, at the Royal Library, some of the early prints of the Royal Danish Mission Printing Press at Tranquebar are preserved.

The Royal Danish Mission Printing Press in itself was a most remarkable enterprise. However, to Tamil scholars it holds the additional virtue of being one of the earliest printing presses on Indian soil to print in Tamil characters.

The Royal Danish Mission seems to have been the first Protestant Mission to be sent to Southern India. It was founded by the Danish king, Frederik IV, at the suggestion of the pietist German chaplain, Heinrich Wilhem Ludolf, who acted as a secretary to Prince George. The German town, Halle in Saxony, was the place from which pietism had spread to many parts of Europe. And in that town Ludolf found the two pietist candidates who were to become the first missionaries to Tranquebar. One of them was a German by the name, Heinrich

Plutschau, while the other was the Dane, Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg, of whom many educated Tamils still speak with the greatest respect.

Ziegenbalg was born in 1683 and, because his parents had died when he was still only a boy, he had been brought up by some relatives in Halle. Plutschau was a friend and fellow-student of Ziegenbalg.

In November 1705 Ziegenbalg and Plutschau departed for Tranquebar where they arrived during the spring of 1706. They at once started learning the Tamil language with a view to their future missionary activity. Ziegenbalg apparently very soon became so proficient in the Tamil language that he could start studying certain aspects of the Tamil culture, which he considered to be essential for the mission to have a deeper knowledge of. In 1708 he thought himself able to begin with a translation of the New Testament into Tamil. The translation was finished by the end of March 1711.

In 1706, when the mission started its work at Tranquebar, writing with pen and ink on paper was not practised by the Tamils, although these writing materials had been known for a fairly long time. The explanation no doubt is to be found partly in the deep respect among the Tamils for the traditional — the palm-leaf being the traditional writing material — and partly in purely economic considerations. Paper was rather expensive and sometimes scarce, while palm-leaves always were readily available without cost. However, this state of affairs created great problems to Ziegenbalg because he, like other missionaries, wanted to distribute Christian tracts among the Tamils. He therefore permanently had to employ six Tamil scribes, no doubt working in the classical way, that one man read the text from a master-copy while the scribes each wrote a copy after his dictation. To use this procedure permanently, for the reproduction of religious tracts was considered unsatisfactory, because the procedure was slow and expensive, while at the same time the output of the workshop was too limited as seen from the missionaries' point of view. Ziegenbalg therefore realized that it would be essential for the missionaries to have access to a printing press if there should be a reasonable hope of success for their activity. Consequently, in August 1708, in a report to the mother-mission at Halle he mentioned the matter and added that if the Tranquebar-mission could get a Tamil and Portuguese printing equipment much money could be saved for other urgent purposes. His request eventually gave result, though at first from quite another quarter than expected.

In 1709 the English Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge established relations with the Tranquebar-mission, and during the following years the society helped support the activity of the mission by contributions of money and various goods. In some way or the other the society learnt of Ziegenbalg's request to Halle for a printing press, and promptly went into action. And in 1711 the society was able to dispatch

a complete printing press with a fount of Latin types, together with 100 reams of paper to the Tranquebar-mission. A German, by name Jonas Finck, who had for some years acted as a teacher at the German School in London, had expressed a wish to take part in mission-work. He was given a short course in the principles of type-setting and printing and was sent together with the equipment to act as a printer at Tranquebar until a fully educated printer could be procured for the job. However, out on the Atlantic the ship was seized by the French, and Jonas Finck was placed under arrest, until some time later he and the ship were released against ransom. But Finck's health had suffered badly from the imprisonment, and when the ship was just outside the Cape he died. In June 1712 a message reached the missionaries that their precious printing equipment and paper had arrived at Madras. But the troubles were not yet over. Ziegenbalg and his fellow-missionaries never had been on good terms with the colonial authorities of Tranquebar. And now the commander seized the opportunity to put so many obstacles in their way that almost two months had passed before the missionaries had got all formalities cleared and could get the goods down to the premises of the mission, and start the installation of the printing press.

Now things began to move swiftly. It was discovered that among the soldiers serving at Tranquebar there was a German who had originally been educated as a printer. The missionaries succeeded in getting him free of military service. And he at once started working with great zeal at the mission-press. Already on 17 October 1712 the first print was ready from the press. It was a small tract in Portuguese "A Ordem da Salvacao, ou A Doutrina Christaa." On 8 November 1712 the next print was ready from the press, a small Portuguese ABC. At the end of the year a small Portuguese Almanac left the press, and a tradition had been founded which was followed at least until 1792.

Ziegenbalg's request for a printing press had also, with some delay, reached Copenhagen, and on 9 December 1712 the king, Frederik IV, issued a royal letter to the Commander of Tranquebar, in which he informed of the fact that a printing press and the necessary men to operate it, would be sent to the mission at Tranquebar. The Commander was ordered to let the press and the men arrive at the mission's premises undisturbed and was to support the installation of the press and the starting of work. Three persons who were to man the press were at once sent to London via Germany and Holland to sail to India with an English merchant ship. The men were Johan Berlin and Johann Gottlieb Adler together with a 14-year-old brother of Adler, whose name is not stated.

In Halle, Ziegenbalg's request for a printing press had launched a formidable project, an attempt to prepare a fount of Tamil printing types. The difficulties encountered during this work were enormous, and no

wonder the work took much more time than originally expected. However, at the time Berlin and the Adler brothers visited Halle on their way to Tranquebar, everything was ready and they were asked to bring the Tamil printing equipment to Tranquebar as a gift to the mission. In London they received an additional gift of 75 reams of paper for the mission.

Berlin and the Adler brothers arrived at Tranquebar during the early autumn of 1713, and at once set to work. And on 25 October 1713 the first Tamil print prepared at Tranquebar was ready from the press. The title is given as, "Akkianattei waelippaduttugira wedaporamanam". Although this print was the first to be prepared at Tranquebar it was not the first to be prepared with the Halle type-fount, since after the work on the type-fount had been concluded a sample-print of the Confession of Faith had been prepared at Halle. After the historical first Tranquebar-print in Tamil had been finished there was only a short interval of time until the next, the Catechism in Tamil, was ready from the press on 13 November. However, already when the type-setting of the first Tamil-print began it was clear that the Tamil type-fount made at Halle was insufficient, since the number of some of the characters was too limited for practical use while others were completely missing. Johan Gottlieb Adler therefore at once had to set up an improvised type-foundry to multiply some of the existing types and cast others from anew. From the beginning it had also been clear that the size of the Halle fount was rather large, for which reason the printing of larger works, such as the Bible, would consume considerable amounts of paper. Therefore it was decided that Adler should attempt at preparing a Tamil type-fount of smaller size. He really succeeded in this task and it took him about a year to prepare the smaller size of the Tamil fount, a fact which may be deducted from the printing history of the New Testament. It was printed in two parts. The first part which was printed with the Halle type-fount, was ready from the press on 23 September 1714, while the second part, which was printed with Adlers smaller type-fount was finished on 13 July 1715.

From a list of the equipment of the mission printing press at Tranquebar which must date from about 1716 we learn that Adler also was preparing a German (Gothic) type-fount, and an even smaller Tamil type-fount. The list shows that the press used Latin (Portuguese) types of four sizes and Tamil types of three sizes, to which come some additional materials, for instance 50 initial letters cut in wood, and two casting instruments.

It seems to be perfectly clear that at this time almost all the printing problems had been eliminated. But the missionaries had great difficulties of procuring the necessary amounts of paper for their press. Already early in 1714 Ziegenbalg had ventured the idea that it might be

advantageous for the mission to set up its own paper-mill at Tranquebar. But two years had to pass before the idea was transformed into a workable project. Adler had learned that a Chinese-born paper-maker and his assistant worked not far away from Tranquebar, making a rather crude kind of paper used for wrapping textiles. He visited the paper-makers and brought them together with samples of their production to Tranquebar. As the paper was not sized it proved not useful for printing purposes. However, Adler, no doubt substantially aided by the two paper-makers, designed a paper-mill plant, and succeeded in winning over the Commander of Tranquebar, Johan Sigismund Hass, for the project. The paper-mill according to the agreement with Hass was to be erected on a fifty-fifty basis. The mission next should have all the paper it needed, free of cost, and the rest of the production should be sold. For the paper which was sold the mission was supposed to pay one fannam per ream to the administration of Tranquebar. On 13 January 1716 the foundation stone for the paper-mill was laid, and by the end of December the same year the mill could start production. The power for the stampers of the mill was obtained from a tread-mill driven by bullocks. And since the staff of the paper-mill consisted of not less than 22 persons it must have been no small enterprise. The work of the paper-mill also seems to have been mostly satisfactory to all parties involved. Therefore it might seem rather surprising that in the autumn of 1722, the missionaries decided to sell the buildings of the paper-mill. However, the reason for this decision was the simple reason that the paper-mill had run into the same difficulties as have haunted all other paper-mills through the ages, that it had proved impossible to supply the mill with the necessary raw-materials for a continuous production. The mill had to stand idle for days on end, a state of affairs which was, considered by the missionaries, unremunerative.

Already soon after the foundation of the mission Printing Press, Ziegenbalg imagined that some day it might attain a wider significance by producing books also in other Indian languages. This came true. Only, since Ziegenbalg died in 1719, he did not live to see this realized. And the chief importance of the Mission Printing Press at Tranquebar was, and still is, that in it the foundations were laid for a Tamil printing tradition which is still alive. These are not empty words of praise to Ziegenbalg and his fellow missionaries, but should be rather understood as a homage to the Tamil printers through the time which has passed since then. The missionaries were far-sighted men who taught all aspects of type-founding, type-setting and printing to a number of young Tamils, who time by time utilized, to the benefit of their countrymen, what they had been taught in the Mission Printing Press at Tranquebar. The missionaries therefore laid the foundations for the Tamil printing tradition, but the Tamils themselves created the tradition.

PART II

MUSIC, DANCE

AND

ICONOGRAPHY

ANCIENT MUSICAL MODES IN *CILAPPATIKĀRAM*

S. RAMANATHAN

A study of the Tamil classics like *Puṟanāṉūṟu, Perumpāṇāṟṟuppaṭai* etc. reveals the high state of development of music in ancient Tamilnad. Detailed descriptions of the yāḻ, a stringed instrument, are frequently met with. Paṇs or musical modes like Cevvaḻi, marutam etc. are referred to. *Tolkāppiyam,* the Tamil grammar, prescribes particular yāḻs and paṇs as belonging to the five-fold division of the land, viz. mullai, kuṟiñci, marutam, pālai and and neytal. Inspite of all this wealth of material, the musicologist is baffled by the paucity of data available in these works to identify these paṇs. It is only *Cilappatikāram* that comes to the rescue.

Iḷaṅkōvaṭikaḷ, the author of *Cilappatikāram* was a Cēra prince and a great adept in the arts of music, dance and drama. The araṅkēṟṟukātai, the chapter dealing with the danseuse Mātavi's debut, is verily a short treatise on dance. The ideal auditorium, the yāḻ player, musician, flutist, drummer and the composer are all described in minute detail. The musical scales that were sung at the time of the debut are also referred to:

ஈரேழ் தொடுத்த செம்முறைக் கேள்வியின்
ஓரேழ் பாலை நிறுத்தல் வேண்டி
வன்மையிற் கிடந்த தாரபாகமும்
மென்மையிற் கிடந்த குரலின்பாகமும்
மெய்க்கிளை நரம்பிற் கைக்கிளை கொள்ளக்
கைக்கிளை யொழிந்த தாரபாகமும் பொற்புடைத்
தளராத்தாரம் விளரிக்கீத்துக்
கிளைவழிப் பட்டனள் ஆங்கே கிளையுந்
தன் கிளை யழிவுகண் டவள் வயிற்கேர
ஏனைமகளிரும் கிளைவழிச் சேர
மேலது உழையுளி கீழது கைக்கிளை
வம்புறுமர பிற் செம்பாலையாயது.

இறுதி யாதியாக வாங்கவை
பெறுமுறை வந்த பெற்றியினிங்காது
படுமலை செவ்வழி பகரரும் பாலையெனக்
குரல்குரலாக த்தற்கிழமை திரிந்தபின்
முன்னதன் வகையே முறைமையிற் றிரிந்தாங்
கிளி முதலா கியஎதிர்படுகிழமையும்

கோடி விளரிமேற் செம்பாலையென
நீடிக் கிடந்த கேள்விக் கிடக்கையின்— அரங். 70-89.

In this passage are found the names of the seven notes, viz. kural, tuttam, kaikkiḷai, uḻai, iḷi, viḷari and tāram and also the seven pālais or scales, viz. cempālai, paṭumalaippālai, cevvaḻi, arumpālai, kōṭippālai, viḷarippālai and mēṟcempālai.

The term *vampuṟu marapu* (வம்புறு மரபு) which means the new tradition is significant. The older tradition is described in a later chapter, āycciyarkuravai. The seven musical notes are introduced here in a more picturesque fashion. They figure as seven celestial maidens worshipping the Lord by music and dance:

தொழுவடை யேறுகுறித்து வளர்த்தார்
எழுவரிளங் கோதையார்
என்று தன் மகளை நோக்கித்
தொன்று படுமுறையானிறுத்தி
இடை முது மகளிவர்க்குப்
படைத்து கோட் பெயரிடுவாள்
குடமுதலிட முறையாக் குரல்துத்தம்
கைக்கிளை யுழையிளி வளரி தாரமென
விரிதரு பூங்குழல் வேண்டிய பெயரே
—சிலப். ஆய்ச்சியர் குரவை.

செந்நிலை மண்டிலத்தாற் கற்கடகக்கைகோத்து

VATTAPPALAI

Seven maidens stand in a circle and dance singing the praise of the Lord.

The significance of this formation is that it is the time-honoured method of arranging the seven notes of the Tamil gamut in the circular fashion called vaṭṭappālai.

மண்டிலம் = circle,
தொன்று படுமுறை = time-honoured way.

The two commentators of *Cilippatikāram,* Aṭiyārkkunallār and Arumpatavuraiyāciriyar have quoted profusely from ancient Tamil treatises on music to explain vaṭṭappālai.

Arumpatavuraikārar in his commentary has given extracts from old treatises to show how the circle is to be drawn and how the seven notes are allocated respective positions therein.

Aṭiyārkkunallār's commentary is very elaborate and is verily a mine of information on the musical scales of the ancient Tamils. The four major modes and the seven pālais mentioned by Iḷankō in the arangēṟṟukātai are delineated.

Vaṭṭappālai is one of the four varieties of pālai: āyam, caturam, tirikōṇam and vaṭṭam — linear, square, triangular and circular. In the

Cilappatikāram, only the linear and the circular varieties are described.

e.g. நீடிக்கிடந்த கேள்விக்கிடக்கை
ஈரேழ்தொடுத்த செம்முறைக் கேள்வி — āyam,
செந்நிலை மண்டிலத்தால் — vaṭṭam.

In the vaṭṭappālai, a circle is drawn with 12 radii. The 12 divisions represent the 12 places in the zodiac. The seven note-positions are indicated in the zodiac thus:

Tulām	—	kural
Viruccikam		
Tanucu	—	tuttam
Makaram		
Kumpam	—	kaikkiḷai
Mīnam	—	uḻai
Mēṭam		
Iṭapam	—	iḷi
Mitunam		
Kaṭakam	—	viḷari
Cimmam	—	tāram
Kanni		

The twelve-fold division of the zodiac is an ingenious contrivance to represent the 12 semitones in the octave. The primordial scale of Tamil music can be immediately recognised as the equivalent of the modern Harikāmbhōji:

C D E F G A B flat.

TWENTY-TWO SRUTIS

The intervals between the notes are indicated in terms of *māttirai*s otherwise called *alaku*s or śrutis.

Kural	Tuttam	Kaikkilai	Ulai	Ili	Vilari	Taram
Sa	Ri	Ga	Ma	Pa	Dha	Ni
4	4	3	2	4	3	2

The cempālai scale is identical with the major diatonic scale except for the B flat.

	Kural	Tuttam	Kaikkilai	Ulai	Ili	Vilari	Taram	Kural′
Cempalai :								
	4	3	2	4	3	2	4	
Harikambhoji :	Sa	Ri	Ga	Ma	Pa	Dha	Ni	Sa′

The four-śruti intervals correspond to the major tone, three-śruti intervals to the minor tone and two-śruti intervals to the semitone.

The values of the notes of cempālai are as follows:

Kural	Tuttam	Kaikkilai	Ulai	Ili	Vilari	Taram
Sa	Ri	Ga	Ma	Pa	Dha	Ni
1	$\frac{9}{8}$	$\frac{5}{4}$	$\frac{4}{3}$	$\frac{3}{2}$	$\frac{5}{3}$	$\frac{16}{9}$

In terms of śrutis, taking Sa to be zero, the other notes will be at the 4th, 7th, 8th, 13th, 16th and 22nd śrutis.

It may be profitable here to compare this scale with the Shaḍja Grāma described by Bharata in his Nāṭya Śāstra. Bharata's scale also has 22 śrutis to the octave but the distribution is different.

Sa	Ri	Ga	Ma	Pa	Dha	Ni
4	3	2	4	4	3	2

It will be clear that if we start from Iḷi, i.e. the fifth of cempālai, the resultant scale is Shaḍja Grāma.

This also serves to expose the fallacy of later interpreters who sought to equate the Shaḍja Grāma with the modern Kanakāṅgi, The present writer has shown in another paper* how the mistaken interpretation arose. If we play the notes of Harikambhōji from Pa to Pa, the resultant scale is only Kharaharapriya.

Let us now consider cempālai and Shaḍja Grāma in juxtaposition:

Mattirai or Sruti	Shadja Grama	Cempalai
0	Sa	Kural
1		
2		
3	Ri	
4		Tuttam
5	Ga	
6		
7		Kaikkiḷai
8		
9	Ma	Uḻai
10		
11		
12		
13	Pa	Iḷi
14		
15		
16	Dha	Viḷari
17		
18	Ni	Tāram
19		
20		
21		
22	Sa'	Kural'

The notes common to both are Sa, Ma, Pa, Dha and Ni. In the Shaḍja Grāma Ri is at the 3rd and Ga at the 5th śrutis.

We shall now see how other scales are derived from the fundamental

scale, cempālai. The passage in Aṭiyarkkunallār's commentary explains how this is accomplished. The process is called *kural tiripu* which may be translated as the shifting of tonic. It is of two kinds: வலமுறை and இடமுறை: clockwise and anti-clockwise. There is an important verse in the commentary followed by a prose explanation by Aṭiyarkkunallār which is the key to the whole process. A lack of understanding and applying this verse has unfortunately resulted in many a scholar being misled in the identification of the derivative modes. The verse is as follows:

> குரலிளியிற் பாகத்தை வாங்கியோ ரொன்று
> வரையாது தாரத்துழைக்கும் —விரைவின்றி
> எத்தும் விளரி கிளைக்கீக்க ஏந்திழையாய்
> துத்தம் குரலாகும் சொல்.
>
> —சிலப். ஆய்ச்-அடியார்க்கு நல்லார் உரை.

If, taking away half of Kural and Iḷi, one distributes to Tāram, Uḻai, Viḷari and Kaikkiḷai, Tuttam becomes Kural.

Kural	Tuttam	Kaikkilai	Ulai	Ili	Vilari	Taram
4	4	3	2	4	3	2
2	4	3 + 1	2 + 1	2	3 + 1	2 + 1
2	4	4	3	2	4	3
Kural	Tuttam	Kaikkilai	Ulai	Ili	Vilari	Taram

The intervals of the resultant scale are 2, 4, 4, 3, 2, 4, 3; i.e. the note-positions are at 0, 4, 8, 11, 13, 17, 20. It can readily be recognised as Kalyāṇi. The meaning of துத்தம் குரலாகும் is that the tuttam of the resultant scale and kural of the fundamental scale will coincide.

	Kural	Tuttam	Kaikkilai	Ulai	Ili	Vilari	Taram	
	4	4	3	2	4	3	2	—Cempālai.
2	4	4	3	2	4	3		—Paṭumalaippālai.
Kural	Tuttam	Kaikkilai	Ulai	Ili	Vilari	Taram		

Scholars who have not taken into consideration the above verse and Aṭiyarkkunallār's commentary have mistakenly taken the other way about, i.e. starting from the tuttam of cempālai have arrived at Naṭabhairavi. Even a cursory glance at the śruti values of paṭumalaippālai will reveal that it cannot be Naṭabhairavi. The uḻai or Ma at the 11th śruti cannot belong to Naṭabhairavi. Excepting Ri or tuttam, all the other notes of Patumalai are higher than that of cempālai. Musicians will also appreciate how the Ga of Kalyāṇi has a gentle shake or gamaka and is slightly higher in pitch than the correct antaragāndhāra.

In valamuṛai (வலமுறை) the equivalents of other scales are as follows:

1. Paṭumalaippālai — Kalyāṇi
2. Cevvaḻi — Toḍi
3. Arumpalai — Karaharapriya
4. Koṭippālai — Śankarābharaṇa

5. Mērcempālai — Naṭabhairavi
6. Viḷarippālai — Toḍi with reduced panchama.

In the arangēṛṛukātai, the fundamental scale which provides the basis for *kural tiripu* is Arumpālai — the equivalent of Shaḍja Grāma. The significance of வம்புறு மரபு will be appreciated if we consider that those were the times when the mingling of the two cultures, Northern and Southern was taking place.

The viḷarippālai with its wrong fifth could not produce other derivatives.

THE FOUR MAJOR MODES AND 103 PANS

From the commentaries, it is gathered that there were 103 paṇs in vogue in Tamilnad even in the distant past. The names of these 103 paṇs are found in lexicons like *Tivākaram* and *Piṅkalantai.* Of these, four were called Major modes — நாற்பெரும் பண்கள்.

Confusion is rampant also in the identification of these four modes.

1. PALAIYAL

The tuning of the strings of the yal̤ was done by the process of fifths:

> வண்ணப் பட்டடை யாழ்மேல் வைத்து—அரங்
> இளிக்கிரமத்தாலே பண்களை யாழ்மேல் வைத்து
>
> — அடியார்க்கு நல்லார் உரை.

இளி = fifth; கிரமம் = method, order.

Starting from tāram and proceeding by fifths, the resultant scale is pālaiyāḻ. The genesis of the notes is also given in Aṭiyārkkunallār: Taram, Ul̤ai, Kural, Iḷi, Tuttam, Viḷari, and Kaikkiḷai, i.e. B flat, F, C, G, D, A, E. பாலையாழுள்ளே குரல் குரலாயது செம்பாலை. So pālaiyāḻ and cempālai are synonyms. Scholars who have taken cempālai as equivalent to Harikambhoji but have equated pālaiyal̤ with Śankarā-bharaṇa will readily see the discrepancy.

2. KURINCIYAL

Starting from uḷai and proceeding by fifths, the resultant paṇ is kuṛiñciyāḻ. It takes the same notes as those of the modern Kuṛiñci Rāga, including the characteristic 'Ni': F, C, G, D, A, E, B.

The kuṛam melodies sung by the gypsies is even today in this mode. There are a few references in *Cilappatikāram* that show that this mode was sung by hunters and others belonging to the hilly region.

3. MARUTAM

Starting from kural and proceeding by fifths, the resultant scale is as follows: C, G, D, A, E, B, F sharp.

4. NEYTAL

Starting from iḻi and proceeding by fifths, the resultant scale is as follows: G, D, A, E, B, F sharp, C sharp. In this scale the tonic note C will be seen to be bypassed. So this is referred to as tiṟaniḷyāḻ — the paṉ without derivatives, or the unpliable paṉ.

So neytaliyāḻ is substituted by cevvaḻi which is arrived at the process of fifths starting from the last note of neytal — namely C sharp or D flat:

D flat, A flat, E flat, F, C, G. This is the equivalent of cevvaḻi or Tōḍi.

It may be appreciated that the folk-songs called ōṭam (ஓடம்) are still in the Punnāgavarāḷi, a derivative of Tōḍi.

Of the four major modes, the pālaiyāḻ coincides with cempālai, Kuṟiñci with Kōṭippālai and Marutam with paṭumalaippālai.

Cevvaḻi occurs in both. It may be noted that the major modes are obtained by **Ilikkiramam** or cycle of fifths whereas the seven pālais are obtained by **kural tiripu** or modal shift of tonic.

The fundamental scale cempālai is considered as very auspicious: பாற்பட நின்ற பாலைப் பண்.

It is no wonder that the flute which always used to lead an orchestra was and is to this day perforated according to the notes of cempālai; i.e. if you start from Sa and fully open the finger holes one by one, Harikāmbhōji is heard: காம்பு ஊதி — காம்போதி.

5. MULLAIPPAN

The four major modes explained above were all heptatonic. There were the modes prescribed for pālai, kuṟiñci, marutam and neytal regions. The mullaippaṉ prescribed for mullai region is a pentatonic mode.

It was given to the present writer to identify it with the modern Mōhana. The passage in *Cilappatikāram* contains a description of this mode:

குரல் மந்தமாக இளிசமனாக
வரன்முறையே துத்தம் வலியா — உரனிலா
மந்தம் விளரி பிடிப்பாள் அவள் நட்பின்
பின்றையைப் பாட்டெடுப்பாள்.

Only four notes are mentioned here, the fifth probably being considered too obvious. But the fifth is ascertained by a verse in Cēkkiḻār's *Ānāyanāyanār purāṇam:*

மாறுமுதற் பண்ணினபின் வளர்முல்லைப் பண்ணாக்கி
ஏறியதாரமும் உழையும் கிழமைகொள இடுந்தானம்
ஆறுலவுஞ் சடைமுடியார் அஞ்செழுத்தின் இசைபெருகக்
கூறியபட்டடைக் குரலாங் கொடிப்பாலை யினினிறுத்தி.

Knowing the missing notes to be Uḻai and Tāram, i.e. F and B, we

can easily recognize the scale now. The Tamil Isai Sangam Pann Research Conference have discussed this and accepted my thesis. Vide Report.

PAN NOTIRAM OR PURANIRMAI

> பாண் வாய் வண்டு நோதிறம் பாடக்
> குவளைக் கண்மலர் விழிப்ப

Puṛanīrmai figures in the *Tēvaram*. It is a very popular raga and is the equivalent of Bhūpāla, another pentatonic mode, a dawn-mode.

1. தெய்வம் உணாவே மாமரம் புட்பறை
செய்தி யாழின் பகுதியொடு தொகை இ
அவ்வகை பிறவும் கருவென மொழிப
—தொல்காப்பியம்: பொருள் அகத்திணையியல் 18.

2. அவர்தாம், செந்நிலை மண்டிலத்தால் கற்கடக்
— கைகோ ஒத்(து)
அந்நிலையே ஆடற்சீர் ஆய்ந்துளார்
—சிலப். ஆய்ச். கூத்துள் படுதல்.

3. ஆழியு மாரும் போற் கீறிச்சிறு-திகைக்கண்
ஊழிெருரோ டொன்றுடன் கீறிச்-சூழ
எருதாதி கீழ்த்திசைக்கொண்டீராறு மெண்ணிக்
கருதி நிலக்கயிற்றைக்காண்.
இளியிடபங் கற்கடமாம்-விளரிசிங்கம்
தளராத தாரமதுவாம்-தளராத
குரல்கோற்ற றனுத்துத்தம் கும்பம் கிளையாம்
வரலால் உழை மீனமாம்.
குரல்துலை வில்துத்தம் கைக்கிளையே கும்பம்
பரிய உழை மீனமாம் பாவாய்-அரிதாரம்
கொல்லேறிளி விளரி கற்கடங்கோப்பமைந்த
தொல்லே ழிசைநரம்பிற் காம்.
—சிலப். ஆய்ச். அரும்பதவுரை.

4. பாலை நான்கு வகைப்படும். ஆயப்பாலை, சதுரப் பாலை, திரிகோணப்பாலை, வட்டப்பாலையென, ...

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CLASSICAL DANCE OF THE ANCIENT TAMILS

NIRMALA RAMACHANDRAN

It was once generally believed that in the matter of culture and civilisation, South India was largely if not exclusively indebted to the North. A critical study of the cultural history of Ancient India would however show that the advent of the Aryans into India and their subsequent victorious progress ultimately resulted not so much in the Aryanisation of India as in the Indianisation of the Aryans.[1]

The excavations at Mohenjodaro and Harappa have revealed that there existed in this country a very rich and perfect civilisation even before the advent of the Aryans. "It became evident that long before the arrival of the horse-riding Northerners, there were highly organised and splendidly built brick cities in a vast area of India in which a Pre-Aryan people of remarkable skill and knowledge lived. That they were some kind of Dravidian people, predecessors of the present inhabitants of South India cannot be proved with certainty, but the cumulative evidence is so strong that a few serious scholars now doubt the Dravidian character of the pre-Aryan city dwellers of Western India. After all, there is a good deal of reference to their cities in the most ancient writing of the Aryans, the Rig Veda."[2]

The so called Aryanisation of South India was in several respects quite unlike the Aryanisation of North India. For, the most tangible result of it was the acceptance by the South Indians not of Aryan theology but of Hindu sociology as reflected in the caste system. Secondly, this movement does not seem to have evoked much opposition. On the contrary, there is evidence to show that the changes brought by it were welcomed by the Dravidians with alacrity. And, thirdly the incursions from the North were not so violent as to root out the languages and the peculiar religious culture of the South. The Aryanisation of South India may be said to have begun round about 1000 B.C. and been completed

[1] R. N. DANDEKAR, Mythology, *Contribution of the South to the Heritage of India*, p. 15; The Publication Division, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, Delhi, 1961.

[2] DR. CHARLES FABRI, 'Art and Architecture', *Contribution of the South to the Heritage of India*, p. 22; The Publication Division, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, Government of India, Delhi 1961.

before the time of Ashoka.[3] The movement of Aryanisation was of the nature of Hinduisation rather than of Aryanisation. In this movement between the North and the South, there was more of give rather than of take on the side of the Dravidians. The greatest gift of South India to Hinduism is God Siva. The word Siva in proto-Dravidian meant 'red'. There is ample evidence to show that long before the advent of the Aryans, the cult of Siva had spread far and wide in this country — different aspects of this religion being emphasised in different regions. Four gods which may be mentioned as peculiarly Tamil Gods are Siva, Balarama, Krishna and Murugan.

The contribution of South India to the totality of Indian culture is great and has a special significance. This is due to the fact that the South did not suffer from foreign invasions to the extent that the other parts of the country did.

SILAPPADIKARAM — ITS DATE

The history of dance reveals that from the earliest times, dancing has been intimately associated with religion.

The Tamil country or Tamilakam can boast of an antique and original culture. The geographical limits of Tamilakam have been defined in an old work as 'Venkatam', in the North, 'Kumari' in the South and the Sea to the East and West. It is well known that long before the beginning of the Christian era, the Tamil language had built for itself a great literature and moulded it according to the genius of its people as is seen in the Sangham works of the Tamils. The Sangham epoch has been assigned to the period commencing with the 5th Century B.C. and ending with the 4th Century A.D. The Sangham age in Tamil Literature was a period of great literary glory never to be surpassed in the history of any literature whatsoever. It was the production of a colossal volume of Tamil poetry in its pristine purity. The age was a period of national awakening when the arts and the sciences flourished alike, when the people obtained all social amenities and when far flung trade and commerce secured to the Tamils prosperity and power. The second century of the Christian era is called the 'Golden Age' in Tamil letters.[4]

Silappaddikāram and *Manimēkhalai,* 2 of the 5 major epics are believed to have been written during this Golden Age. They are the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* of Tamil poetry and it is impossible to exaggerate

[3] R. N. DANDEKAR, Mythology, *Contribution of the South to the Heritage of India,* p. 18; The Publication Division, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, Government of India, Delhi, 1961.

[4] K. R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR, Chapter XVI, B, "Dravidian Languages and literature," *The History and Culture of the Indian People,* vol. II, p. 300, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1951.

their importance. *Silappadikāram*, classified under the category of totar-nilaicceyyal amazes us, by its perfect sense of form, its harmonised blending of (iyal) poetry, isai (music) and natakam (drama) its gorgeous and picturesque descriptions, epic dignity civilisation in which the theatre, music, dancing, poetry, architecture, painting and seasonal feasts celebrated with enchanting fantasy formed part of the daily life of every class and occupation. *Silappadikāram* is not only one of the world's greatest literary masterpieces, but is also a vast storehouse of information on the arts of music, dancing, building and other activities of the Ancient Tamils. Wood carving, stone cutting, clay modelling, bronze casting are all phases of the sculptural art, and the Tamils attained a high degree of proficiency and perfection in all these forms of art at a very early period.[5] In fact, the earliest literary reference to the art of image-making in South India is found in *Silappadikāram*. A perfect South Indian bronze is one of the highest achievements in the plastic arts, as it combines in a remarkable manner deep spiritual vision, technical skill and an age-old tradition. South Indian bronzes have won worldwide reputation for their intrinsic beauty and artistic merit. What is so extraordinary in the images of Siva Nataraja whose five functions are creation, preservation, destruction, purification and grace is the tremendous display of energy revealed in transcendal calm.

On a critical study of the dances and music mentioned in the *Silappadikāram*, it is clear that the ancient Tamils had developed a very high standard of technique in dance and music, which probably formed the basis for the Aryans to develop and write a highly systematised and perfect technique on the art of dancing and dramaturgy like Bharata's *Natya Sastra* and Nandikeswara's *Abhinaya Darpana.*

DATE OF NATYA SASTRA

The Natya Sastra is the most important and authoritative treatise on Sanskrit dramaturgy dealing exhaustively on poetics, metre, music and drama as they affect the composition and representation of the drama. Nandikeswara's *Abhinaya Darpana* on the other hand, deals exhaustively on the art of Bharata Natyam only. Nothing definite can be said about the date of the *Natya Sastra.* It has been assigned by different scholars to various dates between the 2nd century B.C. to 3rd century A.D. In fact, the date of the *Natya Sastra,* according to some, is placed in the 3rd century A.D., i.e. a 100 years after the date of *Silappadikāram.* 'The prakrits recognised by the *Natya Sastra* are later than those of Asvagosha. It recognises the use of the Ardha-Magadi which is not found in the dramas other than those of Asvagosha and Bhasa. On the other

[5] G. VENKATACHALAM, "South Indian Temple Images", *Leaves from my scrap book,* p. 96, Raj Book House, Bangalore, 1961.

hand, it ignores the Maharashtri which it freely used in the later classical dramas. The fact that Bhasa violates some of the rules of Bharata suggests that in his days, the *Natya Sastra* had not obtained sufficient sanctity. All this evidence goes to suggest the 3rd century A.D. as a probable date of this work.'[6]

DANCE AND MUSIC IN SILAPPADIKARAM

As mentioned already, *Silappadikāram* gives a fund of information about the music and dance of the ancient Tamils 2000 years back. While giving the necessary qualifications of the ideal dance master in 'Arangeru Kadai', *Silappadikāram* mentions that an ideal master must have thorough knowledge of the characteristics of the 2 broad divisions of Ahakkoothu and Purakkoothu. When conducting the 2 general varieties of dance Ahakkoothu and Purakkoothu that include the songs, the tales and their combinations, he should have an eye upon the movements with the single and double hands, beauty hands and expressive hands known as Pindi and Pinayal, Ezhirkai and Thozhirkai respectively. The Ahakkoothu and Purakkoothu referred to by Ilango Adigal are only the Nritta and Nritya aspects of Bharatanatyam which are the 2 major aspects of this great art. Purakkoothu or Nritta is pure dance which consists of movements of the body and limbs which are performed to create beauty and decorative effect and not to convey any specific meaning or idea to the beholder. Ahakkoothu or Nritya on the other hand is dance with facial expressions, i.e. a dance which is performed specifically to convey the meaning or import of a theme or an idea to the beholder. This Nritya is accomplished through the use of suggestive facial expressions and codified gestures of the hands. The Pindi and Pinayal mentioned here are the single handed gestures or Asamyuta Hastas and double handed gestures or Samyuta Hastas.

The Pindi or single handed gestures are 28 in number and they are: — Pataka, Tripataka, Ardha-Pataka, Kartari-Mukha, Mayura, Ardha-chandra, Arala, Sukatunda, Mushti, Sikjara, Kapittha, Kataka-Mukha, Suci, Chandra-kala, Padma-kosa, Sarpa-sirsa, Mrga-sirsha, Simha-Mukha, Kangula, Sola-padma, Chatura, Bhramara, Hamsasya, Hamsapaksha, Samdamsa, Mukula, Tamrachuda, Trisula. The Pinayal or double-handed gestures which are 24 in number are Anjali Kapotha, Karkata, Swastika, Dolahasta, Pushpa puta, Utsanga, Sivalinga, Katakavardhana, Kartari-Swastika, Sakata, Sanku, Chakra, Samouta, Pasa, Kilaka, Matsya, Kurma, Veraha, Garuda, Nagabanda, Khadva, Berunda, Avhittha.

[6] M. A. MEHENDALE, Chapter XVI, A, "Sanskrit Language and Literature", *The History and Culture of the Indian People,* vol. II, p. 270, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1951.

Of these 28 and 24 hand gestures, only some are used while performing the pure dance or Purakkodoothu. Such of those hand gestures that are used in Pure Dance as ornamental adjuncts are called 'Ezhirkai' (hand used to create beauty) and all those that are employed for expressing some idea or meaning are called 'Thozhirkai' as they serve the purpose of conveying an idea. Thus, while the 'Thozhirkai' are 28 plus 24 — 52 in number, used in the Nritya aspect of Bharatanatyam, 'Ezhirkai' are comparatively less in number, i.e. 13 in number as they serve only as ornamental adjuncts.

The dance master should see that pure dance does not get mixed up with dance with expressions and vice versa, and he should not mix-up the foot movements of the Kuravaikkoothu with those of Varikkoothu.

On the other hand, a dancer had to undergo rigorous training for 7 years starting from her 5th year in music and dance. She was expected to be able to sing songs composed in foreign languages as well as play on the Yal, flute and drum. This compares well with the verse in the 'Abhinaya Darpana'.

'Kantena lambayeth geetham
Has-the nartham pradarsayeth
Chakshurbhyam darsayeth bhavam
Padabhyam talamachareth.'

The dancer must sing producing music from the throat, bring out the meaning of the song by appropriate gestures of the hand, her eyes must speak out the bhava or expression and feet must keep perfect time.

'Yatho hasthas tha tho drushtir
Yatho drushtis tha tho manaha
Yatho manas tha tho bhavo
Yatho bhavastha tho rasaha.'

Eyes should follow the hand, mind should follow the eye, where the mind goes there is expression and where there is bhava or expression, there is rasa.

The dance master must be able to choreograph harmoniously the various kinds of Purakkoothu with the 14 types of vilakku or songs. Besides, he should have thorough mastery over the eleven types of dances from Alliyam to Kodu-kotti. These eleven types are:—Alliyam, Kodu-kotti, Kudai, Kudam, Pedi, Kadayam, Pandarangam, Mal, Tudi, Marakkal and Pavai. The dances referred to are that of Siva, Muruga, Kama, Durga, Krishna, Lakshmi and Indrani. While the Silappadikaram gives slight descriptions of the context and occasion for these dances, they do not throw much light as to how they were danced — the technique and manner of presentation.

ALLIYAM: Sri Krishna and his brother Balarama, had to pass

through many a peril when they were brought to Mathura, the capital of King Kamsa to be slain. One such was the royal elephant Kuvalaya-peeda which was driven furiously on them. On that occasion, it is said that Krishna dances a wonderful dance when he pulled out the tusks of the maddened beast and struck it dead.

KODU-KOTTI is ascribed to Lord Siva. The 3 invincible Asura brothers who ruled the 3 cities made of gold, silver and iron could be slain only when they came together once in many thousands of years for a second and that, too, with a single arrow only. Only Lord Siva could undertake that mighty task. Slaying them and standing on the battle field where lay the ashes of the burnt cities, he danced a fierce dance of triumph and victory clapping his hands in glee while his consort Bhairavi was alone left to keep time to his weird measures known as Kodu-kotti.

KUDAI : In the great battle between the Asuras and Devas, the Divine Boy, Skanda, the leader of the Divine Armies, lowered his great umbrella and using it as a side curtain danced a dance of disdain and merriment (Kudai-umbrella).

KUDAM : Usha, daughter of Bana, the Asura king of Shontapura fell in love with Anirudda, son of Kama and grandson of Sri Krishna. Bana on coming to know if it was enraged and put Anirudda in jail after a hard fight. Then, Sri Krishna who went in disguise to the city of Bana to see his grandson danced a strange dance with a pot in his hands (made of clay and five metals) that was always kept moving to keep time to his evolutions (Kudam — pot).

PEDI : The dance of Kama along the streets of the city of Shonta-puram to effect the release of his son held in capitivity changing himself into a combination of man and woman (Pedi — Eunuch).

KADAYAM was the dance performed by Indrani in the same city of doom. She is said to have danced the last of the dances (Kadai — last).

PANDARANGAM is also another dance of Lord Siva white with the ashes of the vast crematorium, on the battle field after the burning of the Tripura.

MAL : The dance of Govinda disguised as a wrestler when he chal-lenged and crushed Bana, the Asura in fair fight. The evolutions during the bout are given the name of a dance, because it was so simple and merry a feat to the Lord.

TUDI : The dance of victory of Lord Skanda keeping time on the Tudi on one hand, over Sura Padma, the mighty Asura who took refuge on top of the waves in mid-ocean.

MARAKKAL : Mahadevi, sister of Vishnu was enraged when the Asuras took refuge by changing themselves into poisonous snakes and scorpions. The Devi, with legs of wood danced, crushing the life out of the poisonous brood (Marakkal — wooden leg).

PAVAI : Lakshmi assumed a wondrous form that melted the hearts

of the Asuras and put chaos into their brains, and they ran after her madly. The beautiful gait and charming movements of Lakshmi are known as Pavai.

These eleven dances with their appropriate songs and tales and the sentiments underlying each, should be part of the equipment of the teacher and the pupil in dance.

The mention of 2 types of Koothu have been interpreted in various ways as:

Shanthikkoothu	as against	Vinodakkoothu
Kuravaikkoothu	as against	Varikkoothu
Vasaikkoothu	as against	Varisanthikkoothu
Tamil	as against	Aryan
Desi	as against	Margi.

From the standard works on music and dance used as references by Adiyarkunallar in his commentary on *Silappadikaram*, Shanthikkoothu may be taken to mean the classical dance or Bharatanatya and Vinodakkoothu — the folk dances. As under Shanthikkoothu, mention is made of Chokkam or Pure Dance consisting of 108 Karanas. Mai is divided into Desi, Vadugu and Singala.

Abhinaya is the interpretation of a song with facial expressions and Nataka is dance with the dramatic element. Under the Vinodakkoothu comes the Kuravai in which 7, 8 or 9 persons take part. Love and conquest form the subject.

The songs are composed in the metre Kuravai.

Kalinatam — acrobatics of professional gymnasts and tumblers.

Kudam — is a dance with waterpots on the head.

Nokku — marked by stateliness, afility and seductiveness.

Tholpavai — is the dance of the puppets or Tholubommalatham with figures of leather and an illuminated curtain as the back ground.

Vasai — also called Vinodakkoothu related to sentiments of merriment and laughter admitting of 2 divisions — one before the kings — Vettiyal and the other before the common people — Poduviyal.

Silappadikaram gives the legendary origin of dancing. Once in the Sabha of Indra, Indra's son Jayantha is said to have lost his balance in his behaviour towards the celestial dancer Urvasi, which enraged Sage Agastya who cursed him to be born as a Bamboo stick in the Vindhya Hills and Urvasi a Courtesan on the earth. Urvasi was to be freed from the curse on being presented with the 'Talaikkol' which was symbolical of Jayantha, on her Arangetral day. The talaikkol was usually the central shaft of a white umbrella captured in the battlefield from monarchs of great repute and symbolical of Jayantha. Thus Jayantha is celebrated in the ceremony and worship of 'Talaikkol'. This ancient

ceremony of Talaikkol finds a parallel in the ceremony of 'Thandiam Pidithal' practised by the Devadasis of more recent times. The Devadasis as the name implies were professional temple dancers attached to the temples and they preserved the highest traditions of Bharatanatya in their original grandeur and pristine purity. The young daughters of the Devadasis started learning dancing at the age of five, first by watching the elder student dancers and practising by themselves. In about the 7th year when they were intiated for practice, the ceremony 'Thandiam Pidithal' (holding the pole) is held. On an auspicious day and hour, a quantity of paddy is spread in the centre of the Silambakkoodam' in a square or rectangular form and a pole or stick is held across the centre by 2 elderly Devadasis firmly at both sides. The girl commencing her practice has to hold the middle of the stick with both her hands and begin to dance the first movements, with her feet over the paddy as the teacher beats the timing with his stick (Thattu.kazhi). The seed of Bharathanatyam is thus sown in her. Thus after 7 years of rigorous training in dancing the Arangetral or the first appearance on the stage is made as did Madavi of *Silappadikaram* 2000 years ago.

The mention that Madavi danced both the Desi and Margi styles of dance may well mean the indigenous style developed by the ancient Tamils as against the alien style of the Aryans though essentially the technique of Bharatnatya was the same.

Thus, *Silappadikaram* gives ample evidence to a high state of evolution in the art of dancing. We also find that the instruments used by the ancient Tamils were the yal, kuzhal and maddalam. The qualifications of the songster, drummer, flutist and the vina player are also elaborately given. The detailed and technical description of the musical instruments and players clearly indicate that the ancient Tamils had a highly developed musical system and used a scale of 22 srutis — that is the scale of just intonation.

Apart from the fund of information that we get about classical dancing and music in the Arangerukadai of *Silappadikaram*, we also come across the various ritual and folk dances that were popular in those ancient days. The ancient Tamils believed in invoking the blessing of Gods during times of great distress and calamity and this they did by singing, dancing, fasting and feasting. The chief gods invoked by them were Murugan, Mayon, Siva, Korravai or the Goddess of Victory, Balarama, Varuna, Indra etc. Among the ritual dances, we come across Vettuvavari in honour of Korravai which was often performed by the Maravar tribe. The ritual dance Kuravaikkoothu was performed by the women of the community in honour of Lord Krishna who married the cowherdess Pinnai. The Kuravaikkoothu, we are told, was performed by Madari and her daughter in order to invoke the blessing of Lord Krishna as a number of ill-omens indicated some disaster to the city and

its people. So, in order to avert the impending danger, the Kuravaik-koothu was arranged.

In summing up the paper, the following are mentioned as worthy of note : —

The ancient Tamils had developed a unique and original culture long before the beginning of the Christian era when literature and fine arts flourished. But, by the time of the *Silappadikaram,* that is the 2nd century A.D., Aryanisation had already started which had its effect in influencing all phases of life including the arts and literature. It is probable that soon after the early Aryans penetrated the South, many Sanskrit or Prakrit words gained general currency. This was before the Christian era, and may have extended over a period of some centuries.[7] The influence of Aryan culture is clearly seen in the life described in the *Silappadikaram.* That is the reason, we find the introduction of a number of Aryan gods, and Sanskrit beliefs in the work. But, this need not lead one to believe that all fine arts were borrowed from the Aryans and that Sanskrit alone gave the key to the whole of Indian culture.

It may be assumed that the style of dancing and music developed by the ancient Tamils were studied and perfected by the early Aryans, who wrote such great treatises like the 'Natya Sastra' and 'Abhinaya Darpana'.

It may also be argued that the very fact that only the Tamil country has been able to preserve through the ages the Bharata Natya in its original grandeur and pristine purity points to the fact that this was the dance that had been handed down by the age old ancestors of the present Tamils which later was perfected by the early Aryans. The Tamil country especially Tanjore, has always been the seat and centre of learning and culture. It was the famous quartet of Chinnayya, Ponniah, Sivanandam and Vadivelu of the Tanjore Court during King Saraboji's time (1798-1824) which made a rich contribution to music and Bharatanatyam and also completed the process of re-editing the Bharathanatyam programme into its present shape with its various forms like the Alarippu, Jathiswaram, Sabdham, Varnam, Tillana etc. The descendants of these 4 brothers formed the original stock of Nattuvanars or dance teachers of Bharatanatyam in Tanjore. Originally, they formed a community by themselves and most of them were Saivite non-brahmins, their mother tongue being Tamil. Probably they were the direct descendants of the ancient Tamils, who tried to preserve the age-old traditions of dance and music passed on by their ancestors.

Though Bharatnatyam is over 2000 years old, it has always been a growing art. Its basic principles and ideals have remained practically

[7] K. R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR, Chapter XVI B, "Dravidian Languages and Literature", *The History and culture of the Indian People,* Vol. II, p. 288, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1951.

unchanged although its repertoire and forms of presentation have been changing from time to time to suit changing conditions and concepts of artistry. Thus the arts of India, especially music and dance are a revelation of many thousands of years of culture and civilisation.

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THE MUSIC OF THE ANCIENT TAMILS

V. P. Raman

Music is the most elusive of all arts. It can at best, when soft voices die, vibrate in the memory, as the poet said. Sculpture, painting and literature leave concrete images behind for posterity to apprehend, appreciate and approbate. But the beauty of song is temporary and evanescent, never even to be recapitulated. Any study of ancient music has therefore a double disadvantage: the fact that it is ancient; and the fact that it has left no tangible matter behind for a straight study. The Grand Anicut or the great temple at Thanjavur have survived centuries to give us an idea of the engineering or architectural skill of the Chola Emperors. But the music we heard on last night's radio is gone for ever. Even modern recording devices, in my view, can hardly be said to capture the spirit of a live concert though undoubtedly they preserve the form from erasure and save it for future reproduction.

Music has been learnt in India traditionally from master to pupil over generations. Even a competent system of notation leaves much scope for individual variation. Indian music is notorious for not using any generally accepted notation, and music teachers are known for the esoteric way in which they treasure their sometimes even meagre knowledge and refuse to impart it to students except under great pressure. Small wonder that master-pieces have been lost and succeeding generations have had to grope in the dark to get some idea of what our ancients did.

An effort to understand our ancient music has therefore necessarily to proceed on an indirect study based on the usual source-materials, namely old literature bearing references to contemporary music, and archaeological exhibits like sculpture, painting and inscriptions. We shall therefore briefly examine references to music in our literature.

The history of Tamil literature has been considered to fall into six well-defined periods. They are: —

(i) The Sangam Period (3rd Sangam) — 200 B.C. to A.D. 300,
(ii) The Post Sangam Period — A.D. 300 to A.D. 600,
(iii) The Early Mediaeval Period — A.D. 600 to A.D. 1200,
(iv) The Later Mediaeval Period — A.D. 1200 to A.D. 1800,

(v) The Pre-Modern Period — A.D. 1800 to A.D. 1900,
(vi) The Modern Period — A.D. 1900 to the present day.[1]

It should be noted that even the earliest period, namely the Sangam period, starts with the third Sangam, presupposing the existence of two prior Sangams or Academies at which poets and scholars must have congregated and conferred. It is also recognised that the Tamil language dates back to quite a few centuries before Christ. That Tamil music and dance must have been highly developed even before the time of Bharata, the renowned author of the 'Natya Sastra' (one of the earliest extant Sanskrit works on Art) can be seen from a reference in that work to "Dakshina" music and dance.[2] There is also a tradition that separate Academies were held for all the three branches of Tamil, viz. Literature, Music and Drama, which again confirms both the antiquity and development of our ancient music.[3]

For the purposes of this paper, I intend to treat the entire period 200 B.C. to A.D. 1200 as Ancient, and the subsequent period as Modern, omitting the mediaeval classification altogether. This is because much of the material that throws any light at all on this subject was written between the 6th and the 12th centuries, including valuable commentaries on earlier Sangam works. If this material is excluded one would be left with very little concrete data. Moreover, the period of the great Saiva Saints and the religious revivalism that they sparked off, is significant in its contribution to the growth and development of Tamil Music.

While looking for references in ancient Tamil works to music, one may conveniently begin with the *Tholkappiam* whose antiquity is beyond question. Though primarily a text on grammar, there are references in this work to the natural geographical divisions of Tamil Nad, viz. the pastoral region (Mullai), the hilly areas (Kurunchi), the arable lands (Marutham) and the coastal belt (Neithal). Waste lands (Palai) was also added to this classification. Each of these areas would seem to have had its own characteristic music and the *Yazh* was the most predominant instrument. Existing material as at present studied is quite insufficient to understand in any great detail the kinds of melodies that were employed, but references found in the poetry of the time make it clear that the five areas referred to had their own distinct melodies.

The word *Pann* (பண்) meaning music, which dominates any study of Tamil Music, finds a place in this ancient work. A number of other words related to *Pann*, such as *Pannai* (பண்ணை) — the place where music is sung, and *Pannathi* (பண்ணத்தி) — a poem set to music are also to be found.

[1] DR. A. C. CHETTIAR in "An Introduction to Tamil Poetry", *Tamil Culture*, vol. VII, p. 56.
[2] BHARATA'S *Natya Sastra*, Chapters IV & V.
[3] " ஏழிசைச் சூழல்புக்கோ " — — *Tiruchitrambala Kovai.*

We are also told that there were several kinds of artists, who constituted essential elements of ancient society. They were the *kuthar* (dancer and dramatist), *panar* and *porunar*, the musician, and *virali*, the lady artist. The *panar*s themselves were further sub-divided into *periapanar* and *siria-panar*, possibly based on the size and scope of the instruments played on by them.[4]

The next major work which has furnished endless material for research is undoubtedly the epic *Silapathikaram*. This monumental work of Elango Adigal has been placed in the latter part of the first century A.D. The author was the younger son of Seralathan and the brother of the famous Seran Senguttuvan. In this work, there are several references to contemporary art, especially music and dance. It will be no exaggeration to state that but for this work at least having withstood the onslaught of time, we would be left with far less material to work on than we have at present. This is not an inappropriate place to record the eternal gratitude which all Tamil lovers and scholars owe to that grand old man, the late Dr. U. V. Swaminatha Iyer. But for his missionary zeal to unearth our ancient treasures, most of these works may have languished in their palm leaf abodes for ever, and never been printed.

Apart from the *Silapathikaram* among the earliest works extant, it would be proper to refer to another Sangam work the *Paripadal*, which has been included in the anthology *Ettu Thugai*. This was one of the earliest works to be set to music and belongs to "Isai Tamil" or Musical Tamil.[5] Even the *panns* in which they were set have been placed. The most famous commentary on the *Silapathikaram* is that of Adiyarku Nallar, who lived in the 12th Century A.D. In his erudite commentary, he refers to other ancient Tamil musical works. These include the *Perunarai, Perun Kurugu, Pancha Marapu, Tala Samudram, Pàncha̋ Bharathiyam* etc., some of which had apparently been lost even in his time. The learned commentary of the *Iraiyanar Ahapporul* gives the names of other ancient musical treatises like the *Mudu-narai, Mudu kurugu* and the *Perisai*. It also mentions the *Isai-nunukkam*, which, if its title is any indication, must have been an advanced work on the subtleties of music. There are also a number of other works and authors, among whom reference may be made to Nedum-Palliyathanar, known for his versatile virtuosity over many instruments.[6]

The existence of these works only shows that while *Silapathikaram* affords us the maximum available material pertaining to the earliest Tamil music, it was by no means the first or only work on the subject. The Dark Age of Tamil literature was between A.D. 200 and A.D. 600. Several valuable works were destroyed. We can only conjecture about

[4] See "இன்குரற் சீறியாழிட வழிற்றழீஇ" (*Sirupannarrupadai*, 35.) and "இடனுடை பேரியாழ் முறை யுளக் கழிப்பி" (*Perum Pannarrupadai*, 462.)

[5] "எழுதினர் பிழைப்பும் எழுதரு ஒக்கும்
பகுதியின் வந்த பாடகர் பிழைப்பும்" —பரிபாடல் உரை.

[6] Dr. U. V. S. Iyer, *Nallurai kovai*, vol. III, p. 81.

the precise manner of the destruction and savage vandalism motivated by political or religious feelings.

I have referred to this aspect of the earliest Tamil literature pertaining to music in order to show that the magnitude of our knowledge of really ancient music of the Sangam Age is frankly the consciousness of the magnitude of our ignorance. We get only glimpses or flashes from old literature. It is only by approaching the question with objectivity and lack of prejudice (of any kind) that we may draw any sensible instruction. If I may enter a respectful caveat, it will not do for research scholars on ancient Tamil music to try and squeeze more out of the old textual matter than is possible. As I mentioned in the beginning, musical forms are capable of first degree understanding only by the ear; secondary evidence of musical forms derived from literature can only establish the existence of musical facts and this can never be validly upgraded into an understanding of their actual forms.

A living authority on ancient South Indian history who cannot be easily dismissed as biased or sectarian minded in favour of Tamil (in fact, some believe the contrary) has endorsed the view that "rice, peacocks, sandalwood, every unknown article which we find imported by sea into Babylon before the fifth century B.C., brought with it, a Dravidian, not a Sanskrit designation". He adds, "In the Seventh and Sixth centuries B.C., Babylon was at the height of its splendour, the greatest commercial mart of the world; men of many nations frequented its bazaars, and we may well assume that among them were merchants from South India."[7]

I am unable to conceive of a society in which intellectual life had reached great heights, language was so highly advanced and commerce so well developed, but whose cultural life alone trailed behind in primitive simplicity. The fact that we are left comparatively ignorant of the details of its development, will hardly justify the criticism that what existed must have been of an inferior or poorly evolved character. In the apt words of the author of the article on Music in the *Encylopædia Britannica*, "When music is too archaic or inaccessible to give us æsthetic data more may be learned from the disposition of those who were pleased by it than from its recorded technical data."[8]

ANCIENT MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

We shall next proceed to examine the nature and number of musical instruments used by the ancient Tamils. The classification of these instruments on the basis of form (whether stringed, holed or leather) as well as of function (whether solo or accompanying) is revealing.

In the sixty-sixth distich of the *Kural*, Thiruvalluvar says, "it is only those, who have not heard the lisp of their own children, who will

[7] K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, *A History of South India*, (1955) p. 76.
[8] Vol. 16, 1953 edn., p. 7.

admit the sweetness of the music of the *kuzhal* (the flute) or the *Yazh* (the harp)".[9] While trying to bring out the idea that appearances are deceptive the same author in another couplet refers to the fact that "even a crooked *Yazh* can produce sweet music".[10] In the old work *Ahananuru* there is a beautiful reference to the flute-like music produced by the natural passage of the wind through the holes in a bamboo stalk. It can be taken as well established that these two instruments were the most generally used ones in the earliest times, along with of course suitable vocal (மிடற்று) music and rhythm (தண்ணுமை).[11]

The Yazh itself underwent considerable evolution and development. In its most primitive form (the *vil yazh*) it was possibly not more than a bow-string. It is permissible to imagine that its musical quality must have been discovered accidentally by an astute archer, who heard its twang when he released his arrow. Forgetting myself, I can imagine how this could have led to bowstrings of different lengths and tensions being found to generate distinct sounds, some of which were related in a musical ratio. The *Yazh* was born! There is a reference in the *Perum Pannarrupadai,* (one of the *Pathu Pattus* — *Ten Idylls* and therefore belonging to the earliest period) to the shepherd who bent his bow and played the *kurinji pann,* possibly serenading his girl friend.[12] This does not mean that the instrument itself had not been developed by that time; the poet could well have referred to an improvisation by the romantic hunter.

Before indicating the several types of *yazhs* that were used, I may dissociate myself from a popular notion that the ancient *Yazh* was either similar to or a direct ancestor of the modern *veena* or lute. The better view among musical scholars is that no such identification or relationship is tenable. Among various authorities relied on, it would be sufficient to refer to only two. Thirunavakku Arasar has in a verse referred to the practice of the Veena and the Yazh separately.[13] Manicka Vachagar has in his *Thiru Vachakam* referred to Vina players and Yazh players as being two separate types of musicians.[14] To lend further assurance to this conclusion, scholars have drawn attention to the figure of the famous Thirunilakanta Yazhpanar in places like Darasuram temple. This itinerant musician along with his gifted wife Matanga Choodamani Ammayar, is known to have travelled extensively in Tamil Nad with his *Yazh.* His figure at Darasuram near Kumbakonam with a Yazh reveals that instrument to be very different from the modern veena.

9 *Kural.* 66 "குழலினிது யாழினது ..."
10 *Kural.* 279 "கணைகொடிதி யாழ்கோடு ..."
11 யாழுங் குழலுஞ் சீரும் மிடறுந்
தாழ்குரல் தண்ணுமை ஆடலோ
டிவிற்றின் இசைந்த பாடல் — *Silappadhikaram* III-(26-28).
12 "குமிழின் புழற் கோட்டு தொடுத்த மரல் புரி நரம்பின் வில் யாழ்
இசைக்கும், விரல் ஏறி குறிஞ்சி ..." — *Perum Pannarrupadai* II-150-4.
13 "பண்ணொடி யாழ் வீணை பயின்றய் போற்றி" —திருநாவுக்கரசர்.
14 "இன்னிசை வீணையர் யாழினர் ஒருபால்" —திருவாசகம் திருப்பள்ளியெழுச்சி 369-1.

Apart from the above reasons, there is also the fact that the very tuning of the ancient *Yazh* rules out any possibility of its having been played like the Veena. The *Yazh* consisted of a specified number, varying with the design, but generally consisting of 14 strings in its most popular form of Sagoda Yazh. These strings were tuned each to a different note and were plucked and allowed to vibrate freely. The length of the vibrating segment of the string was not reduced by being played on with the fingers. As is well known, the characteristic of the Veena is that the same strings, while being plucked with the right hand, are actually played on the finger board with the left hand and all the notes of the octave are produced on a single string. It would thus appear that the *Yazh* was more analogous to the lyre or harp, or possibly the *citara.* The *citara* is one of the most ancient stringed instruments, and has been traced back nearly to the 2nd millenium before Christ, and is known to have been used in ancient Greece both for accompanying the voice and for providing music for dance.[15]

The other musical instrument of considerable vogue in ancient times in Tamil Nad, as in most other countries, was the *Kuzhal* or flute. From detailed descriptions available the instrument does not appear to be very different from the regular flute of the present day. It was also made, preferably out of faultless bamboo, and had 7 holes and was used without any reeds. While referred to in *Silapathikaram* itself, this is subject of an illuminating commentary from Adiyarku Nallar. Rich details of the use of the flute are found in the chapter on Anaya Nayanar in *Peria Puranam* of Sekkilar. There is no doubt but that the potentiality of this instrument had been understood and exploited by our ancients fully.

Apart from the Flute and the Harp, as mentioned earlier, instruments for keeping rhythm (தண்ணுமை) were also known. Indeed the rhythm maker was given a very important role in the performance, and was charged with the responsibility of modulating, harmonising and regulating the concert. Adiyarku Nallar notices as many as 30 percussion instruments. These varied in shape and size but usually employed a stretched leather membrane to produce sounds on percussion. Among the long list the following are easily indentifiable:

The *berigai* (kettle drum), the *udukku* (tambourine), the *mathalam,* the *murasu* (another variety of kettledrum and the two *parai*s. These percussion instruments were further divided into several categories depending upon the time and manner of their use.

There are references in the *Thevaram* to two other instruments called the *ezhil* (ஏழில்) and the (தண்டு) *thandu.* These have been with justification considered to be the immediate ancestors of the modern *Nathasvaram* and *Veena* respectively.

[15] *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1953) vol. 5, p. 726.

MUSICAL TRAINING

I shall next refer briefly to the musical training that was imparted during the days of our forefathers. The *Arankerru Kathai* in the *Silapathikaram* is the best source of our information. In this chapter the poet describes in rich detail the training that preceded the debut of the courtesan Madhavi. While prescribing qualifications for a prospective artist, not only beauty of physical form but considerable talent in both the theory and technique of music and dancing was insisted upon. Intimate knowledge of poetry was required, thus making the possession of a keen intellect a *sine qua non*. Apparently our ancients had no place for dumb blondes!

Training started at the early age of five, and rigorous and disciplined tuition under as many as six teachers followed for seven years. These included the ஆடலாசன் (dancing master); இசை ஆசிரியன் (music teacher); இயற்றமிழ் புலவன் (Tamil poet), தண்ணுமை முதல்வன் (expert drummer); குழலோசன் (flutist) and the யாழாசிரியன் (harpist). These six tutors were no ordinary men either, as their qualifications indicate. A knowledge of comparative music, for instance, was required of the music teacher, and the poet had to be familiar with literature as well. (It is not surprising that such a complete education left Madhavi so accomplished a courtesan, that Kovalan was helplessly enslaved). That the various arts were not taught in water-tight compartments is evident. The ancient Tamils at least knew how to produce a well compounded artist with a good general education, instead of encouraging illiterates with half-knowledge of a single art!

MUSICAL NOTES

Every note has an ascertainable frequency, that is to say, the number of vibrations per second. When the frequency of one note is twice that of another, the former is the upper octave of the latter. This holds good whatever the absolute frequencies of the notes may be. In between a note and its upper octave, there are other notes, related to it in a definite ratio, or interval. This interval is determined by the ratio of their frequencies. It has been scientifically established however that only certain specific ratios of frequencies are musical. All possible intervals between two notes are not musical. Certain specific intervals alone produce musical notes. As the musical ear was not different in different countries or at different points of time, it is not surprising that we get the same intervals between the musical notes in different systems of music — even though there may be drastic differences in the scales of music or in the manner of employment of these notes, or in conceptions of harmony.

Thus we have seven notes of the octave in contemporary western music notation, viz. Do, Re, Mi, Fa, Sol, La, Si (C, D, E, F, G, A, B). In modern Indian Music, whether Karnatic or Hindustani, these seven notes are represented by Sa, Ri, Ga, Ma, Pa, Dha and Ni. We find that the

ancient Tamils also employed seven notes and they are described in the *Silapathikaram* as follows:—

Kural (குரல்), Thuttham (துத்தம்), Kaikilai (கைக்கிளை), Uzhai (உழை), Eli (இளி), Vilari (விளரி), Tharam (தாரம்).

These were generally considered as being respectively equivalent to Sa, Ri, Ga, Ma, Pa, Dha and Ni in contemporary terminology. This has however been questioned by Swami Vipulananda. According to this learned author, the seven Tamil notes correspond to Ma, Pa, Dha, Ni, Sa, Ri and Ga respectively. He has also given several cogent and convincing reasons for this view, and it may be accepted. Even in modern times we see the employment of what is known as Madhyama Sruti in concerts. This is really a different tuning of the instruments and involves a shifting of the tonic for the vocalist. Is it more than a concidence that some essentially Tamil songs sound better when rendered in this sruti?

Though the seven notes of the octave had different Tamil names there is authority in the commentaries of Arumpada Urai Asiriyar that the Sa, Ri, Ga, notation was employed when writing.[16] This had led to a view that even while the ancient Tamils used the word 'Kural', 'Thutham' etc., they wrote down the notes as Sa, Ri, Ga etc., I am personally quite unable to accept this view. The Sa, Ri, Ga, Ma notation must have been definitely a later development, at least a few centuries after the Sangam Age. The identity of Sa, Ri, Ga, Ma notation with the expansion of these letters as *Sa*djama, *Ri*shabam, *Ga*ndharam etc. is far too much of a coincidence in point of time. That great Tamil scholar Swaminatha Ayyar says that instead of Sa, Ri, Ga, Ma, Pa, Dha, Ni now employed to describe the seven notes, the ancients while calling the notes kural, thutham etc., used the long vowels ah, ee, oo, ai, ih, oh, etc., (ஆ, ஈ, ஊ, ஏ, ஐ, ஓ).[17] It is quite clear in any event that by the time of the commentator the same swaras were employed in Tamil music, as all over India. I cannot resist the thought that some time after the Sangam period and before the mediaeval, some sort of forced fusion or at least a free interchange of musical ideas must have taken place. Musical modes, terms and norms, were not allowed to merely evolve in their own natural genius, but were subject to definite influences from outside. The Sa, Ri, Ga, Ma notation, to my mind, is not insignificant in this context.

The seven basic notes of the scale, then as now, have further divisions, based on intermediate musical intervals, the sharps and the flats of western terminology. Musicologists have established that the ancient Tamils had an intimate knowledge of these musical intervals, and had

16 "சரிகமபதநி யென்றேழெழுத்தாற்றானம்
வரிபரந்த கண்ணினுய் வைத்து ..." —அரும் பதவுரையாசிரியர் உரை.

17 See *Divakaram*, "ஆ, ஈ, ஊ, ஏ, ஐ, ஓ, ஔ, எனும்
இவ்வேழ் எழுத்தும் ஏழிசைக்குரிய"

standardised these *srutis*.[18] Whether the total number of musical intervals recognised in ancient Tamil music is twenty-two, as generally accepted, or twenty-four as claimed by Sri Abraham Pandithar is not of much importance in this context, where my object is only to show the extent of the musical knowledge and scientific analysis of our ancients.

ANCIENT MUSICAL SCALES

A succession of notes constitutes a musical scale. The number and choice of the notes, as well as the order of their succession, imparts to each, a distinctive quality and status. There is a plentitude of material in the *Silapathikaram* on these musical scales. I am deliberately refraining from embarking on any reference to them, as that is the special subject of a paper at this Conference, by Sangita Bushanam Sri S. Ramanathan, who has done a life-time study of it and is especially competent to make that analysis. I shall be content to make a few remarks for the sake of completeness of this topic. Parent scales, employing all the seven notes in both ascent and descent, are the *panns* properly so called. Sextatonic, pentatonic and even quadratonic scales were also known to the ancient Tamils. These were known as the *thirams*.[19] The total number of musical scales has been fixed at 11,991 in an old verse.[20] I need hardly add that this is neither a mathematically derived number, nor a musically well established one. It would rather appear to give the idea that modes or *ragas* in modern language, are legion. Well worth further research are the inscriptions in the Kudimiyamalai temple in Tiruchi District, which may shed light on a lost period.

The number of *panns* or major parent scales has been fixed at 103. In current Karnatic musical theory, the number of parent ragas is 72. We need not here attempt to reconcile the two, and indeed it is my view, which I shall develop later, that such reconciliation or analogy is not necessary.

MUSICAL FAULTS

I think I may here refer, in a digression, to a passage from a mediaeval work called *Thiruvilayadal puranam*. This should be of interest, particularly to those who cannot help being dismayed by the gesticulations, grimaces and other mannerisms of musicians. In this passage, a free translation of which I am giving below, the author has listed certain physical faults which should be avoided by musicians, while singing.

18 " குரல் துத்தம் நான்கு கிளை மூன்றிரண்டாம்
குரையா உழையிளி நான்கு—விரையா
விளரியெனின் மூன்றிரண்டு தாரமெனச்
சொன்னார் களிரிசேர் கண்ணூற் றவர்" —அரும்பதவுரை ஆசிரியர் உரை.

19 " நிறை நரம் பிற்றே பண்ணெலாகும்
குறை நரம் பிற்றே திறமெனப்படுமே" — *Divakaram.*

20 " இசையாவது நரப்படைவால் உரைக்கப்பட்ட
பதினோராயிரத்து தொள்ளாயிரத்துத் தொண்ணூற்
றொன்றாகிய ஆதி இசைகள்" —அரும்பதவுரையாசிரியர் உரை.

Some of our contemporary musicians can possibly claim on this authority to be in the great company of the ancients, when contorting their bodies! Apart from this interesting aspect, this passage also reveals the extent to which there had been critical appreciation of public performances. The author says:

"Drawing one's stomach in, displaying a mournful face, knitting one's eye-brows, adopting a tremulous voice, allowing one's throat to get prominently inflamed, opening one's mouth wide, baring one's teeth — these are faults (while singing)."[21]

PATRONS OF ANCIENT TAMIL MUSICIANS

Musicians of ancient days were patronised by the rulers of the day, as well as by lesser nobles and chieftains. They would exhibit their prowess individually as well as in friendly challenges between competing artists for royal favour, which was not uncommon. The ones who pleased the patron most would receive among other gifts, a lotus flower made of gold. This practice has been rightly equated to the modern practice of awarding gold medals to artists, whom it is intended to honour. The picture of an itinerant musician going about with several instruments hanging from him on all sides was likened in an old poem to a jack-fruit tree with its many fruits dangling on all sides![22] While the artists were honoured from time to time, they were also obliged to travel a lot in search of recognition and reward and were not free from poverty. A line in the *Perum Pannarrupadai* says the *panar*s accompanied by hungry families wandered about like birds in search of nourishment.[23]

That the ancient Tamil musicians were treated with honour and respect by kings and chieftains emerges very clearly from ancient Tamil works. Banquets in their honour were not rare. The *Pathu Pattu* or *Ten Idylls* is a valuable Sangam work, and it refers to these conferences of poets and musicians. Four out of the *Ten Idylls* deal with such artists.

There is an account in the *Porunar Attrupadai,* of the reception given to the bards by the Chola Emperor Karikalan. I cannot resist the temptation of reproducing a free translation of the lines in this ancient work, which recaptures the spacious days of yore, when art flourished and artists were honoured in an atmosphere of freedom and gaiety.[24]

21 " "வயிறது குழிய வாங்கல் அழுமுகங் காட்டல் வாங்கும்
செயிரறு புருவ மேறல் சிர நடுக் குறல் கண்ணோடல்
பயிறரு மிடறு வீங்கல் பையென வாயங் காத்தல்
ஏயிறது காட்டலின்ன உடற்றெழிர் குற்ற மென்ப" — திருவிளையாடல் புராணம்

22 See Dr. U. V. S. Iyer, *Nallurai Kovai,* vol. 3, p. 88.

23 " பழுமரந் தேரும் பறவை போலக்
கல்லென் சுற்றமொடு கால் கிளர்ந்து திரிதரும்" — *Perum Pannarrupadai,* 20-21.

24 *Porunar Attrupavai* 67-111.

The following is the description of this reception and I am adopting gratefully the free translation of a learned author, Sri Kothandapani Pillai: —

> "The bards enter the palace undetained by the guards. The monarch receives them in audience and asks them to take their seats close to him. His lovable speech and endearing looks make even the bones of these bards melt with emotion. Beautiful, sweet smiling, well adorned ladies of the palace serve them with drinks (wines) in cups of gold, full to the brim, as often as they are emptied. The bards drink fully and forget the fatigue of their long journey. They are asked to stay in a part of the palace itself. The heralds are ordered to fetch the bards in and the king himself leads them to the banquet. Exquisite soup in which haunches of pure fed sheep have been cooked tender is served and the bards are coaxed to a sumptuous repast. Roasts of fat meat are served hot in plenty even to surfeit. This is followed by delicious sweets of tempting varieties in numerous shapes, which the bards partake and prolong the lunch. Feasting and revelry go on for many days in the palace."[25]

One wonders in what shape the artists would have been after this bacchanalian orgy, to regale their royal host with any worthwhile music. But it speaks volumes about the hospitality offered to poets and artists. It has been observed that these accounts may be a trifle exaggerated as poets expecting the bounty of a king are likely to lay it on with a trowel when extolling his virtues. Read with the moving passage in the *Perum Pannarrupadai* mentioned earlier, this is quite likely. Even so, this early work does give us some idea of the free atmosphere that prevailed and the comparative informality of the proceedings.

THE SAIVA REVIVAL

As stated earlier, the Dark Age intervened between two glorious epochs in Tamil history. The high standard of the music of the Sangam Era was matched only by the glorious revival during the period of the great Saivite Saints, who among them, contributed the hymns that have been compiled in the Canons or *Thirumurai*s, including the *Thevaram* (of Appar, Sundarar and Sambandar) and the *Tiruvachagam* (of Manicka Vachagar). These *Thirumurai*s or Canons have been the subject of recent research, thanks to the encouragement of the Annamalai University and the Tamil Isai Sangam. The history of these Tamil lyrical hymns which were set to music has been published by Vidvan K. Vellai Varanan of the Tamil Research Department of the Annamalai University and is a valuable contribution to modern musical and religious literature. The *Thirumurai*s came to be first compiled during the time of a Chola king.

[25] See *Tamil Culture*, vol. VII, p. 33, at pp. 43-45.

These divine utterances of three famous Saiva Saints — Sambandar, Appar and Sundarar — had not been collected and compiled until an inspired Nambi Andar Nambi accepted the commission of a Chola king and the work was thoroughly done. Recent research has established that this Thirumuraikanda Cholan lived in the 9th Century A.D. and his name was Adityan. The musical setting of the *Thirumurai* is ascribed by tradition to a *padini* (female musician) belonging to the family of the famous Thiruneelakanta Yazhpanar. The biographical particulars of the Saiva Saints, highly interesting as they are and, to a devoutly receptive mind filled with thrilling experiences, do not immediately concern us here. But in an endeavour to understand the contributions made by the Tamil Saiva Saints to music, it should not be forgotten that theirs was primarily a religious and always spontaneous outpouring of highly evolved souls. While they may have created musical modes and even contributed in no mean degree to the grammar of music, it was not their intention to provide material for the musicologists of the nuclear age. I feel that this is important to bear in mind.

The poetry of the really ancient Tamils of the Sangam Era with which were closely connected their other arts, including music, can be best understood by considering their social setting. They were basically a pleasure-loving and contented people. They were known either for their valour in battle or for the tenderness of their love and they lived a simple care-free life, as works like the *Kalithogai* or *Narrinai* indicate.[26] It is only in the medieval period, i.e. after the dark ages, that there is a distinct pre-occupation with the soul, and a constant and unsatisfied yearning for communion with God. We are not here concerned with the reasons for this religious revival. But the tremendous output of religious hymns in the *Thirumurais* was surely meeting a great public demand. I am personally unable to imagine that the musical modes themselves and the manner of musical rendering and appreciation would not have undergone drastic and possibly even fundamental changes during these times. The music of the free and happy hunter or shepherd with no thought but that of meeting his love, cannot have been cast in the same mould as the music of the saint, clad in sack cloth and ashes, whose primary concern was a fervent plea for Divine Mercy and Grace for himself and his people.

There is this gap, to my mind unsatisfactorily if at all bridged by any authentic sources of knowledge, between the early Sangam and the mediaeval period of the *thirumurais*. There is equally another gap between the mediaeval period namely, the time of the Saiva Saints and the 17th Century, when the now famous musical Trinity thrived in Thanjavur. While the Trinity had as much concern with God, as the great

[26] See: Rev. Fr. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam, *Tamil Culture*, vol. V, no. 1 at p. 14.

Saiva Saints, and were equally singing His praise, they were nevertheless more or less involved in the complexity of the *grahastha* or day to day life. If we keep these factors in mind, we can readily appreciate the formal and structural differences that must exist among the music of the three great periods. In this view, I feel that great as the endeavour is to understand the music of our ancients, searching for an analogy in modern music is profitless and possibly dangerously misleading. Even if the same musical notes were employed by the *Panar*s of the Sangam period, as by the Tamil Saint Sundarar, as by Thyagaraja in the 17th Century, it would be incorrect to assume that the music produced by all the three must have been set in the same or analagous ragas or modes. The fact that the notes employed in some of the ancient *pann*s can be recognised and identified with reference to their modern counterparts does not mean that what was sung then bore any resemblance to what is being sung now. And why need there be any? Musical creativity as well as musical appreciation have a lot to do with the social background of the time. Identification by analogy is always dangerous. It is true there are likely to be some overlapping areas but this is accidental.

The *Thirumurai*s offer immense scope for musical research, I agree. The *pathigam*s or hymns have been set to music, and the wealth of *pann*s that will emerge on a closer study cannot be imagined. Fortunately there are available in Tamil Nad today, quite a few musicians who have learnt these songs traditionally. Tamil scholars there are in plenty, who can, by discussion with these musicians, relate earlier texts to the prevalent music. In fact, a great deal of good work in this direction is being done annually at the Pann Research Conference held under the auspices of the Tamil Isai Sangham at Madras. But if I may observe with due respect, I do not see the need for straining every nerve to derive analogies to Karnatic Music. We can easily imagine that for some centuries at least, in Tamil Nad, the ancient Tamil *Pann*s as employed by the Saiva Saints (though not those referred to in the literature of the Sangam era) existed side by side with Karnatic Music. Their types of appeal were different; their places of performance were different. But they must have quite unconsciously been influencing each other. That they were kept distinct is an accident of social history, to which we must be thankful. Fortunately we can today look at the issue free of prejudice, and with no need to establish priorities or the superiority of the one over the other. It is my hope that in our generation at least, contemporary concerts will invariably have two parts, one devoted to Karnatic Music and the other to Ancient Tamil Music. For this, their distinctness must be maintained, and my fear is that too great a search for analogy may destroy that very 'otherness' which is the gift of our ancients to posterity. Research on the other hand must try to restore the purity of the *pann*s, and erase if possible, the effects of other influences. I have the greatest regard for Karnatic music, and I am myself trained in it. That is why

I am keen that we should not confuse the issue, and seek to establish any great unity or affinity between the two great systems of music that we have the honour and privilege to inherit. It is the very distinction of each that is its beauty. I implore research workers to re-orient if possible their line of work, so that we may cherish and enjoy a twin heritage, and not lose both in an insensible amalgam.

I cannot close better than by referring to the ancient bird *Asunam* referred to in our old literature. It was so sensitive to music, that hunters would play the harp till it stood enthralled by the sounds and suddenly jam a discordant note, which would shock the poor bird to instant death.[27] Let us remember that the ancient Tamils alone had the *Asunam*. Have we killed that sensitive bird and extinguished its very species, by our meaningless cacophony and cadenced callisthenics?

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27 " அசுணங் கொல்பவர் கைபோல், நன்றும்,
இன்பமும் துன்பமும் உடைத்தே,
தண் கமழ் நறுந்தார் விரலோன் மார்பே—

—நற்றிணை, 304: 8-10.
—மாற்றேகத்து நப்பசலையார்.

SOME ICONOGRAPHIC CONCEPTS

SAW. GANESAN

God is perceived in various forms by saints and sages. "The ideas that emanate in an individual's mind,[1] the letters that give visual shape to these ideas[2], the words[3] and their meanings[4] are the manifestations of God", says Appar. Speaking about the abodes of Lord Muruga in *Tirumurugarrupadai,* Nakkirar says that Muruga lives everywhere;[5] 'in the forest, in the rivers, in the streets and their junctions, in the pure hearts of the sages and in the abodes of the devout hunters'. *Paripadal* speaks of Muruga in identical terms[6] and says that the Lord assumes various forms according to the nature of the devotees.[7] Commenting on this, the celebrated commentator, Parimelalagar, states[8] 'that God manifests Himself in icons for the layman, in the sacrificial fire for the Brahmin, in the heart for the yogi and everywhere for the Jnani'. The

1 எண்ணாகி எண்ணுக்கோ ரெழுத்துமாகி — அப்பர்

2 எண்ணும் எழுத்துஞ் சொல்லானாய் போற்றி — அப்பர்

3 சொல்லாகி சொல்லுக்கோர் பொருளு மாகி — அப்பர்

4 சொல்லும் பொருளெலா மானார் தாமே — அப்பர்

5 ஊரூர் கொண்ட சீர்கெழு விழவினும்
ஆர்வலரேத்த மேவரும் நிலையினும்
வேலன் றைஇய வெறியயர் களனும்
காடுங் காவும் கவின்பெறு துருத்தியும்
யாறுங் குளனும் வேறுபல் வைப்பும்
சதுக்கமும் சந்தியும் புதுப்பூங் கடம்பும்
மன்றமும் பொதியிலும் கந்துடை நிலையினும் — முருகு-220-226

6 ஆலமும் கடம்பும் நல்யாற்று நடுவும்
கால் வழக்கறு நிலைக் குன்றமும் பிறவும்
அவ்வவை மேய வேறுவேறு பெயரோய் — பரி-4-66-70

7 செவ்வா யுவணத் துயர்கொடி யோயே
கேள்வியுட் கிளந்த வாசா னுரையும்,
படிநிலை வேள்வியுட் பற்றியொடு கொளலும்,
புகழியைந் திசைமறை யுறுகனன் முறைமுட்டித்
திகழொளி யொண்சுடர் வளப்பாடு கொளலும் நின்னுருபு — பரிபாடல்

8 ஊன் கணார்க்குப் படிமையிலும்,
அந்தணர்க்கு வேள்வித் தீயினும்,
யோகிகட்கு உள்ளத்திலும்,
ஞானிகட்கு எவ்விடத்திலும் வெளிப்படுத்தல் — பரிமேலழகர் உரை

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS: State Department of Archæology, Madras; Institute Francoise Indologie, Pondicherry.

all-pervasive nature of God is described by Appar.[9] Yet the Almighty is beyond the reach of all these.[10] The devotees give the Lord various forms and names. The personifications of the Lord as reflected in the Puranas and epics are the basis for various iconographic forms.

The Tamil genius has analysed the deeper meaning of each form and has given expression to the metaphysical aspect of each icon. The body of the texts dealing with various forms, measurements and the like of icons came to be called *Silpa sāstra*s which, in turn, formed part of architecture or *vāstuvidya.* These two texts are again greatly conditioned by the agamic or tantric literature, dealing with modes of worship in temples. A perusal of this literature will show that it had its origin in the very early period, but most of the texts, as they are available today, have undergone modifications.

The *Pasuram*s of the Alwars have considerably influenced Vaishnavite art, while Saivite representations have been inspired by the hymns of the Nayanmars, especially the *Devaram*s of Appar, Sambandar and Sundarar and *Tiruvacagam* of Manickavacagar. A few examples would suffice to show that the *Devaram* hymns have moulded later iconographical forms.

There is an interesting metal image of Siva as Bhikshatana (Fig. 1) carrying a vina in his arm, at Valampuram, now called Melapperumpallam (near Kaverippoompattinam). No Silpa text seems to refer to the form of Bhikshatana carrying a vina in his arm and poised elegantly, suggesting movement. The hymns of Appar, addressed to the main

9 மண்ணாகி விண்ணாகி மலையுமாகி
வயிரமுமாய் மாணிக்கந் தானே யாகிக்
கண்ணாகி கண்ணுக்கோர் மணியு மாகிக்
கலையாகிக் கலைஞானந்தானே யாகிப்
பெண்ணாகிப் பெணணுக்கோ ராணுமாகி
பிரளயத்துக்கப்பாலோ ரண்டமாகி
எண்ணாகி எண்ணுக்கோ ரெழுத்துமாகி
எழுஞ்சுடராய் எம்மடிகள் நின்றவாறே. — அப்பர்

10 விரிகதிர் ஞாயிறல்லர் மதியல்லர் வேதவிதியல்லர்
விண்ணும், திரிதரு வாயுவல்லர் செறுதீயுமல்லர்
தெளிநீருமல்லர் தெரியில் — அப்பர்

also மைப்படிந்த கண்ணாளுந் தானுங்கச்சி
மயானத்தான் வார்சடையான் என்னினல்லான்,
ஒப்புடையனல்லன் ஒருவனல்லன் ஒரூரனல்லன்
ஒருவமனில்லி அப்படியும் அந்நிறமும்
அவ்வண்ணமும் அவனருளே கண்ணாகக்
காணின் அல்லால்,
இப்படியன் இந்நிறத்தன் இவனிறைவன்
என்றெழுதிக் காட்டொணாதே — அப்பர்



Fig. 1. Bhikshatana
(Vallampuram, Tanjore District)
Chola Period — 12th Cent. A.D.

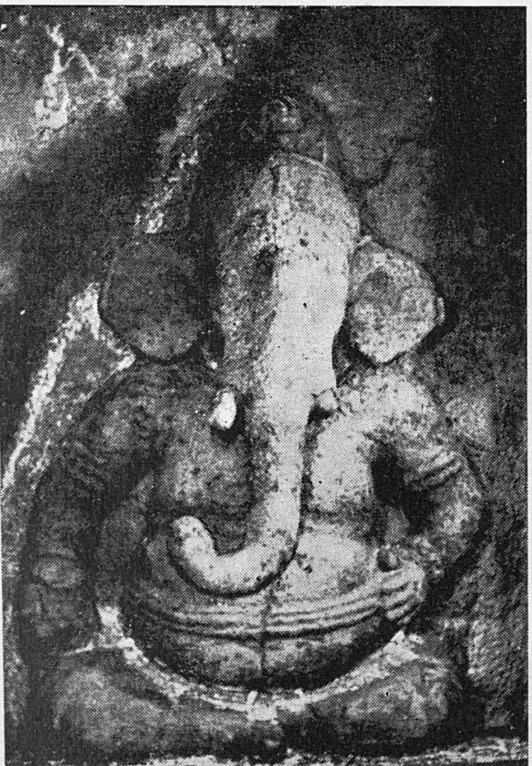


Fig. 2. Genesa
(Pillaiyarpatti, Ramnad District)
Pandya Period — 5th Cent. A.D.



Fig. 3. Ganesa
(Vallam, Chingleput District)
Pallava Period — 7th Cent. A.D.

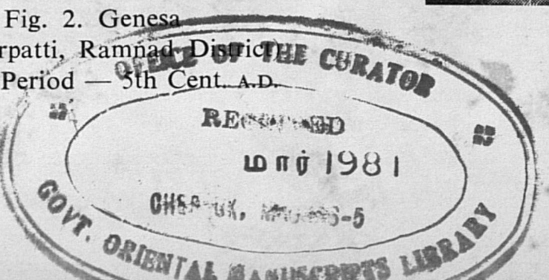




Fig. 4. Natesa
(Kancheepuram, Chingleput District)
Pallava Period — 8th Cent. A.D.



Fig. 5. Natesa
(Kancheepuram, Chingleput District)
Pallava Period — 8th Cent. A.D.





Fig. 6. Natesa (Tirupparankunram, Madurai Dist.)
Pandya Period — 8th Cent. A.D.

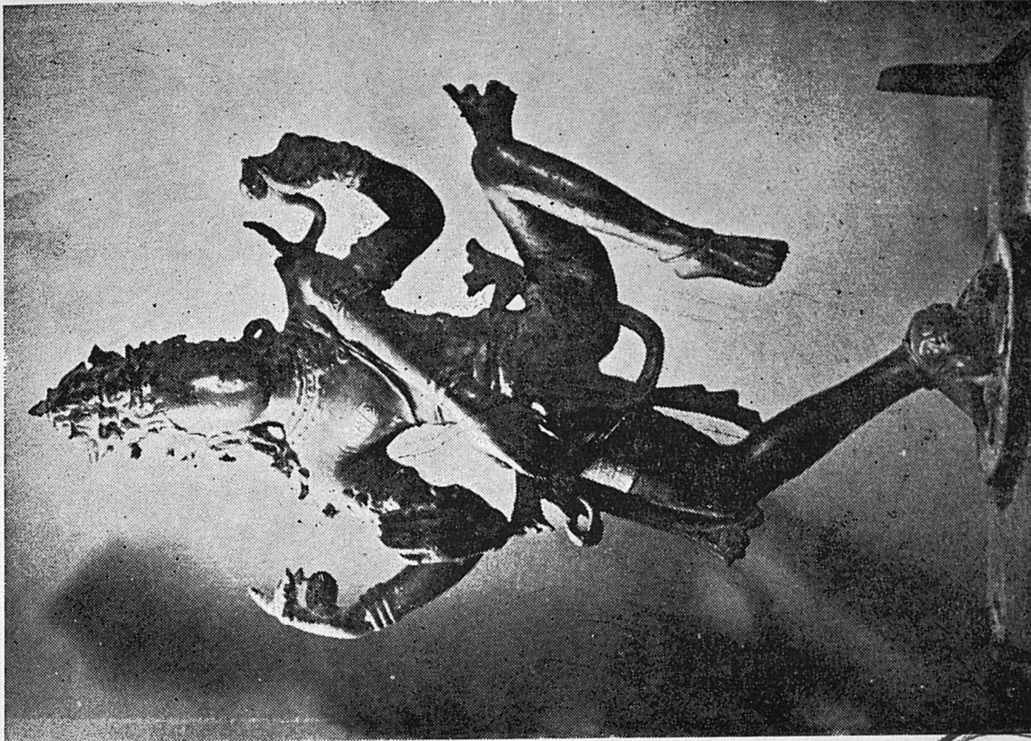


Fig. 8. Natesa
(Kuram, Chingleput District)
Pallava Period — 9th Cent. A.D.

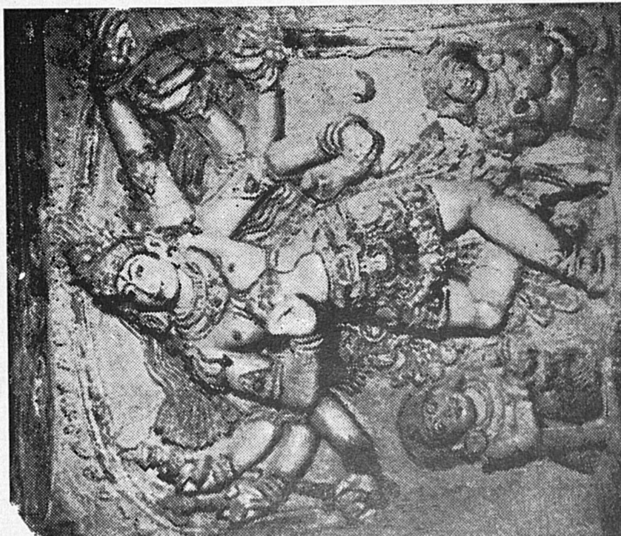


Fig. 7. Natesa
(Kunrakudi, Ramnad District)
Pandya Period — 8th Cent. A.D.

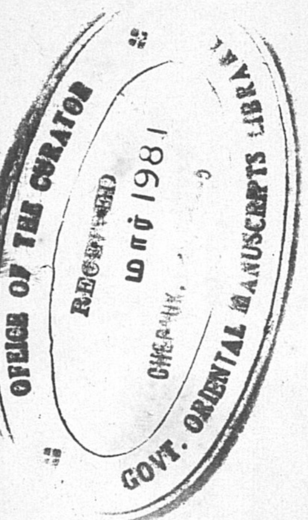




Fig. 9. Natesa
(Kilakkadu, Tanjore District)
Pallava Period — 8th Cent. A.D.

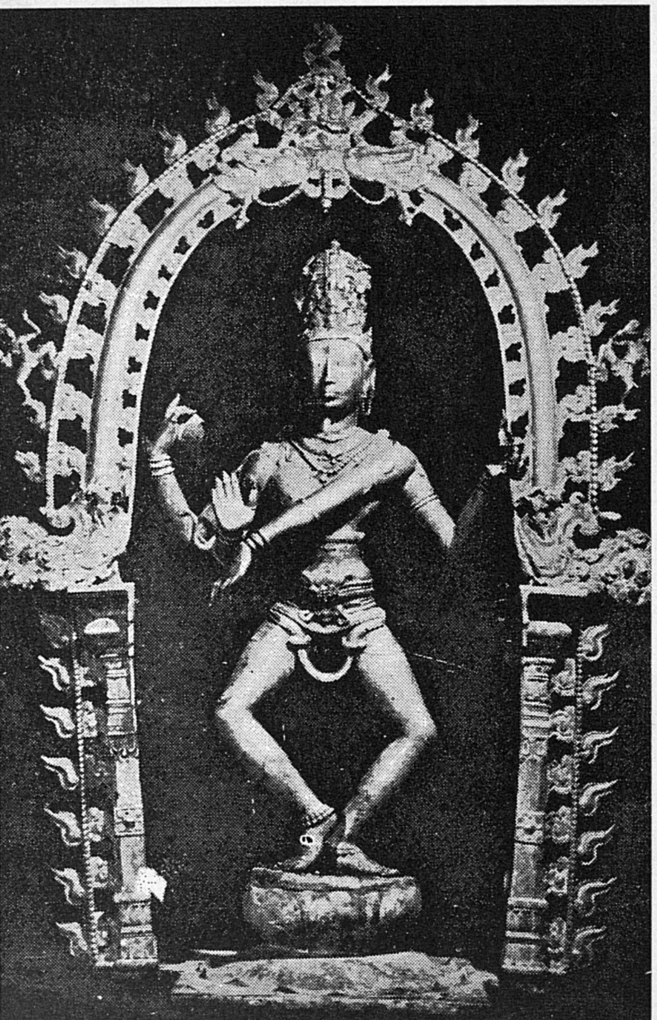


Fig. 10. Natesa
(Kodumudi, Coimbatore District)
Chola Period — 10th Cent. A.D.



Fig. 11. Natesa
(Srinivasanallur, Tiruchi District)
Chola Period — 10th Cent. A.D.



Fig. 12. Natesa
(Tiruvalangadu, Chingleput District)
Chola Period — 10th Cent. A.D.

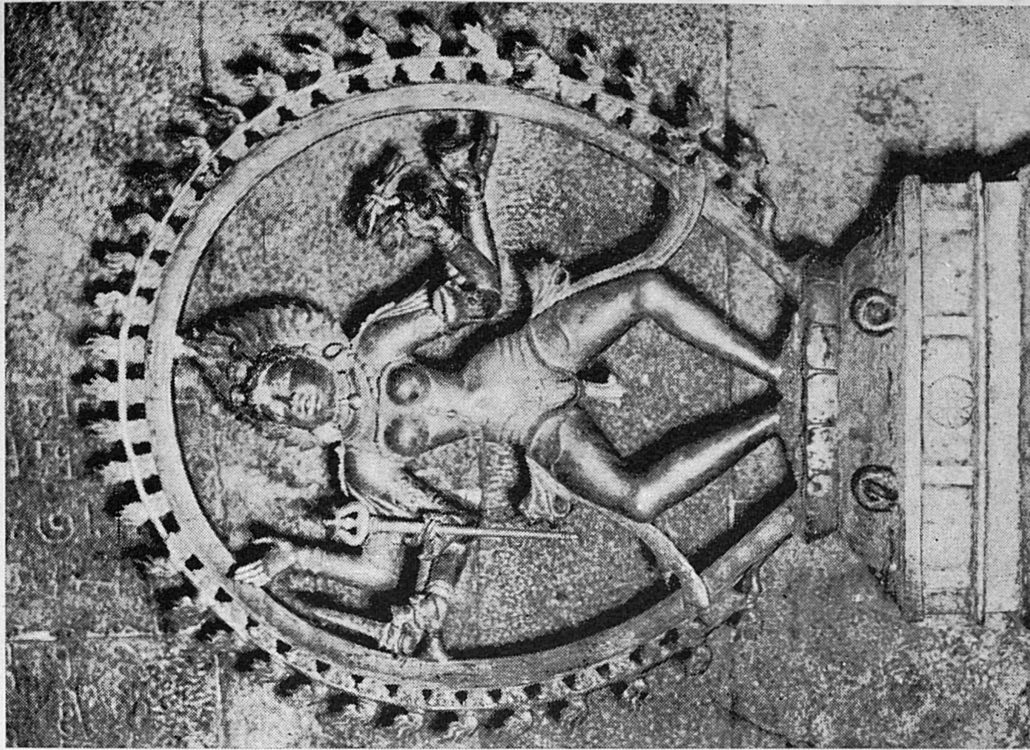
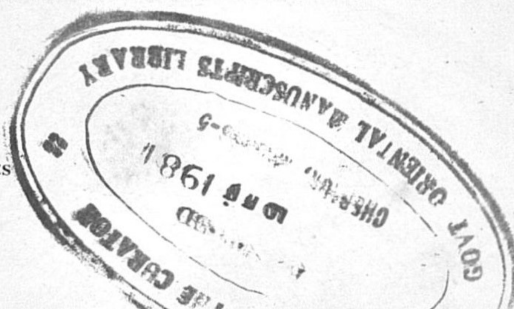


Fig. 13. Kali
(Tiruvalangadu, Chingleput District.)
Chola Period — 10th Cent. A.D.



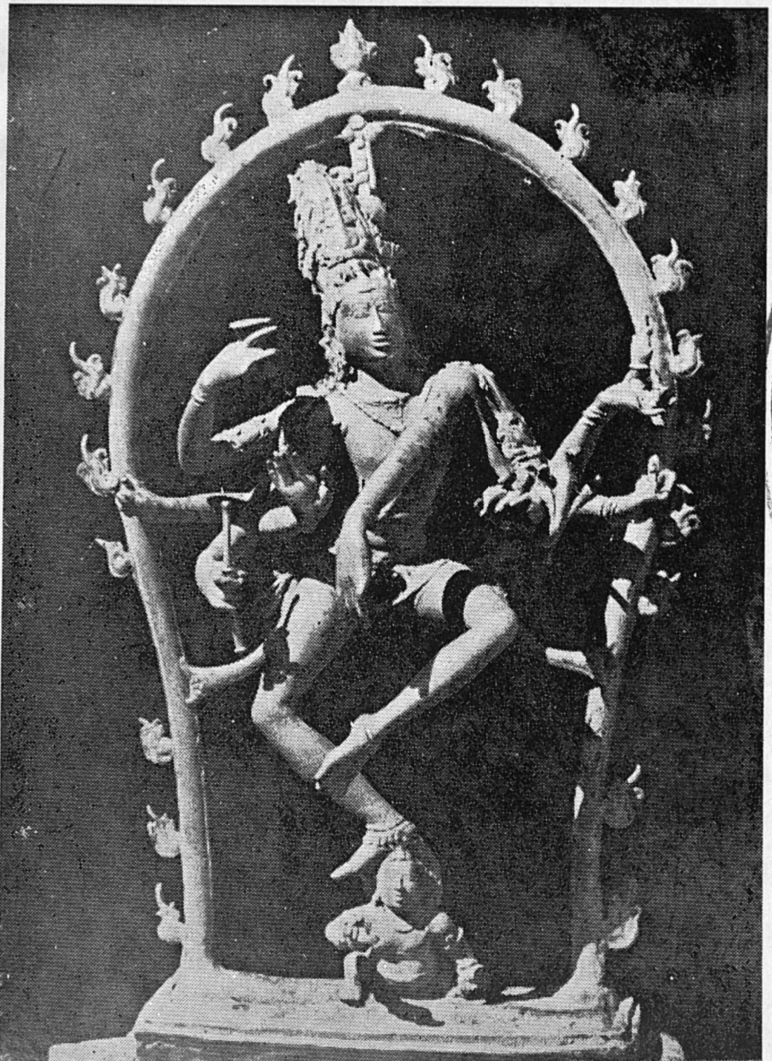


Fig. 14. Natesa
(Nallur, Tanjore District)
Chola Period — 9th Cent. A.D.

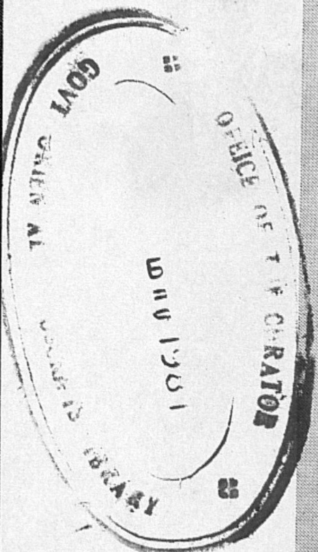




Fig. 14a. Natesa (Adavallan)
(Rajarajeswaram Temple, Tanjore)
Chola Period — 11th Cent. A.D.



Fig. 15. Natesa (Adavallan)

(Tiruvalangadu — Chingeleput District)
Chola Period — 11th Cent. A.D.

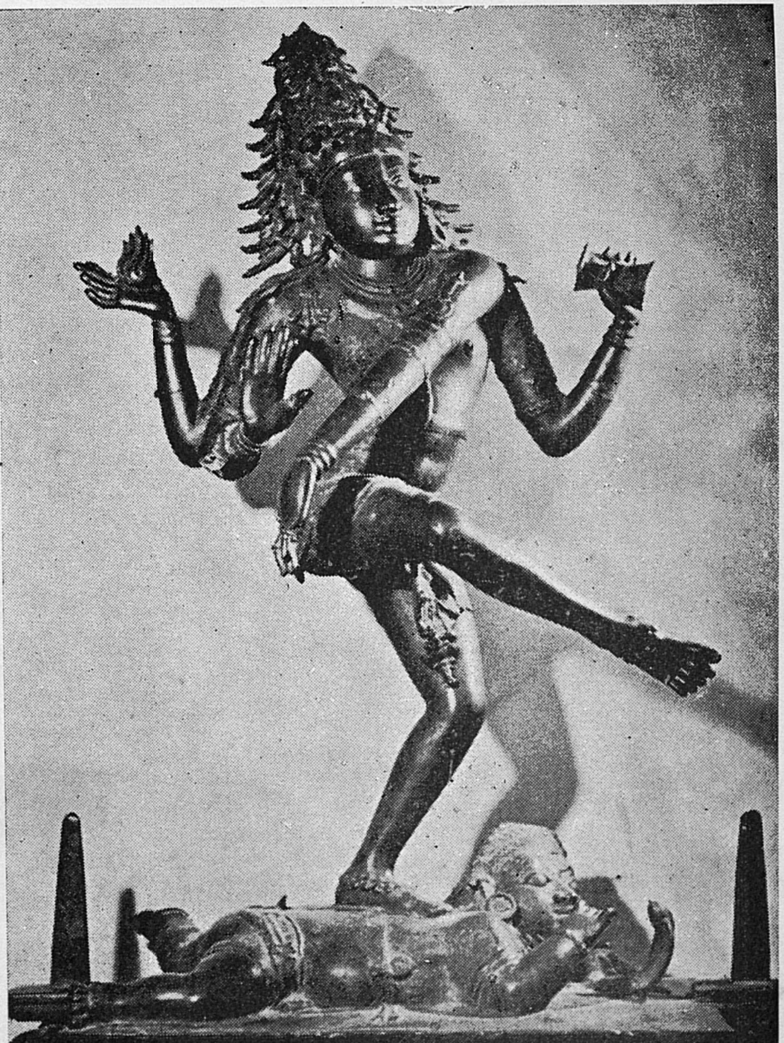
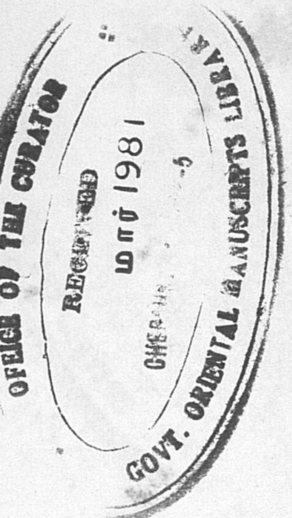


Fig. 16. Natesa — (Leg changed)
(Poruppumettupatti — Madurai District)
Chola Period — 11th Cent. A.D.

PLATE 15



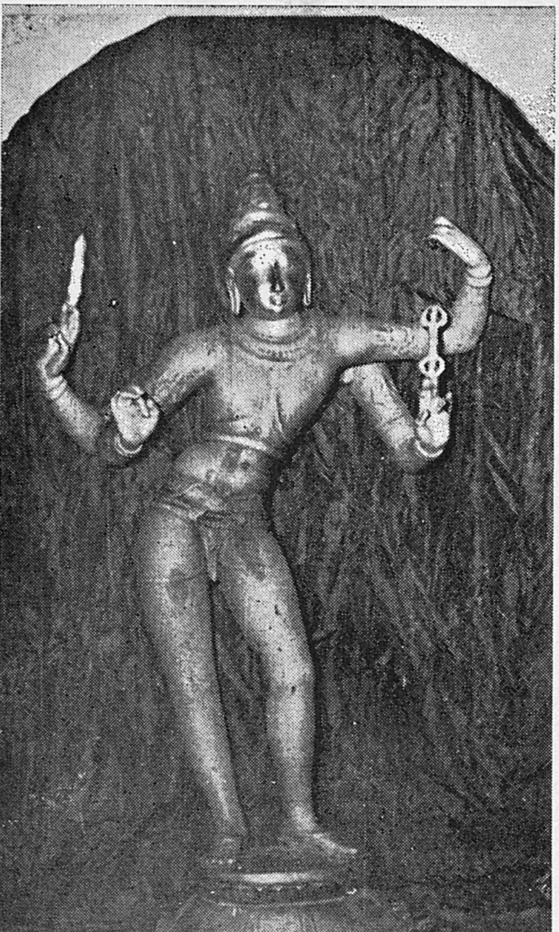


Fig. 17. Subrahmanya
(Tiruvidaikkazhi, Tanjore District)
Chola Period — 11th Cent. A.D.

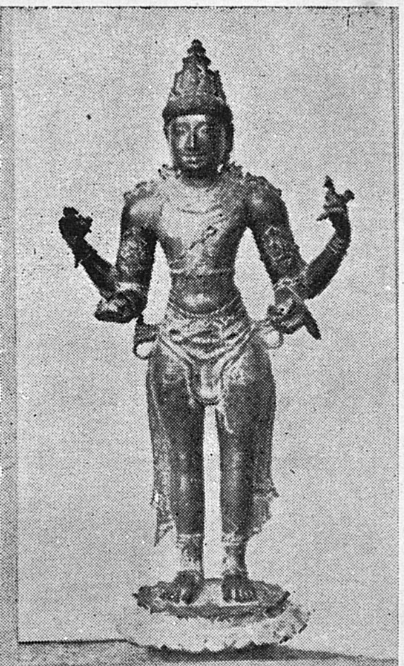


Fig. 18. Subrahmanya
(Gangaikondacholapuram
Tiruchi District)
Chola Period — 11th Cent. A.D.



Fig. 19. Tamil Thaai
Kamban Kazhagam
Karaikkudi

deity of Valampuram, give a vivid description of Siva as Bhikshatana,[11] moving around with a vina in his arms. Undoubtedly the verse of Appar has served as the *dhyāna sloka* for making this image. An inscription in the temple, in the 8th regnal year of Rajadhi Raja II, refers to a metal image of *Vaṭṭaṇai Kāṭṭa Vantha Nāyakar.* The term, *Vaṭṭaṇai Kaṭṭa Vantha Nāyakar,* is very significant since it has been adopted from the *Devaram* hymns of Appar.

It is interesting to mention that the image of Nataraja is referred to in inscriptions as *Ādavallār.* The Chola King, Raja Raja I named even the weights and measures as *Adavallār.* The Nataraja image is also referred to as *Koothadum Devar* in some inscriptions. Both the terms, *Adavallar* and *Koothadum Devar* are derived from Appar's *Devaram.* There is no inscription which refers to the dancing form of Siva as Nataraja. Further, inscriptions in the Tamil country refer to the ewes gifted to the temples as those that never grow old or die, *Sāva Moovap Perādu.* The terms seem to have been derived from Appar who refers to Lord Siva as *Sāvā Moovā Singam.* The pleasing description of Durga[12] in *Silappadikaram* seems to have served as a *dhyana sloka* for carving Durga images in later times. Thus it is evident that the literature of the land has profoundly influenced the iconographic concepts of the Tamil country.

A comparative study of Tamil literature with the Silpa texts and the actual specimens is necessary to understand and appreciate the art of Tamil Nad. It is proposed to take the iconographical concepts of

11 கறுத்ததொரு கண்டத்தர் காலன் வீழக்
காலினால் காய்ந்துகந்த காபாலியார்,
முறித்ததொரு தோலுடுத்து முண்டஞ்சாத்தி
முனிகணங்கள் புடைசூழ முற்றந்தோறும்,
தெறித்ததொரு வீணையராய்ச் செல்வர் தம்வாய்ச்
சிறுமுறுவல் வந்தெனது சிந்தை வௌவ,
மறித்தொரு கால் நோக்காதே மாயம் பேசி
வலம்புரமே புக்கங்கே மன்னினாரே. — அப்பர்

பட்டுடுத்துப் பவளம்போல் மேனியெல்லாம்
பசுஞ்சாந்தம் கொண்டணிந்து பாதம் நோவ
இட்டெடுத்து நடமாடி இங்கே வந்தார்க்
கெவ்வூரீர் எம்பெருமான் என்றேன் ஆவி
விட்டிடு மாறதுசெய்து விரைந்து நோக்கி
வேறோர் பதிபுகப் போவார்போல
வட்டணைகள் படநடந்து மாயம்பேசி
வலம்புறமே புக்கங்கே மன்னினாரே. — அப்பர்

12 மதியின் வெண்டோடு சூடுஞ்சென்னி
நுதல் கிழித்துவிழித்த விமையா நாட்டத்துப்
பவள வாய்ச்சி தவளவா ணகைச்சி
நஞ்சுண்டு கறுத்த கண்டி வெஞ்சினத்
தரவு நாண்பூட்டி நெடுமலை வளைத்தோள்,
துளையெயிற் றுரகக் கச்சுடை முலைச்சி
வளையுடைக்கையிற் சூலமேந்தி
கரியி னுரிவைப் போர்த்தணங்காகிய
வரியி னுரிவை மேகலையாட்டி
சிலம்பும் கழலும் புலம்பும் சீரடி
வலம்படு கொற்றத்து வாய்வாட் கொற்றவை
இரண்டு வேறுருவிற் றிரண்ட தோளவுணன்
தலைமிசை நின்ற தையல்... — சிலம்பு

Ganesa, Subrahmanya and Nataraja and to sketch briefly the evolution of each concept.

GANESA

The earliest reference to Ganesa in literature is found in Saint Appar's *Devaram* where he is mentioned as the dispeller of obstacles,[13] the elephant-faced God[14] and the elephant.[15] Appar's younger contemporary, Tirujnanasambandar, has sung the praise of Lord Ganesa as the Lord of Ganas. Appar Swamigal was a contemporary of the Pallava Emperor Mahendra Varman I, who ruled in the beginning of 7th century A.D. Thus, it is evident that the worship of Ganesa was well established in Tamil land by about A.D. 600.

The study of the Pillaiyarpatti cave in Ramnad District takes the introduction of the Ganesa cult a century or two earlier than Appar. The cave temple is dedicated to Ganesa and Siva, Ganesa is carved in a panel facing the entrance, and Siva is enshrined in the form of a Linga in the *garbha grha.* The Ganesa image (Fig. 2) is shown only with two arms with the proboscis turned to the right; the left arm is placed on the hip and the right holds a *modaka.* The other sculptured panels represent Harihara and Lingodbhava. Unlike the Pallava cave, the orientation of the shrine and the panels in the Pillaiyarpatti cave show clear variations. An inscription found inside the cave on the western side wall is assigned, on palæographical grounds, to the 5th century A.D. by recent writers.[16] If this view is accepted, the Pillaiyarpatti image would be the earliest Ganesa noticed so far in South India.

Next in point of time would be the image of Ganesa (Fig. 3) at Vallam, in Chingleput District. The image of Ganesa and another of Jyeshta are carved flanking the cave, excavated by Mahendra Varman I. Ganesa is shown seated holding a *modaka* in his right arm and placing his left on what appears to be a *yoga danda.* The image is clearly in the Pallava style and may be taken to be contemporary with the cave. The association of Jyeshta as a corresponding deity on the other side is interesting as it is found repeated in later Pandyan caves, as at Srivalapperi. No Ganesa image is introduced inside the rock cut caves of the Pallavas. An image of Ganesa is found carved on the face of a rock at Mamallapuram, near the Pidari Ratha. This sculpture is a four-armed Ganesa of the Valampuri variety, holding a *pasa* and *ankusa* in the upper arms; the lower right arm holds a book-like object and the left an indistinct emblem. This image is ascribed to the period of Rajasimha, in the 8th century A.D. There is a rock cut cave with an image of Ganapati carved

13 குமரனும் விக்கின விநாயகனும்

14 அறுமுகற்கு அப்பன் காண் ஆனை முகற்கு அப்பன் காண்.

15 கணபதி யென்னும் களிறும்

16 Sri R. Nagaswamy, *Artibus Asiæ. Vol.* XXXVII, 3. Also Sri I. Mahadevan — *Indian Express,* October 31st, 1965.

on its side wall at Tirugokarnam. On stylistic grounds the cave is assigned to the 7th century A.D. Besides this image in the rock cut cave, there is a Saptamatrika panel carved on the side face of the same rock where Ganesa is shown heading the group. It may be mentioned that in all the Saptamatrika panels Ganesa is portrayed first.

In the temple of Kailasanatha at Kanchi, built by Rajasimha, Ganesa is not shown as a *Devakoshta* figure. But he is found in the south-eastern corner of the *prakara*, in a small cell, bearing the general features as found at Mamallapuram. This is interesting, since Ganapati sculptures are enshrined in south-eastern *devakoshta*s in later temples. This is obviously to facilitate the devotee offering his prayers first to Ganesa as he starts his *pradakshina*. As will be noticed later, the *pradakshina* stands for *omkara* at the head of which stands Ganapati. Ganesa is again shown in the Saptamatrika group in the same temple. Here he is shown with four arms and with his trunk turned to the right. In the same temple, Ganesa is also shown as the central figure of the *makara torana*s, over the niches. Though the Somaskanda group is often found repeated in this temple, Ganesa is not portrayed in the company of Siva and Parvati, as found in the sculptures of Western India.

The lower rock cut cave at Tiruchi is ascribed to the 8th century A.D. The cave is interesting inasmuch as it represents all the main deities found in a temple. Thus we have Siva, Vishnu, Ganesa, Subrahmanya, Surya, Brahma and Durga. The first two are carved in separate shrines facing each other, and the rest are found in a row at the back wall. Here Ganesa is shown standing with four arms and accompanied by attendants. In Cave I of Kunnakkudi, Subrahmanya and Ganesa are shown flanking the cave. In Cave II, he resembles the Pillaiyarpatti image without a crown. At the Tirupparankunram cave near Madurai, Vishnu, Subrahmanya, Ganesa, Durga and Siva are carved in separate shrines. Since these sculptures have been plastered in recent times, it is not possible to assess the original features. The cave temple at Tirupparankunram is also assigned to about 8th century A.D. In later times various forms of Ganesa were conceived and worshipped.

NATARAJA

The *Ananda Tandava* form of Siva, which has been rightly acclaimed as one of the best art concepts of the world, is the contribution of the Tamil *sthapati*s. When this concept took concrete shape is a question that fascinates art historians. It is difficult to assign this mode to any particular period. Many concepts and factors seem to have contributed to the crystallization of the *Ananda Tandava* mode.

ORIGIN

Though the Sangam classics make no mention of the dance of Siva, *Silappadikaram*, a post-Sangam work, bears specific references to Siva

as the dancer. Among the eleven dances performed by various gods, the dance performed by Siva was called *Kodukotti*. 'When the three cities of the asuras were set ablaze, the Lord is said to have performed the *Kodukotti* with Parvati standing to his side'.[17] The same work gives a graphic description of Siva's dance referred to as *Kotticchedam*.[18] 'As Siva started dancing *Kotticcheda*, jingling sound emanated from his *padasaras*. The *udukkai* on his rosy hand gave the rythmic beats. His eyes bestowed benign showers. The matted hairs whirled around in all directions. Engrossed in the beauty of the dance, the daughter of Himavan stood motionless.' The dances, *Kodukotti* and *Kotticchedam* mentioned in *Silappadikaram* are identical. The description of *Kotticchedam* has profoundly influenced later writers and artists.

The concept that Siva performs his dance at the burning ground surrounded by imps[19] is reflected in the verses of Karaikkal Ammaiyar, who is said to have lived in the 5th century A.D. Siva's association with the burning ground,[20] his evening dance called *anthi natanam*[21] or *sandhya tandava* and the *tandava* which he performed with the leg thrown above[22] are graphically portrayed by Karaikkal Ammai. It is evident that by the 5th century A.D. Siva as a master dancer had been well recognized in the Tamil country.

This culminated in the glorification of the concept by Appar in the beginning of the 7th century A.D. He sings the beauties of Siva's dance in every *pathikam*. Appar's hymns were the main source of inspiration for visualizing many forms of Siva, particularly the dancing modes. By the time of Appar, Tillai had assumed great importance. Iyadigal Kadavarkon (identified with Simha Varman, grandfather of Mahendra I) has sung his "Kshetrakkovai" in which Tillai is given the place of honour.

In the *Koil Padigam*, Appar enumerates the important attributes

17 திரிபுரமெறியத் தேவர் வேண்ட
எரிமுகப் பேரம்பேவல் கேட்ப,
உமையவள் ஒரு திறனாக ஓங்கிய
இமையவனாடிய கொடுகொட்டியாடலும் — சிலம்பு

18 திருநிலைச் சேவடி சிலம்புவாய் புலம்பவும்,
பரிதரு செங்கையிற் படுபறை யார்ப்பவும்,
செங்கண் ஆயிரந் திருக்குறிப்பு அருளவும்.
செஞ்சடை சென்று திசை முகமலம்பவும்,
பாடகம் பதையாது, சூடகம் துலங்காது
மேகலை ஒலியாது மென்முலையசையாது
கார் குழையாடாது மணிக்குழலவிழாது
உமையவள் ஒரு திறனாக வோங்கிய
இமையவனாடிய கொட்டிச் சேதம் — சிலம்பு

19 பெண்பேய்
தங்கியலறியுலறு காட்டில்
தாழ்சடை யெட்டுத் திசையும் வீசி
அங்கங்குளிர்ந்தனலாடு மெங்கள் அப்பன். — காரைக்கால் அம்மை

20 ஈமமிடு சுடு காட்டகத்தே
ஆகங்குளிர்ந்தனலாடு மெங்கள் அப்பன் — காரைக்கால் அம்மை

21 அந்தி நிருத்தம் அனல் கையேந்தி
அழகனாடுமே. — காரைக்கால் அம்மை

22 காலுயர் வட்டணை இட்டு நட்டம். — காரைக்கால் அம்மை

and concepts of the Nataraja form. *Sirrambala* where Siva's dance is performed has a pure copper roofing.[23] Siva's right leg wearing *kalal*[24] is planted on Muyalaka.[25] The Lord is clad in the skin of a black deer[26] and tiger's hide.[27] He bears the crescent moon on His *jatas*[28] and the fire in His arms.[29] Snake is dancing with anger;[30] the scarf on His waist flutters,[31] as Siva dances at Perumparrapuliyar.[32] Charming indeed are His eyebrows; captivating is the smile on His lips. The human existence would be of no use if the lifted legs are not perceived even once. Nothing[33] in the world can equal the hand of hope which lovingly bestows grace", says Appar. As we peruse the hymns of Appar[34, 35] we are inclined to believe that Appar has visualized the Nataraja form, as we see it today in the metal images. The *Nathantha* concept of Nataraja cannot, therefore, be later than the 7th century A.D. The two verses of Appar, *Kunitha puruvamum* and *Onri irrundu ninaimingal* sum up the physical and metaphysical concepts of Nataraja. A greater emphasis on the metaphysical aspects of *Ananda tandava* is reflected in the *Tirumantiram* of Tirumoolar. Sundaramurti Nayanar is said to have lived in the last decade of the 8th century A.D. In his *Tiruttonda Thogai,* Sundaramurti refers to Tirumoolar and so Tirumoolar should be taken to have preceded Sundaramurti Nayanar. The *Tirumantiram* of Tirumoolar gives in detail the metaphysical concept of Nataraja. Thus by the beginning of the 9th century A.D. the concept of Nataraja and been well codified in devotional literature.

23 தூய செம்பொன்னினால் எழுதி மேய்ந்த
சிற்றம்பலக் கூத்தன்... — அப்பர்

24 ஆளவுடைக் கழற்சிற்றம்பலத்தரன்
ஆடல். — அப்பர்

25 தருக்கழிய முயலகன் மேல் தாள் வைத்தார். — அப்பர்

26 கருமானின் உரியதளே உடையாவீக்கி... —அப்பர்

27 புலியுரியதளனார் தாம். —அப்பர்

28 ஒளிநிலா எரிக்கும் சென்னி. — அப்பர்

29 கையெரி வீசி நின்று கனலெறி ஆடுமாறே. — அப்பர்

30 கதத்ததோரரவமாட, — அப்பர்

31 உந்தியின் மேலசைத்த கச்சு. — அப்பர்

32 —தில்லையுட் சிற்றம்பலத்து நட்டம், — அப்பர்

33 என்று வந்தாய் என்னும் எம்பெருமான் தன் திருக்குறிப்பு. — அப்பர்

34 கருமானின் உரியதளே உடையாவீக்கி
கனைகழல்கள் கலந்தொலிப்ப அனல் கையேந்தி
வருமானத்திரள் தோள்கள் மட்டித்தாட
வளர்மதியஞ் சடைக்கணிந்து மானேர் நோக்கி
அருமான வான்முகத்தாளமர்ந்து காண
அமரர் கணம் முடிவணங்க ஆடுகின்ற
பெருமானை பெரும் பற்றப்புலியூரானை
பேசாத நாளெல்லாம் பிறவா நாளே—

35 சாட எடுத்தது தக்கன்றன் வேள்வியிற் சந்திரனை
வீட எடுத்தது காலனை நாரணன் நான்முகனும்
தேட எடுத்தது தில்லையுட் சிற்றம்பலத்து நட்டம்
ஆட எடுத்திட்ட பாதமன்றே நம்மை ஆட்கொண்டதே. —அப்பர்

36 தடவரைகளேழுமாய் காற்றாய் தீயாய்
தண்விசும்பாய்த் தண் விசும்பின் உச்சியாகிக்
கடல் வலயஞ் சூழ்ந்ததொரு ஞாலமாகிக்
காண்கின்ற கதிரவனும் மதியுமாகி
குடமுழவச்சதி வழியே அனல் கையேந்திக்
கூத்தாட வல்ல குழகனாகி. — அப்பர்

IN ART

It would be interesting to notice briefly the representation of Nataraja sculptures upto the 9th century A.D. The earliest representation of Nataraja is seen on a pillar in an excavated cave at Siyamangalam, ascribed to Mahendravarman I. The sculpture is carved in bas-relief and represents Siva dancing with four arms. The position of the legs resembles the *Ananda tandava* mode, but the lower left arm is in extended pose and not shown across the body, as in the *Gajahasta* form.

Apart form this sculpture, there is no Nataraja panel carved in any of the excavated caves of the Pallavas. In the upper storey of the Dharmaraja Ratha, there is a sculpture of the dancing Siva with an attendant, identified as Tandu, standing by his side. Though the rock cut caves of the Pallavas are devoid of Nataraja panels, the structural temples built by Rajasimha and his son, Mahendra III, show a unique dance in which Siva, with many arms, performs the *samhara tandava.* Parvati is shown either seated or standing by the side, witnessing the dance. It is one of the finest dancing forms of Siva (Fig. 4), repeated very often, in the period of Rajasimha. It is found in the subsidiary shrines around the main *garbha grha* of the Kailasanatha temple and in the dedicatory temple built at the entrance by Rajasimha's queens. Besides this, the Kailasanatha temple also carries an *urdhva tandava* form of dance. In one of the side walls of the Muktesvara temple there is a representation of Siva (Fig. 5) dancing with one leg placed on the knee and the other on the shoulder of a giant.

In the Pandya country, Nataraja panels are noticed in the excavated caves at Tirupparankunram, Kunrakkudi and Tirumalpuram. At Tirupparankunram Siva (Fig. 6) is shown in the central panel dancing on the back of Apasmara with four arms. The lower arms are held similar to the *ananda tandava* mode, while the upper right bears *agni* and the left holds a *vrshadhvaja.* The bull on the *vrshadhvaja* is shown standing on a long stem.

In the right panel is shown Parvati standing elegantly by the side of a Nandi, resting her right arm on a feminine dwarf and holding a *nilotapala* on the left. Seated near her leg is Nandi playing a *maddhalam.* A gana is shown playing a long flute. On the top of the panel are shown Brahma, Vishnu and probably Indra. In the left panel, the dance of Kali and other attendants are portrayed, but this has been obscured by later buildings.

At Kunrakudi, Siva is shown dancing (Fig. 7) on the ground with many arms, but as the sculpture has been plastered in recent times the original features have been obscured. At Tirumalpuram, Siva is shown only with four arms dancing on the ground with one of the left arms extended away from the body. These three panels are assigned to the 8th century A.D. The monolithic temple of the Pandyas at Kazhugumalai, however, does not bear any dancing form of Siva.

The Natesa from Kuram (Fig. 8), now in the Madras Museum is shown with the knee lifted high (*urdhva janu*) holding a snake in his upper left arm. The dwarf at the foot is shown facing the front. The image has Pallava features and is assigned to 9th century A.D. Somewhat earlier in point of time is a rare image of Nataraja (Fig. 9) from Kilakkadu dancing on the arm, and the head of a seated gana. Of the four arms, the lower right is held in the *abhaya* pose, while the corresponding left is extended fully, away from the body. The back arms hold the *damaru* and the lower garments bear clear Pallava affinity. The copper image of Natesa from Kodumudi in Coimbatore District represents the *sandhya tandava* (Fig. 10), with no *Apasmara* represented at its foot. The Koranganatha temple at Srinivasanallur, built by Aditya I, has an interesting Natesa carved in low relief in one of the pilasters. Siva (Fig. 11) is shown with four arms holding the *damaru* and the *trisula* in the back arms. The front arms are held similar to the Kilakkadu figure, with the right in the *abhaya* pose and the left fully extended. The right leg is lifted with its knee turned outward in the *kshipta jangha* pose. Nandi is playing a *kudamuzha*, and a monkey-faced *gana* plays the cymbals. The bull is shown peeping out eagerly from the side. Another image of Nataraja from Chamakkur is interesting with its legs crossed and both the arms hanging by its sides. Thus we have various forms of Natesa depicted till about the 10th century A.D.

There is a beautiful copper image of Nataraja at Tiruvalankadu (Fig. 12) with its left leg and one of the left arms thrown high.[37] It is an eight-armed figure with one pair of arms as in the *ananda tandava* mode. This image and the accompanying image of Kali (Fig. 13) with eight arms, looking up bewildered,[38] have been made clearly after the hymns of Karaikkal Ammai, addressed to the presiding deity of the place.

The Nataraja from Nallur dancing on the head of a *gana*, with eight arms, is an important landmark in the evolution of the *Ananda tandava* mode (Fig. 14). It is for the first time that we notice both the left arm and the left leg shown across the body resembling the *Ananda tandava* form. From the accession of Raja Raja I, the image of Nataraja (*Ananda tandava*) (Fig. 15) came to be invariably installed in all Saivite temples. In some of the temples built by Sembian Madevi, in the last decade of the 10th century A.D., the sculpture of Nataraja is represented in the *devakoshtas* like Dakshinamurthi, etc. At the Araneri Isvara temple of Tiruvarur, built about A.D. 987, the Nataraja sculpture is represented twice in the *devakoshtas*. In some of the big temples like Tanjore and Tiruvenkadu two or three metal images of Nataraja are mentioned in inscriptions. A separate south-facing shrine has been added in

37 மண்டல நின்றங்குளாலமிட்டு
வாதித்து வீசியெடுத்த பாதம்
அண்டமுற நிமிர்ந்தாடு மெங்கள் அப்பன். —காரைக்கால் அம்மை

38 மாயனுட மலையான் மகளும் மருண்டு நோக்குமே. ,,

later times to the temple complex for housing Nataraja images.

The earliest inscriptional reference to a metal image of Natesa is found in the closing years of Parantaka I (A.D. 950) where the image is referred to as *Koothadum Devar*. Raja Raja I called it *Ādavallan*, a term employed by Appar Swamigal to denote Siva as a master dancer. In subsequent inscriptions it is referred to either as *Koothadum Devar* or *Ādavallan*.

In Pallava sculptures, the dancing form of Siva is shown with six or eight arms and portrayed in various forms. Further, Siva is shown dancing mostly on the ground except in one instance where He is shown dancing on a giant figure, but not on a dwarf. In this panel Siva's left leg is shown on the knee of the giant (*bhuta*) and the right leg is placed on his shoulders. It is possible that this giant figure is the personification of ignorance, Muyalaka.

In the Pandya area, Siva is shown dancing in various poses, with four or more arms. At Tirupparankunram He is shown dancing on the dwarf, while at other places He is shown dancing on the ground. In none of the stone sculptures is the *prabha* (*tiruvasi*) represented. Probably the niche in which the sculpture was enshrined itself served the purpose of the *prabha*. From the middle of the 10th century A.D. the *Ananda tandava* mode is noticed in stone and copper in the Chola country.

The Pandyan genius invented a similar theme by effecting a change in the *Ananda tandava* mode with the right leg and the right arm shown across the body, instead of the left (Fig. 16).

METAPHYSICAL

Siva is the Lord of Dance. It is difficult to enumerate the various dances performed by Him. The rhythmic movements of cosmos are the underlying concept of all the dances performed by Him. Some of the dances, however, have received greater admiration.

The first is the *Sandhya tandava*, performed by the Lord to a divine chorus on the Himalayas. A graphic description of this dance is found in *Siva Pradosha Stotra*. 'Placing Gowri on a golden throne, Sulapani dances, as Laxshmi sang divine music, accompanied by Saraswati on the vina. Indra played the flute, Brahma beat the cymbals, while Vishnu played the *maddala*. The Devas, Gandharvas, Kinnaras, Yakshas, Siddhas, Caranas and others witnessed the glorious dance.' This form is referred to by Kararikkal Ammai as the great evening dance.

In the *ugra* aspect, Siva performs the *Samhara tandava* (the dance of cosmic dissolution) as Parvati dances the *Srishti tandava* (the dance of cosmic creation). Around them dance the *Bhutaganas*. The place of this dance is said to be the cremation ground. The *ugra tandava* of Siva is often differentiated from the *sandhya tandava* in later literature. But

39 அந்தியும் பகலும் ஆட அடியிணை
அலசும் கொல்லோ. — அப்பர்

the *sandhya tandava*[40] is said by Karaikkal Ammaiyar in her *Tiruvalangattu Padigam,* to have been performed in the cremation ground. Karaikkal Ammai further states that 'as Siva danced in the burning ground Parvati gazed at Him bewildered'. The other aspects of Siva mentioned by Karaikkal Ammai are that Natesa wears the skins of the spotted stag[41] and tiger. He bears the moon and the *parasu*[42] in his hands. On his matted hair may be seen the moon;[43] around his waist is found the coiled serpent.[44] On his sacred feet are *silambu,*[45] from which emanate resonant sounds; on his arms are found serpents;[46] the lower locks of hair whirl around in all the eight directions.[47]

The third is the *Ananda tandava* or the *Nathantha tandava* performed by the Lord at Tillai (Chidambaram), the centre of the Universe. This dance was performed at Darukavana to quell the pride of the sages and repeated at Tillai for the benefit of Patanjali and Vyaghrapada. This dance represents Siva placing His right leg on the dwarf and dancing with the left lifted up. The lower right arm holds the *abhaya mudra* and the left arm is in the *gajahasta* form. The upper right arm holds. the *udukkai* and the left bears the fire. Around the Lord is shown the *Tiruvazi.* The *Nathantha tandava* is also called *Pancha kritya tandava,* representing creation, protection, destruction, veiling and salvation; *srshti, sthiti, samhara, tirobhava* and *anugraha.* These acts are considered to be the individual functions of Brahma, Vishnu, Rudra, Mahesvara and Sadasiva.

Siva's dance pervades the entire universe, moving as it were through earth, water, fire, air and ether. Siva as Rudra is the Lord of Cosmic destruction. What does He destroy? He destroys the *anava,* the ego in the heart of the soul. The heart where the ego has been burnt to ashes is in reality the cremation ground, where Siva performs his *tandava.* So we call him *Sudalai Ādi.*

Siva's *ananda tandava* also stands for *Namassivaya*, the *Pancaksharamantra.* Umapati Siva in his *Unmai Vilakkam,* states that the drum stands for creation, the *abhaya hasta* for protection, the fire represents destruction and the leg on the dwarf veils the *anava,* while the lifted leg assures salvation.

The *prabha* around Nataraja stands for the shape of *omkara.* The *Tiruvasi* is said to represent nature's dance, while the dance of Siva in the centre of the *tiruvasi* represents the *turiya* or the fourth *akshara* of

40 அந்தியில் மாநடமாடு மெங்கள் அப்பன். — காரைக்கால் அம்மை

41 புள்ளியுழை மான் தோலொன்றுடுத்துப்
புலித்தோல் பியற்கிட்டுப் பள்ளியிடமும்
அதுவேயாகப் பரமனுடுமே ,,

42 கொடு வெண்மழுவும் பிறையுந்ததும்ப ,,

43 சூடுமதியஞ்சடை மேலுடையான்— ,,

44 ஆடும் அரவம் அரையில் ஆர்த்த அடிகள் ,,

45 கழலொலியோசை சிலம்பொலிப்ப ,,

46 ஆடும் அரவப்புயங்கன்— ,,

47 தாழ்சடையெட்டு திசையும் வீசி. ,,

the *omkara.* "The essential significance of Siva's dance is threefold. First, it is the image of His Rhythmic Play as the source of all movement within the Cosmos which is represented by the Arch. Secondly, the purpose of His dance is to release the countless souls of men from the snare of illusion. Thirdly, the place of the Dance, Chidambaram, the centre of universe is within the Heart", says Ananda Commaraswamy in his *Dance of Siva.*

"No artist of today, however great, could more exactly or more wisely create an image of that energy which science must postulate behind all phenomena."

"But it may not be out of place to call attention to the grandeur of this conception itself as a synthesis of science, religion and art. How amazing the range of thought and sympathy of those rishi-artists who first conceived such a type as this, affording an image of reality, a key to the complex tissue of life, a theory of nature, not merely satisfactory to a single clique or race, nor acceptable to the thinkers of one country only, but universal in its appeal to the philospher, the lover, and the artist of all ages and all countries."

SUBRAHMANYA

The place of Lord Muruga in Tamil language and culture is well known and need not be discussed here. The *Paripadal* and the *Tirumurugarruppadai* of Nakkirar give a graphic description of Muruga, His attributes, abodes and other details. These descriptions have served as the *dhyana sloka*s for carving Subrahmanya images in later times.

No sculpture of Subrahmanya image that could be dated before 7th-8th centuries A.D. is noticed so far in South India. There is a sculpture of Subrahmanya in the south-eastern panel of the Dharmaraja Ratha at Mamallapuram where he is shown standing erect (in *Samabhanga*) with four arms, with his upper arms holding an *akshamala* and a lotus and his lower arms in *katyavalambita* and *abhaya* poses. He is shown wearing a thick *upavita* taken over his right arm. A thick garland is taken around over his forehead and at the base of the crown. This is an important characteristic of Subrahmanya sculptures in South India. At the Tirumurti cave, in the same place, Subrahmanya is portrayed in the first cave, shown standing in the *samabhanga* pose with four arms. His upper arms carry a lotus bud and an *akshamala,* and the lower arms are held in the *abhaya* and *katyavalambita* poses. He wears *rudraksha* beads (or, are they the garland of *kadamba* flowers mentioned in Tamil literature?) across his body in the form of a *channavira.* On the top of the panel are shown two *ganas*, while at the bottom are two figures kneeling before the deity. Besides this, Subrahmanya is also represented as a child (Guha or Skhanda) in the Somaskanda group. In this representation, he is always shown seated on the lap of his mother, Parvati,

swinging his arms sportively. This representation of Subrahmanya sporting on the lap of his mother has never been surpassed in subsequent periods either in bronze or in stone. It is seen only in the Pallava sculptures of the early 8th century A.D.

In the structural temples of Rajasimha, Subrahmanya occupies a panel in the northern niche shown standing in the *samabhanga* pose with a *channavira* adorning his body. He is often shown with the *akshamala* and the lotus bud.

In the Pandya area, there are some interesting representations of Subrahmanya. As mentioned earlier, in the lower rock cut cave at Tiruchirapalli, Subrahmanya is shown standing next to Ganesa in the *samabhanga* pose, wearing an *upavita* of beads and the roll garland around his crown, attended by dwarfs and sages. At Kunnakkudi, he is represented only once, flanking cave I. Here he is shown wearing an *upavita*. In the upper arms he holds the *vajra* and the cock, while the lower ones are in the *abhaya* and *katyavalambita* poses. At Anaimalai, near Madurai, there is a separate cave excavated for Subrahmanya as the central deity. This is the only cave known so far solely dedicated to Subrahmanya where he is shown with two arms seated on a pedestal with Valli by his side.

The other cave of the Pandyas where Subrahmanya panel is found is the Tirupparankunram one. In this cave, while Siva and Vishnu face each other, Subrahmanya, Ganesa and Durga are shown in one line. Subrahmanya is shown seated with Devayanai and surrounded by *ganas* and attendants, with an elephant shown below.

At the monolithic temple of Kalugumalai, Subrahmanya is shown seated on the northern side.

In the Early Chola period, Subrahmanya is shown on the *griva* of the *vimanas*, facing east. At Kilaiyur temple in Trichy District he is shown in the *devakoshta* facing east. There are two temples built side by side at this place, facing west. In both the temples, the back niche facing east is allotted to Subrahmanya. In the southern temple he is shown standing wearing a *kanni* around his head. In his upper arms are seen *sakti* and *vajra*. In the northern shrine Subrahmanya is shown seated and bearing similar features.

Among the copper images of Subrahmanya, only a few deserve special mention. One image of Subrahmanya from Tandanthottam village is an early specimen, though it is conventional in representation. A remarkable image of Subrahmanya from Tiruvidaikkali (Fig. 17) is shown bearing the bow and arrow in one pair of arms and the *vajra* and the *sakti* in the other arms. Subrahmanya with six faces and twelve arms is seen at Tirucchendur. The metal image of Subrahmanya, bearing the *vajra*, the cock, the sword and the shield, now in the Siva temple of Gangaikonda Cholapuram is a remarkable piece of the Chola period, and

was in all probability donated by the Chola Emperor Rajenda I (Fig. 18).

OMKARA AND SHADADHARA

A closer study of the concepts of Ganesa, Subrahmanya and Nataraja will reveal that they stand for *omkara* (*pranava* and *shadathara*), the six of yogic bases. Ganesa with his coiled proboscis recalls at once the figure of 'Om'. That Subrahmanya is the essence of *pranava* is well known. We have already noticed that the Tiruvasi in the Nataraja image stands for the shape of 'Om' and the Lord dancing in the centre represents the *turiya* of *ōmkara*. Appar refers to Siva as *Omkara*.

The concept of *Shadadhara*, extolled in yogic theology is also sought to be represented by the images of Ganesa, Subrahmanya and Nataraja. The four arms, the coiled trunk and the crown of the Ganesa icon stand for the six bases, as also the six faces of a Subrahmanya sculpture. In the Nataraja image the upper two arms carry the *damaru* and fire, the head and the two legs touch the *tiruvasi*, and thus form the five bases; the sixth base is indicated by the waist scarf, flowing to the left and touching the *tiruvasi*. This scarf is not only the sixth base of Siva but it also suggests motion. Appar has sung the praises of the waist scarf of Nataraja in his *Koil padigam*.

TAMIL THAAI

Thus various forms of Gods have been conceived and given visual representation. The latest in the series is the conception of 'Tamil Thaai'. She is conceived as the most benign Goddess, occupying a unique place among the languages of the world; whose body is effulgent; who bears the torch of knowledge and whose symbols are dance, music and literature. The visual representation of this concept is seen in the metal image of the Goddess (Fig. 19) now preserved in Karaikudi at Kamban Kazhagam. She is shown seated on a globe with four arms and resting her right leg on a lotus indicating her divinity. On the lower left arm she holds palm leaves which stand for literature. A *yazh* with a curved stem is held across the body with the left arm and this stands for music. The *yazh* in the representation is the celebrated *Sengottu yezh* referred to in Tamil literature and we can now see it at Thirumeyyam Cave Temple. The lower right arm bearing the *Jnana mudra* holds an *akshamala*. The *mudra* of the Goddess stands for the art of dance and drama. The upper right arm holds the torch of knowledge. The white silken garment worn by the Devi falls pleasingly on the globe assuming the shape of Tamil Nad. The ornaments that the Devi wears are those described in Tamil literature. This personification of the Tamil Goddess is an outstanding addition to the iconographic concept of the Tamil country.

THE INFLUENCE OF TAMIL DRAMATIC TRADITION ON SINHALA THEATRE

S. Nadarasa

Ceylon, the Pearl of the Indian Ocean is like a pendant to the vast sub-continent of India which is a projection of the Asiatic land mass. Of its 11 million population a little less than three-fifths are Sinhala and about two-fifths are Tamils inhabiting the northern and eastern parts and the central mountain areas. Big cities like Colombo have a large population of Tamils, a good number of them dispersed along the western seaboard which appears to have been settled by them in large numbers from early times. Though small in numbers and concentrated in the north, east and central hills, their influence culturally politically and otherwise has been a factor that has contributed a large deal to the island civilization. Ceylon is the home of Pure Buddhism, the "Theravada", which shines up to this day by the uninterrupted maintenance of the faith by the Sangha for the last 2500 years. The Dhamma has been treasured by them against all odds and the ravages of time.

The great tolerance preached by the Master, has made Ceylon accommodate various faiths and cultures with an equanimity that is symbolically reflected in the peaceful smile of the seated Sākya Muni.

Tamils with their Hindu cultural links have lived and flourished in this island from times immemorial sharing its spiritual heritage and contributing in a large measure to the milieu of its individual civilization that is Ceylonese, though its main elements are derived from Bhārata, the cradle of Asiatic civilization.

It is not my purpose to trace the various strands of warp and woof that Tamil culture has contributed to the island's civilization. The purpose of this paper is to mention a few aspects regarding the Tamil dramatic tradition and how it has influenced the "Sinhala theatre" from very early times. History will tell us that there have been various ways of contacts India had with Ceylon, sometimes of a militant nature and at other times blowing the peaceful spiritual breeze of friendship, culture and harmony. The earliest invader according to hoary tradition was Ramachandra, whose mission was to restore his spouse Sita from Ravana the musician king of Sri Lanka who set the tradition of abrogating good things from wherever he found them; Ravana fell for his indiscretion

but the kingdom of Lanka was restored to his brother "for eternity", so the legend goes.

Lanka was far-famed for its beautiful cities, gardens and the music of its land.

The Indian dramatic tradition known as Bharata Nātyam found its home exclusively in South India from the dim past and is part and parcel of the culture of the Tamils who are its best exponents today.

According to this tradition which is ascribed to Bharata, the inspired prophet of Eternal Wisdom, Drama is imitation 'Anukriti' which reminds us of Aristotle. To be exact, Bharata uses the word 'Avasthānukriti' which means representation of situations. We can extend this reference to mean situations in life because the aim of Drama has been the four-fold purpose of life: Dharma, Artha, Kama and Moksha, rights and duties, politics, economics and civil life leading towards a final beatitude known as release.

This imitation is not merely a faithful reproduction of reality. Art has a power of creating emotions such as might be aroused by scenes of real life. It is not merely the reflection on a flat mirror that will provide but a poor image without relief, faithful but colourless. The drama is, as it were, a focusing mirror which collects and condenses the coloured ray into a gleam a light and a flame. The seeming realities of life are not real and if represented on the stage will appear false and uninteresting. Drama is an art and as such it transfers the deeper experiences of an artist to the audience. The experience thus transferred is not merely what happens in life but what happens to the artist who witnesses life, his intuition of its mystery. The dramatist raises to a pitch of excitement and interest everyday experiences which in reality would have been but dull and uninteresting. Thus an illusion of truth is presented. The idea is represented by an interesting simile. Art stimulates through illusion like a rope in the dark which is mistaken for a snake and the mind reacts to it (பழுதையைப் பாம்பென்று எண்ணிச் செயற்படுவது போல). Every art orders, selects and concentrates and it is in this sense I think Bharata considers drama as an imitation of life. Fiction expresses a story in prose and the drama must have developed through the art of telling stories to an audience assembled in one place. No doubt the dance may have been associated with rituals and various cults, but the modern Kathākālashepa, i.e. the exposition of religious stories with music and gestures points to the development of drama and folk plays. This brings to our imagination the ancient bards and minstrels who entertained kings and lords with their ballads and panegyrics which we find in the Dānastuties of the *Vedas* and the *Purananuru* collections of the Tamil Sangam period.

The most original and interesting part of the tradition is the theory regarding the aim of Drama, which is to evoke sentiment, the "rasa", a unity of impression, which Tholkappiyar in his *Poruliyal* refers to as

Meyypāṭu. The more appropriate term which we find in Tamilian Aesthetics is "uripporul" the counterpart of Karupporul and Mutharporul the uttīpana and ālambana Vihhāvas of the Sanskrit aestheticians. This aesthetic sensibility consists in the experience of a basic emotion affecting the mind that is completely deindividualized.

This deindividualization is a slow process; as soon as the curtain goes up, an illusion is created; there is self-forgetfulness which is induced by various aids including music; then there is the identification with the hero, assumption of another personality being in touch with the entire situation and getting emotionally affected as the hero, forgetting the assumed personality as well when the basic emotion rises to the climactical point. Thus the aesthetic experience at the Kathartic level is the experience of completely deindividualized self having no other affection than that of the universalized basic emotion. This state of the spectator is compared to a state of Ananda, a bliss as equal to union with the ultimate; the intuitive vision of a Higher Reality.

I do not know whether Aristotle had such views when he propounded the theory of Katharsis, but the effect of Rasa is release, a self-forgetting state where one does not cognize space or time but lives in eternity. This is the view of our Rhetoricians. Drama not merely entertains but deepens our view of life. After witnessing a drama something remains with us. Whether it be a ritual dance or a folk play, whether it be Sakuntala, or Gitagovinda, Harichandra or Kuṭṭalakuravanchi, a Kandyan dance or the Sokari there is an ineffable satisfaction, a sense of the deeper mystery of life; let me quote a line from Maeterlinck: "The mysterious chant of the infinite, the ominous silence of the soul and of God, the murmur of Eternity on the horizon, the destiny or fatality that we are conscious of within us, though by what tokens none can tell."

This is the tradition that has caught the imagination of the courts and the village huts, the shrines and the music halls and we hear the tinkling bells of the dancers through the vast corridors of time from the Ganga to the Mahaveli Ganga, from the Western Ghats to the Far East.

I do not want to go into the details of Bharata's theatre, the origin of Nātya, the dance-drama, its growth, the 108 poses of the Bharata dances, the themes of the ballet, and the interesting dissertation on Abhinaya which within its sweep embraces the spoken word, the dress and props that go to make, what Bharata envisaged, a modern drama; it will extend the scope of my paper to an unwieldy proportion.

Mention is made of this tradition in *Cilappadikāram*, the national epic of the Tamils, a work probably of the 2nd century A.D. where Mādhavi the mother of the famous Manimēkalai, stages her first debut in Bharata Nātya. The author gives a complete picture of the whole scene with all the technical details that one is lead to believe that the tradition has been at its height during this period. The music director, the singer,

the flute player, the harpist, the drummer and all the ensemble that form the orchestra (ஆமந்திரிகை) are detailed and the main types of dances are mentioned. These dances are of two kinds namely "desi" and "marga" (தேசியம், மார்க்கம், வேத்தியல், பொதுவியல்), viz. the folk dance and court dance. A reference is given to Sinhala dance which points to the dance forms of Ceylon. There is the invocatory song by "Thoriya Makalir" which reminds one of Thoriyamangalam of South Indian folk plays and Sinhala dances, the same nomenclature being retained in Sinhala. There is mention of puppet play (பாவைக் கூத்து) which in its modern form is known as "rukadaya" in Sinhala but "Culavamsa" the chronicle of the Sinhalese in describing a festival held by Parakrama Bahu II says that the precincts of the monastery at Sirivaddana were decorated with "rows of figures of Brahma, that danced in lines holding white umbrellas and were beautiful because they were worked by a mechanism, with diverse hued mechanical figures of the gods which moved to and fro with hands folded before the brows". The same description is repeated in Pūjāvaliya, another historical Kāvyaya of the Sinhalese. The Culavamsa also describes how Parakrama Bahu I when he started his system of espionage in the territory of Gajabahu "made such as were practiced in dance and song appear as people who played with leather dolls and the like".

Leather dolls in the puppetry of the Culavamsa reminds one of the Thōrpāvai (தோற்பாவை) mentioned by the commentator of *Cilappadikāram* as one of the dances for amusement. It is interesting to find in *Cilappadikāram* commentary that Sinhalese dance is classed as one of the main divisions of dances that exhibit sentiments through gestures. More of these influences, we shall notice later.

Kalidasa, in his beautiful invocation (nāndi sloka) to the dance drama Malavikāgnimitra mentions his play as marga, the Court play. Kalidasa probably belongs to the 5th Century A.D. Dananjaya in his *Dasarûpaka* a work of the 10th Century speaks of the two types of Desi and Marga dances. Bharata Nātyam, the classical type of dance has in its sweep inspired various types of folk dances like Katha Kali of Malabar and other derivatory folk dances of South India and Ceylon. The Tamil operatic type of drama which is in vogue today in Ceylon and among the Sinhalese appears to be an embellishment of the Kathakali of Malabar which has drawn much of its inspiration from Bharata's *Natya Sastra.* This is popularly known as Nāttukūttu which is popular in various parts of the eastern, western and northern seaboards of Ceylon. The difference being mainly in the themes of the dances, the idiom of speech and certain indigenous embellishments to suit the racial predilections of the groups. In the Hindu areas the themes are mainly from the stories of *Mahābhārata* and *Ramāyanā.*

In the Buddhist areas they are based on Buddhist mythology known as Jataka stories connected with the incidents of Lord Buddha in his

various reincarnations. In Roman Catholic areas the themes are Biblical and Western. The Nãttu Kûttu of Tamil areas have a traditional repertoire of Vilãsams and Nãtakam. The modern Tamil and Sinhala drama has a slightly different story to tell.

There is in the Sinhalese areas a kind of ritual dance known as devil dancing or Bali toyil, Toyil being a corruption of the Tamil word Tholil which has been flourishing in the villages for the purpose of curing diseases and warding off evil effects such as "Asvas", and "Katavas" as in Sinhala (The Nãvûru and Kannûru of the Tamils) coming down from very early times. This dance has its artistic merit and social significance. This reminds one of the "veriattu" and Theivameri Ātum Kūttu (தெய்வ மேறியாடும் கூத்து) found in the *Cilappadikāram* and Sangam works of the Tamils. These are religious dances to propitate gods and Yakkas. The Atharva Veda tradition of magic and rituals are the earliest one could think of in written documents regarding this type of rituals and magic. This dance is invariably connected with magic and witchcraft which during the passage of time has influenced other types of dances of the Sinhalese and even contributed to the development of Sinhala tradition of dances. This dance form reminds one of Kathakali the histrionic art of Malabar, "a tapestry of complicated design through which is woven the thread of occultism. Though Kathakali dates back but a few hundred years it is obviously derived from primitive worship and witchcraft." This type of dancing like the Sinhala and Tamil Nadagam goes on throughout the night and ends with mimetic vicarious nuances by the village priest (who is quite different from the Buddhist clergy) who exorcises devils who have afflicted the patient with various diseases. In this type of dance sometimes dialogues take place between the priest and the demons who appear with hedious masks depicting various yakkas, the Bhūtas found in *Cilappadikāram*. The dances though performed with serious religiosity sometimes deviate into ribaldry and vulgarity perhaps a concession to entertain the audience.

Not only are the demons propitiated but gods and goddesses are also appeased. In the rituals connected with the worship of Gods, Pattini occupies the chief place. Pattini is the Kannagi, the heroine of *Cilappadikāram*. Kannagi is considered as an incarnation of Pattini who has an interesting legend among the Sinhalese. The stories current in Ceylon about her birth suggest that she was originally a vegetation deity or a native deity in whom are combined the deities of several phenomena. She has incarnated herself 7 times and therefore known as Hat Pattini, Seven Pattini, which reminds one of the Sapta Mathar the wives of Seven Rishis in Hindu Mythology. Pattini's anklet plays an important part in the rituals connected with her worship. Besides Pattini there are the Kataragama Deviyo, and the 12 Deities and the 9 Planets. One sees the Tamil influence in these rituals. During the course of the rituals 2 characters enter dressed in the garb of Tamil Brahmins and in the

conversation that follows the Brahmins examine the patient and say he is afflicted because of "Kodivinai" the Tamil word for dire evil, in witchcraft. The offerings are given to the demons in a pideni tatu. Pideni being the oblation and tatu the Tamil word for plate. There is a lighting ceremony where Vilakku (Tamil: lamp) is lit. The torches used are known by the popular Tamil word Pandama, and the dance consists of "adavvus" of Bharata tradition. Adavvus are the dance movements of arms and legs and head moving in co-ordinated rhythm.

Kolam or the masked play is another type of dramatic performance found in Sinhalese areas particularly in the Ambalangoda and Bentota townships on the western seaboard of Ceylon. This area is also noted for its Bali ceremonies discussed above. Kolam is a Tamil word used for mask, it also means appearance; it refers to costume, or appropriate dress or attire as worn by an actor. There is a dance form in Malabar which is known as "Kolam Kali" similar to the Sinhala Kolam dance where elaborate masks are used; it is interesting to note that the three dance forms of Malabar, viz. Kathakali, Kolam Kali and Chorkali the latter known as Sokari in Sinhala, is reflected in the dance forms of Sinhala. Beryl de Zoete in his *The Other Mind* writes thus: "In Java and Bali the episode connected with Kusa and Lava are never shown. Whereas in Malabar they inspire one of the most delightful scenes in Kathakali and creep into the mysterious texture of the Kandyan Kohomba Kankaria."

Kolam is a masquerade of mythological characters some of which appear in the Bali ceremonies. Some of the characters are down to earth real characters whom we see in daily life, certain types like the washerman, the soldier, the police, the chettiar, the flighty washerwoman etc. The Court Crier or the Kattiyakkāran of Tamil Kûttu is here represented as "Ana Bera", "ana" which means the king's order; bera is the Sanskrit and Tamil word for drum. The characters who represent the Court Crier is a Pannikkar of Malabar origin and his head gear reveals this. There is an interesting mask by the name of five-women-Pot, "Pancha Nāri Ghata", where five luscious women are worked into a design of a pot which is a head dress. Besides human and mythological characters there are the masks of animals like the dog, the tiger, the lion, the fox, the bull, the Garuda and the incarnation of Vishnu — Narasinha, half man and half lion. The masks of animals and the Kolam tradition have already made a recognizable contribution to modern Sinhala drama as is evident in the costuming and movement of Sinhabahu, and Naribana, the traditional nadagam or folkplay of today. The masquerade begins in the night and ends with the dawn. The Court Crier with his drum announces that the maskers are come and the people must be ready to witness the performance. After reading the prologue the actor advances while two characters, accompanied by torches, stand up and as the performers act their respective parts repeat

the legend chanting alternately 2 verses each.

Kolam which began as a masquerade of characters later developed into a nadagama, a folk play which serves to end up the masquerade. The most popular among these plays are "Sanda Kinduru Jataka" and "Maname" which have been revived by the modern Sinhala theatre with great success. The Kolam dancers are introduced by verses which are reminiscent of the Tamil Nãttu Kûttu.

A dramatic entertainment confined to the Hill Country and the Vanni areas is known by the name of Sokari. This is usually performed on the threshing floor when the corn is gathered and stacked up during the harvesting season. The circular threshing floor provides them with a convenient stage. Farmers who cannot leave their fields in the night have to keep awake and this entertainment with its ribald humour and dramatic incidents of the comic variety serves to while away the time. The drum used is the pot drum of the Kandyan areas or the udakki which is found in the hand of the dancing Nataraja. The name Sokari may be from a Malayalam word Solkali which means an entertainment based on dialogue like Kathakali which is drama based on story.

In the country of Kasi there lived a man called Andi Gura or Guruhāmi; in Tamil Andi is a beggar or a wandering mendicant. He marries a beautiful woman named Sokari and takes a man of the Paraya caste as his servant. Paraya in Sinhala also means a vagrant or foreigner, paradesi. They wander from place to place without finding a means of livelihood. Andi Gura finally decides to come to Ceylon. Guruhami with his wife first goes to Sri Pada and worships at the Sacred Footprint and finally settles down in a village called Tambaravila. On the way to the village to fetch water Guruhami is bitten by a dog which belongs to the village physician. The doctor is requested to attend on Guruhami. He refuses to do so unless invited by his wife Sokari. Sokari invites him and the doctor administers medicine. He attends to Guruhami in the course of the night and elopes with Sokari in the early hours of the morning. Guruhami propitiates the God of Kataragama and he is informed of the whereabouts of Sokari. He goes in search of her according to the directions given by the God and finds her. Guruhami brings her back and she pleads innocence and the couple is reconciled. Finally all the characters sit down to weave a mat. The doctor is sometimes referred to as Vinayaka, which means a teacher. Masks are also used for this type of drama.

It is in the field of Nadagamas, the folk operas of the Sinhalese theatre, that we find the greatest influence from Tamil dramas. Nadagama itself is a Tamil word to denote the type of folk plays which were in vogue in the Tamil areas and Tamilakam. There are two types of Tamil Nadagam or Nãttukûttu prevalent in the Batticaloa district, viz. the northern style and the southern style. Vaṭamōdi and Thenmōdi. The one differing from the other in the style of dress and the style of

dancing. The main interest of these operas is the story which is well known as they are taken from the epics or biblical sources and the dancing which is akin to a degenerate form of the Kathakali of Malabar and the dresses which are also reminiscent of the Kathakali dances. Here one finds the Bharata tradition interpreted in a popular way to attract the attention of the common people through dance, mime, songs and the spoken idiom. Dr. Saratchandra, who deals with the subject in his interesting study of Sinhalese folk play and the modern theatre, says *inter alia,* "It is clear that the Sinhala Nadagama is wholly derived from a variety of South Indian folk play known as Terukkuttu in the Tamil Nad and as Vīthi Nataka in Andhra. The Terukkuttu was in vogue at one time in Jaffna, but has now disappeared almost entirely from the North. It is now preserved in the Eastern Province and mainly in Batticaloa and the neighbouring villages." The statement that the Nattukuttu has disappeared in Jaffna is not correct. It is still a living tradition in Jaffna, Mannar, Chilaw, Negombo, Puttalam and the Batticaloa District. The Ceylon University drama enthusiasts under the guidance of Dr. Vithianathan, and the Arts Council of Ceylon have been encouraging these performances in recent years.

Though there have been references to dancing and music in the Sinhala chronicles we find clear evidence of the Bharata tradition in the Sinhala country from the literary works of the 14th Century onwards. Earlier it is in the sculptures of ancient buildings that the Bharata Natya poses are found. The cultural life of the people derived its inspiration largely from India. The Dūta Kavyas in Sinhala belonging to this period describe dancing as it took place in the courts and in temples before the images of Hindu gods. The Tisara Sandesaya describing the dances performed in the palace of Parakrama Bahu V refers to the eyebrows of the dancing girls as "quivering like rows of bees". There is a very interesting description of the dancers of the Vibhishana Temple at Kelaniya in the famous Sinhalese Sandesa Kavya *Salalihini Sandesaya** which reminds one of the description in the *Ramayana* of Kamban. Karana, a technical term of Bharata Nātya is found in Sri Rahula's *Parevi Sandesaya,* in describing the movements of a nautch girl who he says danced with her head, her eyebrows, her neck, her hands and her fingers. These details point to one fact that the Bharata tradition was prevalent in the Sinhala courts and temples and evidently among the people. Sinhalese poets often mention in their works of this Bharata tradition. Moving the eyebrows, and neck, rolling the eyes and gesticulating with the hands and the fingers constitute the "rêcakas" and "abhinayas" that are a special feature of Bharata Nātya.

* This has been translated by the writer into Tamil and published by the Cultural Department of Ceylon.

Evidence from later sculptures and paintings strengthens the view that Bharata Nātya constituted the entertainment of royalty and the lay literati. In the stone friezes of Yapahuwa and Gadaladeniya which are representatives of Vijayanagara architecture in Ceylon the dancing women present Bharata poses. The wood carvings in the pillars of the Embekke temple, also contain some interesting Bharata poses. There is a very vigorous Bharata pose worked in a temple lamp recently discovered in Dedigama. The pot dance 'kalagedi', the stick dance 'Lee Keli', Panderu a type of dance with jingles and the Rawan dance performed with small drums, and various other varieties are found in the school syllabuses besides the clasical Kandyan dance with the various vannamas the names of many of which reveal Tamil influence. The Karagam dance is popular even today in Tamil areas and the Hill Country where the Indian Tamils predominate. They have popularized in these parts many of the South Indian dance forms of popular variety like the Kaman Kuttu, Pot dance and the like. All folk art is unselfconscious and spontaneous. It is as it were the direct expression of the innermost spirit of a people, and this is very true of dancing because the instinct for rhythm is as basic in human nature as the urge for ritual. Most of the classical dances have their origin in the dances of the common people which still survive in villages and townships. The directness and simplicity of these dances are of great artistic and sociological interest.

There is no deliberate attempt at artistry in these folk dances. Those who gather round to see these dances are as much a part of the collective self expression as the dancers themselves. What is expressed is national and original though within the tradition. What is important is not the virtuosity of the dancers but the total effect of the overwhelming buoyancy of spirit and the eloquent effortless ease with which it is expressed.

The folk dances are woven so closely into the lives of the people that they invariably derive their main inspiration from the movements associated with the performance of daily tasks. Nature silently fashions these dances as she does the lives of the people who dance them. The dances of the hill area are conditioned by the movement of the elephant which is common in these parts and the Gajagā Vannam, "Elephant Walk" is a motive so interspersed in their choreography. The folks of the sea coast areas dance certain Yaksha dances which suggest the roaring mounting waves of the sea. The kolattam, the 'Lee Keli" and the Pot dance "Kalagedi", of the plains in contrast impart a sense of peace and harmony, which are indicative of plains. The Bali Thovil dances are of a ritualistic nature and the concessions made to secular tastes are of a spontaneous and impromptu character. There are religious worship, devil dances, witchcrafts, ribaldry and satire in some of the dances; and those like Sokari and some of the Kolam masks are farcial with a satiric strain.

Our dances are a vital part of our national culture. The Karakam

and Kavadi dance, the fire walking and Kuravai, the various devil dances of the Sinhala areas otherwise known as Toyil, the Kolam, Sokari, the Kandyan Vannams and all will enrich our cultural life by their beauty, spontaniety and strength. They will definitely serve to develop the mind and body of the country's youth.

By taking pride in the folk dances, there is an awareness of our national culture, and enthusiasm for new ways of creative art and life.

PART III

PLENARY SESSION

IN TAMIL

உதியஞ்சேரல் பாரத காலத்தவனு?

மொ. அ. துரைஅரங்கசாமி

இன்று நமக்குக் கிடைத்துள்ள தமிழ் நூல்களுள் தொல்காப்பியம் ஒன்றே மிக மிகத் தொன்மை வாய்ந்த நூல் என்பது தமிழறிஞர்கட்கெல்லாம் உடன் பாடாகும். அதனையடுத்துப் பத்துப் பாட்டு எனவும் எட்டுத்தொகை என வும் வழங்கும் சங்க நூல்கள் பழமை வாய்ந்தவையாகும். ஏனைய தமிழ் நூல்களெல்லாம் காலத்தால் சங்க நூல்களுக்குப் பிற்பட்டனவேயாகும்.

தொல்காப்பியத்திற்கு முன்பே, சீரிய செந்தமிழ் இலக்கண இலக்கிய நூல்கள் பலப்பல இருந்திருத்தல் வேண்டும் என்பதற்குத் தொல்காப்பியமே சிறந்த சான்ருகும். நம் நாட்டிலும் சரி, அயல் நாட்டிலும் சரி, தொல்காப்பி யத்தைப் பயிலும் அறிவு வாய்ந்த ஏனைய மொழியினர் அனைவரும், தொல் காப்பியம் சீரியதொரு செந்தமிழ் இலக்கண நூல் எனவும், அஃது இலக்கிய நூலாகவும் ஓதுதற்கு உரியதெனவும் அத்தகைய நூல் ஒன்று தோன்று வதற்கு, அதற்கு எத்துணையோ நூற்ருண்டுகளுக்கு முன்பிருந்தே சீரிய இலக் கிய வளமுடையதாகத் தமிழ் மொழி திகழ்ந்து வந்திருக்க வேண்டும் என வும், எனவே, மிக மிகத் தொன்மை வாய்ந்த ஒரு சில மொழிகளுடன் செந் தமிழ் மொழியும் ஒன்ருக வைத்து மதித்தற்குரியதெனவும் ஒரு குரலில் கூறிப் பாராட்டுவர். இத்தகைய தொன்மைச் சிறப்பு வாய்ந்த நம் செந்தமிழ் மொழியில் தொல்காப்பியத்திற்கு முற்பட்ட யாதொரு நூலும் நமக்குக் கிடைக்காதிருப்பது வருத்தத்தைத் தருவதாகவே உள்ளது. எல்லா நூல் களும் ஒருசேர மறைந்து போனதற்கு அடிப்படை யாதென்பது அறியமாட் டாததாகவே உள்ளது.

இஃது இவ்வாருகவும், சங்க நூல்களுள் ஒன்ருன புறநானூற்றுள் காணும் இரண்டாம் பாடல், பாண்டவர் ஐவர்க்கும், துரியோதனுதியர் நூற் றுவர்க்கும் இடையே நடைபெற்ற பாரதப் போர்க்காலத்தே பாடப்பெற்ற தெனத் தமிழறிஞர் அனைவரும் கூறி வருகின்றனர். ஒவ்வொரு மொழியினரும் தத்தம் மொழியை மிக மிகத் தொன்மை வாய்ந்தது என்று கூறிக் கொள் வதில் பெருமிதம் கொள்வர். அது வரவேற்கத் தக்கதும் ஆகும். ஆனல் அதன் காரணமாகவே பாரதப் போர்க்காலத்தில் பாடப்பட்ட பாடலும் தமிழில் உண்டு என்று கூறுவது பொருந்துமா? உண்மையில் அப்படிப் பட்ட பாடல் ஒன்று தமிழில் உண்டா? இஃது ஆராய்வதற்கு உரியதாகும்.

புறநானூற்று இரண்டாம் பாடலுள்,

> "வான வரம்பனை நீயோ பெரும
> அலங்குளைப் புரவி ஐவரோடு சினைஇ
> நிலந்தலைக் கொண்ட பொலம்பூந் தும்பை

ஈரைம் பதின்மரும் பொருதுகளத் தொழியப்
பெருஞ்சோற்று மிகுபதம் வரையாது கொடுத்தோய்"

(புறநா: 2: 12-16)

என்ற அடிகள், இவ்வடிகளையுடைய பாடல் பாரதப் போர் நிகழ்ந்த காலத்தில் பாடப்பட்டதென்பதற்குச் சான்று பகரும் என்பர்.

புறநானூற்றில் உள்ள எல்லாப் பாடல்களுக்கும் திணையும், துறையும், இன்னாரை இன்னார் பாடியது என்ற கருத்தை விளக்கும் கொளுவும் அமைந்துள்ளன. இவை, புறநானூறு தொகுக்கப்பெற்ற காலத்திலேயே அமைந்த பழமையுடையவை எனலாம்.

புறநானூற்றிற்கு முதல் பாடலிலிருந்து 216-ஆம் பாடல் வரையில் ஆற்றொழுக்காக எழுதப் பெற்ற பழைய உரை உண்டு. அதை எழுதிய அப் பழைய உரையாசிரியர் அறிவுநலம் சான்ற சிறப்புடையவராகவே காணப்படுகிறார். ஆனால், அவர் இவ்வடிகளுக்கு எழுதிய உரைதான், இப்பாடல் பாரதப் போர் நிகழ்ந்த காலத்தில் பாடப்பட்டதென்ற கருத்தைத் தமிழ் நாட்டில் நிலைநாட்டி விட்டது.

இப்பகுதிக்கு அவர் கூறியுள்ள உரை: "வானவரம்ப, பெரும, நீ அசைந்த தலையாட்டம் அணிந்த குதிரையையுடைய பாண்டவர் ஐவருடனே சினந்து நிலத்தைத் தம்மிடத்தே கொண்ட பொற்பூந் தும்பையையுடைய துரியோதனன் முதலாகிய நூற்றுவரும் பொருது போர்க்களத்தின்கண் படுந்துணையும் பெருஞ்சோறாகிய மிக்க உணவை இரு படைக்கும் வரையாது வழங்கினோய்" என்பதாகும்.

"சேரமான் பெருஞ்சோற்று உதியஞ்சேரலாதனை முரஞ்சியூர் முடிநாகராயர் பாடியது" என்பது கொளு.

பாடலில், உதியஞ்சேரலாதன் என்ற பெயர் காணப்படவில்லை. பாட்டுடைத் தலைவன் "வானவரம்பனே" என்று விளிக்கப் பெற்றிருத்தலால், அவன் சேரமான் என்பது அறியப்படுகின்றது. "பெருஞ்சோற்று மிகுபதம் வரையாது கொடுத்தோய்" என்று அவன் செயலைப் பற்றிப் பாடல் கூறுதலால், அவன், பெருஞ்சோறு கொடுத்த சேரன் என்பதும் அறியப்படுகின்றது. பெருஞ்சோறு கொடுத்தவன் உதியஞ்சேரலாதன் என்பதைக் கொளு வரைந்தவர் எவ்வாறு அறியலானார்? உதியஞ்சேரலாதனையும் அவன் பெருஞ்சோறு கொடுத்த செய்தியையும் பற்றி வேறு யாராவது குறித்திருக்கின்றனரா? கொளு ஆசிரியர் உண்மை அறியாமல் ஒன்றும் உணர்த்தமாட்டார் என்பது மட்டும், கொளுக்களையெல்லாம் ஒப்புநோக்கி ஆராயுமிடத்துப் புலனாகின்றது.

புறநானூற்றில், பாடல்களில் வரும் செய்திகள் எவ்வளவு உண்மையானவையோ அவ்வளவு, கொளுக்களில் வரும் செய்திகளும் உண்மையானவையாகும். இன்றைக்குக் கொளுக்கள் இல்லையென்றால் பலப்பல பாடல்கள் யாரைப்பற்றி யாரால் எப்போது பாடப்பட்டன என்ற உண்மை விளங்கவே விளங்காது. அவற்றைப் பற்றியெல்லாம் தெளிவாகக் கொளுக்கள் உணர்த்துகின்றமையால் அவைகள் புறநானூறு தொகுக்கப்பெற்ற காலத்திலேயே பொறிக்கப்பெற்றிருத்தல் வேண்டும் என்பது வலியுறுகின்றது. அத்தகைய உண்மைகளை உணர்த்தும் கொளுவாசிரியர் "பாரதப் போர் நிகழ்ந்த காலத்தில் பெருஞ்சோறு கொடுத்தான் உதியஞ்சேரலாதன்; அப்போது அவனை முரஞ்சியூர் முடிநாகராயர் பாடினார்" என்று குறித்திருக்க வேண்டு

மன்றோ! சங்க காலத்தில் தொகுக்கப்பெற்ற நூலில், அக்காலத்திற்கு எத்துணையோ நூற்றாண்டுகட்கு முற்பட்ட காலத்தில் நிகழ்ந்த நிகழ்ச்சியைத் தெளிவாகக் குறித்தாலன்றி நாம் அதை அறிய முடியுமா? அவ்வாறாயின் அவர் அதை ஏன் குறிக்கவில்லை?

கொளு ஆசிரியர் அவ்வாறு கூறாதிருக்கவும், உரையாசிரியர் மட்டும் எவ்வாறு அதைக் கண்டு கூறலானார். கொளு ஆசிரியர் வேறு, உரையாசிரியர் வேறு என்பதற்கு உரையாசிரியர் உரை கூறாது விட்ட பாடல்களுக்கும் கொளுக்கள் இருத்தலே சான்றாகும்.

பெருஞ்சோறு கொடுக்கப் பெற்றவர்கள் பாண்டவர்கள் ஐவரும் துரியோதனாதியர்கள் ஈரைம்பதின்மரும் என்று உரையாசிரியர் கூறுகிறார். அம்மட்டோ, அவ்விரு திறத்தவரும் தம்முள் பொருது போர்க்களத்தின்கண் மடியுந்துணையும் பெருஞ்சோறு கொடுக்கப்பெற்றனர் என்றும் உரையாசிரியர் கருதுகின்றார். "பெருஞ்சோறாகிய மிக்க உணவை இருபடைக்கும் வரையாது வழங்கினோய்" என்று அவர் உதியஞ்சேரலாதனை முன்னிலைப் படுத்திக் கூறுகின்றார். இவ்வாறு கூறுதலால் பாட்டுடைத் தலைவனான உதியஞ்சேரலாதனும் அவனைப்பாடிய புலவரான முரஞ்சியூர் முடிநாகராயரும் பாரதப் போர் நிகழ்ந்த காலத்தை அடுத்த அண்மைக் காலத்தவராகக் கொள்வதற்கு ஏற்புடையவர்கள் ஆகிவிடுகின்றனர்.

இனிப் பாடற் பகுதி உணர்த்தும் கருத்தினை, வினை முடிபுகள் கொண்டு நோக்குவோம்: "ஐவரொடு சினைஇ ஈரைம்பதின்மரும் பொருது களத்தொழியப் பெருஞ்சோற்று மிகுபதம் வரையாது கொடுத்தோய்" என்பது வினை முடிபுகளை இணைக்க நாம் பெறலாகும் சுருங்கிய கருத்தாகும்.

இத்தொடரில் ஐவரோடு சினமுற்றவர் ஈரைம்பதின்மர் என்பதும், அவரொடு பொருதவரும் அவரே என்பதும், களத்தில் ஒழிந்தவரும் அவரே என்பதும் தெளிவாகப் புலப்படுகின்றன. வினைமுடிபின் வழியே பெறலாகும் பொருளமைதியை விழிப்புடன் கொள்வோமானால், பெருஞ்சோறு கொடுக்கப் பெற்றவரும் ஈரைம்பதின்மரே என்றுதான் உரையாசிரியர் கொள்ள முடியும். எனவே, சேரவேந்தன் ஈரைம்பதின்மருக்கே பெருஞ்சோறு கொடுத்தான் என்று வேண்டுமானால் அவர் கூறுவது பொருத்தமாகும்.

இஃது இவ்வாறு இருக்கவும், பெருஞ்சோறாகிய மிக்க உணவை, உதியன் இரு படைக்கும் வரையாது வழங்கினான் என்று உரையாசிரியர் கூறியிருக்கும் உரை எவ்வாறு பொருந்துவதாகும்?.

அன்றி, இருதிறத்தார் ஒருவரோடொருவர் பொரும்போது, அயலார் ஒருவர் ஒரு திறத்தார்க்கு மட்டும் உதவி செய்வரேயல்லாமல், இரு திறத்தார்க்கும் உதவுவர் என்பது இயலாத ஒன்று; காணாத ஒன்று; கேளாத ஒன்றும் ஆகும். இக்காலத்திய செஞ்சிலுவைச் சங்கத்தாரும், இரக்கம் பற்றிப் போரில் அடியுண்டு தம் நிலை குலைந்தவர்க்கே, அவர் எத்திறத்தைச் சார்ந்தவர் ஆயினும் வேறுபாடு கருதாமல் உதவியாற்றி வருகின்றனரேயன்றிப் போர் உடற்ற உதவி ஆற்றுகின்றனரில்லை. அறத்தாறு நிற்கும் கடப்பாடு உடைய தமிழ் நாட்டுச் சேரமன்னர், அறத்தாறு நிற்பவருக்கே உதவியாற்ற முன் வருவர். எனவே, போர் நிகழும்போது பெருஞ்சோறு கொடுத்தான் சேர வேந்தன் என்றால், அறத்தாற்றில் நின்ற ஐவருக்கே அவன் சோறு கொடுத்திருக்க வேண்டும். பாட்டின் முடிபு அதற்கு ஏற்ப இல்லாமையாலும், ஐவரை ஒதுக்க முடியாமையாலும், நெடிது நினைந்து, இரு படையினருக்கும் சேரவேந்தன் பெருஞ்சோறு கொடுத்தான் என்று உரையாசிரியர்

கூறினராதல் வேண்டும். ஆனால் உண்மை உரை யாது? பாடின புலவருடைய கருத்து யாது? நன்கு ஆராய்ந்தாலொழிய இவ்வினாக்களுக்கு விடை கூற முடியாது.

இஃது இவ்வாறிருக்கவும், புறநானூற்று உரையாசிரியர் கூற்றுக்கு அரண் செய்வதாகச் சிலப்பதிகாரத்திலிருந்து இரண்டு இடங்களை எடுத்துக் காட்டுவர். அவற்றுள் ஒன்று; அதனுள் 23-ஆம் கட்டுரை காதையுள் வருவதாகும். அங்கே வரும் செய்தி முற்பட ஈண்டு அறியற்பாலதாகும்.

சேரமன்னன் ஒருவனுடைய கொடைத்திறங்கேட்டு அவன் நாட்டிற்குச் சென்று பரிசில் பெற்றுத் திரும்பி வந்த சோழநாட்டுப் பார்ப்பான் பராசரன் என்பான், பாண்டி நாட்டுத் தங்கால் என்ற ஊரில் தங்கி, ஆண்டு, வார்த்திகன் என்பானுடைய புதல்வனிடம் தன் பண்டச் சிறுபொதியை நல்கி விட்டுத் தன்பதிப் பெயர்ந்தனன். அது கண்டு பொறாமையுற்ற அவ்வூரார் வார்த்திகன் மீது களவுக் குற்றம் சார்த்தி, அரசனைக் கொண்டு அவனைச் சிறை இடுவித்தனர். அதுகண்ட வார்த்திகன் மனைவி கார்த்திகை என்பாள் அழுது புரண்டனளாக, ஐயை கோயில் கதவம் திறவாது அடைப்புண்டது. பிழையறிந்த பாண்டியன் வார்த்திகனை விடுவித்து, அவனுக்குத் தங்கால், வயலூர் என்ற இரண்டு ஊர்களையும் நல்கி அவன் காலில் விழுந்து மன்னிப்பு வேண்ட, அதற்குப் பின் ஐயை கோயிற் கதவம் திறப்புண்டது. இதுவே, அங்கே வரும் செய்தியாகும்.

தொன்றுதொட்டே, பாண்டிய மன்னர் நீதியுடையவர் என்பதை உணர்த்துவதற்காக இச்செய்தி, கண்ணகிக்கு மதுராபதி தெய்வம் கூறுவதாக வந்துள்ளது.

இச்செய்தி பற்றிக் கூறும் பகுதியின் தொடக்கத்தில், பரிசில் பெறப் புறப்பட்ட பராசரன் அங்ஙனம் புறப்படுங்கால் சேரரைப் பற்றிக் கூறுவனவும், தங்காலில் தங்கியக்கால் சேரரை நினைந்து வாழ்த்துவனவும் ஈண்டு நினைவுகூரத்தக்கனவாகும். இடையில் வரும் பிற செய்திகளை விடுத்துச் சேரரைப்பற்றி அவன் கூறும் செய்திகளைக் குறிக்கும் அடிகளை மட்டும் ஈண்டு நோக்குவோம்.

> "பெருஞ்சோறு பயந்த திருந்துவேல் தடக்கை
> திருநிலை பெற்ற பெருநா விருக்கை
> ....
> வலவைப் பார்ப்பான் பராசரன் என்போன்
> குலவுவேற் சேரன் கொடைத்திறம் கேட்டு
> வண்டமிழ் மறையோற்கு வானுறை கொடுத்த
> திண்டிறல் நெடுவேற் சேரலற் காண்கெனக்
> காடும் நாடும் ஊரும் போகி
> ....
> பார்ப்பன வாகை சூடி ஏற்புற
> நன்கலம் கொண்டு தன்பதிப் பெயர்வோன்
> ....
> தங்கால்............ போதி மன்றத்து............ இருப்போன்
> ....காவல் வெண்குடை
> விளைந்துமுதிர் கொற்றத்து விறலோன் வாழி
> கடற்கடம்பு எறிந்த காவலன் வாழி

விடர்ச்சிலை பொறித்த வேந்தன் வாழி
பூந்தண் பொருநைப் பொறையன் வாழி
மாந்தரச் சேரல் மன்னவன் வாழ்கென" (சிலப் : 23 : 55-84)

என்ற அடிகள் சேரரைப் பற்றிப் பராசரன் என்னும் பார்ப்பான் கூறுவன வாகும்.

ஈண்டுத் தொடக்கத்தில் வரும்,
"பெருஞ்சோறு பயந்த திருந்துவேல் தடக்கை
திருநிலை பெற்ற பெருநாள் இருக்கை
....
குலவுவேற் சேரன் கொடைத்திறம் கேட்டு"

என்ற அடிகள் "பாரதப் போரில் பெருஞ்சோறு அளித்த உதியஞ்சேர லாதனது கொடைத்திறம் கேட்டு" என்று பொருள் உணர்த்தும் என்பர். அங்ஙனமாயின் "கொடைத்திறம் கேட்டு, வண்டமிழ் மறையோனாகிய பாலைக் கௌதமனுக்கு வான் உறைவு கொடுத்த பல்யானைச் செல்கெழு குட்டுவனைக் காண்பேன்" என்று கூறிக் கொண்டு பராசரன் புறப்படுவதாக உணர்த்தும் அடுத்துவரும் செய்தி சிறிது வரலாற்றுத் திகைப்பை உண்டாக் குவதேயாகுமன்றோ? ஏன்? கேள்விப்பட்டது, பெருஞ்சோறு பயந்த உதியஞ் சேரலாதனது கொடைத்திறத்தைப் பற்றி; காண விழைந்தது பல்யானைச் செல்கெழு குட்டுவனை; இவ்வாறாயின் திகைப்படையாமல் எவ்வாறு இருக்க முடியும்?

முன்னோன் செய்கையைப் பின்னோன் மீது ஏற்றிக் கூறப்படும் மரபு பற்றி உதியஞ்சேரலாதன் பெருஞ்சோறு பயந்த செய்கையைப் பல்யானைச் செல் கெழு குட்டுவன் மீது ஏற்றி அவனைக் காண்பதற்கு விழைந்தான் பராசரன் என்று கூறி அமைதி காணலாமா?

"திருநிலை பெற்ற பெருநாள் இருக்கை" என்பது "செல்வம் நிலைபெற்ற காலை ஓலக்கம்" என்று பொருள்படும் என்பர். ஆனால் உண்மையில், "சிறந்த நாளணி செற்றம் நீக்கிப் பிறந்த நாள் வயிற் பெருமங்கலம்" (தொல்; புறத் திணை: 36) எனத் தொல்காப்பியம் உணர்த்தும் பிறந்தநாள் வெள்ளணி விழா என இதனைக்கொள்வதே பொருத்தமாகும். அந்நாளில், உதியஞ்சேர லாதன் பெருஞ்சோறு பயந்தான்; கொடை பல வழங்கினான் எனலாம். அவ னுக்குப் பிறகு, பல்யானைச் செல்கெழு குட்டுவன் அவற்றைத் தொடர்ந்து கடைப்பிடித்தான் எனலாம். எனவேதான் "குட்டுவனைக் காண்பேன்" என்று கூறிப் பராசரன் புறப்படலானான். புறப்பட்டவன், தான் கருதியவாறே, குட்டுவனிடம் கொடை பெற்றுத் திரும்பினான் எனலாம்.

தன் நாட்டை நோக்கித் திரும்பி வந்து கொண்டிருந்த பராசரன், வழி யில், பாண்டி நாட்டுத் தங்கால் என்னும் ஊரில் உள்ள போதி மன்றத்துத் தங்கிச் சில சேர மன்னர்களை வாழ்த்துகின்றான். அங்ஙனம் வாழ்த்துங்கால் கொடைபெறுவான் வேண்டித் தான் சென்றடைந்த சேர நாட்டில் தான் கேள்விப்பட்ட ஏனைய சேர மன்னர்களையும் நினைந்து பாராட்டுங் குறிப் புள்ளமை காணலாம்.

முதலில் அவன், "காவல் வெண்குடை விளைந்துமுதிர் கொற்றத்து விற லோன் வாழி" என்று வாழ்த்துகின்றான். பதிற்றுப் பத்தின் வழியே நோக்கு வோமானால், சங்க காலச் சேர அரசர்களுள் முதல்வனான உதியஞ்சேரலா தனே ஈண்டு இவ்வாறு வாழ்த்தப் பெறுகிறான் எனலாம்.

அடுத்தபடியாக அவன், "கடற்கடம்பு எறிந்த காவலன் வாழி, விடர்ச் சிலை பொறித்த வேந்தன் வாழி" என்று வாழ்த்துகின்றான். இங்ஙனம் வாழ்த்தப்பெறுகின்றவன் இமயவரம்பன் நெடுஞ்சேரலாதன் என்பது வெளிப் படை. உதியஞ்சேரலாதனுக்குப் பின் இவனே தலைநகரிலிருந்துகொண்டு ஈடெடுப்பில்லாத ஒரு பேரரசனாகச் சேர நாட்டை ஆண்டு வந்தவன். பல் யானைச் செல்கெழு குட்டுவன் என்பான் இமயவரம்பனுக்குத் தம்பியாவான். இவனையே பராசரன் பார்த்துவரப் புறப்பட்டுச் சென்றான். சென்ற இடத் தில் இமயவரம்பன் ஈடெடுப்பற்ற ஒரு பெருவேந்தனாகத் திகழ்வதைக் கண் ணாரக்கண்ட பராசரன், தங்காலில் தங்கியபோது அவனை நினைந்து வாழ்த்து தலில் வியப்பொன்றும் இல்லை. அம்மட்டோ?

அவனை வாழ்த்தியபின், "பூந்தண் பொருநைப் பொறையன் வாழி" என் றொரு சேரமன்னனைப் பராசரன் வாழ்த்துகின்றான். இவனைச் செல்வக் கடுங்கோ வாழியாதனின் தந்தையும், பொறையர் மரபினருள் முதல்வனு மான அந்துவஞ்சேரல் இரும்பொறை என்று கொள்வதே முறையாகத் தோன்றுகின்றது.

இறுதியாக அவன், "மாந்தரஞ்சேரல் மன்னவன் வாழ்க" என்று வாழ்த்தி முடிக்கின்றான். இவன் யார்? பொறையன் மரபினருள் இறுதியான வனும், பதிற்றுப்பத்தின் பத்தாம் பத்தின் பாட்டுடைத் தலைவனுமான யானைக்கட்சேஎய் மாந்தரஞ்சேரலிரும்பொறை என இவனைக் கொள்ள லாமா? ஆனால், நெடுஞ்சேரலாதனையடுத்துச் செங்குட்டுவனே பராசரனால் அறியப்படாதிருக்கையில் அவன் சேரமரபின் இறுதியானவனை இங்கே வாழ்த்துகிறான் என்று கொள்வதற்கில்லை. மாந்தரம் பொறையன் என்று செல்வக்கடுங்கோ வாழியாதன், பரணரால் ஓரிடத்துப் பாராட்டப் படு கின்றான்.

> "பலர்மேந் தோன்றிய கவிகை வள்ளல்
> நிறையருந் தானை வெல்போர் மாந்தரம்
> பொறையன் கடுங்கோப் பாடிச் சென்ற
> குறையோர் கொள்கலம் போல"

(அகநா : 142)

என்பது செல்வக்கடுங்கோ வாழியாதனை மாந்தரம் பொறையன் எனப் பர ணர் குறிக்கும் பாடற் பகுதியாகும். எனவே, இவனையே, பராசரன் குறிக் கிறான் எனலாம்.

இதுகாறும் கூறிய செய்திகளைப் பதிற்றுப்பத்தில் வரும் செய்திகளோடு ஒப்புநோக்கிப் பார்த்தால் உண்மை விளக்கமாகும்.

பதிற்றுப் பத்தால் சேர மரபில் இரு கிளையினரை நாம் அறிகிறோம். அவருள் ஒரு கிளையினர் உதியன் மரபினரும், மற்றொரு கிளையினர் பொறை யன் மரபினரும் ஆவர். இவ்விரு கிளையினரும் தாயத்தவராய்ச் சேரநாட் டினைத் தத்தமக்கு உரிய பகுதிகளில் வீற்றிருந்து ஆட்சி செய்து வந்தவரா வர்.

உதியன் மரபினருள் உதியஞ்சேரலாதனே முதலரசன் ஆவன். பதிற்றுப் பத்திற் காணாமற்போன முதற் பத்தின் பாட்டுடைத் தலைவன் இவனே என லாம்.

உதியஞ் சேரலாதன் மகன், இமயவரம்பன் நெடுஞ்சேரலாதன். இவன் அதன் இரண்டாம் பத்தின் பாட்டுடைத் தலைவன் ஆவன்.

நெடுஞ்சேரலாதனின் மைந்தர்கள் களங்காய்க்கண்ணி நார்முடிச் சேர லும், கடல்பிறக்கோட்டிய செங்குட்டுவனும், ஆடுகோட்பாட்டுச் சேரலாத னும் ஆவர். இவர்கள் முறையே நான்கு ஐந்து ஆறும் பத்தின் பாட்டுடைத் தலைவர்கள் ஆவர்.

பொறையன் மரபினருள், அந்துவஞ்சேரல் இரும்பொறையே அம்மர பின் முதலரசன் ஆவன். உண்மையில் ஏழாம் பத்தின் பாட்டுடைத் தலைவன் இவனுதல் வேண்டும். ஆனுல், அவ்வாறு இவன் தலைவன் என்று வழங்கப் பட்டதாகத் தெரியவில்லை. இவன் “நெடுநுண் கேள்வி” உடையவனுகக் கூறப்பட்டுள்ளான் (பதிகம் 8). நெடுநுண் கேள்வியுடைய இவன், பிற புல வர்களிடமிருந்து பாடல்பெற விழைந்திலன் போலும். அல்லது, அவன் சம காலத்தவனுன உதியஞ்சேரலாதன் பெற்றிருந்த பெருஞ்சிறப்புப் பெற்றிலன் போலும்.

அந்துவஞ்சேரல் இரும்பொறையின் மைந்தனே சேரமான் செல்வக் கடுங்கோ வாழியாதன். இவன், பதிற்றுப் பத்தின் ஏழாம் பத்தின் பாட்டு டைத் தலைவன் ஆவன்.

செல்வக் கடுங்கோ வாழியாதனின் மகன் தகடூர் எறிந்த பெருஞ்சேரல் இரும்பொறை அவன் எட்டாம் பத்தின் பாட்டுடைத் தலைவன்.

பெருஞ்சேரல் இரும்பொறையின் மகன் இளஞ்சேரல் இரும்பொறையே ஒன்பதாம் பத்தின் பாட்டுடைத் தலைவன் ஆவன்.

பத்தாம் பத்தின் பாட்டுடைத் தலைவன், சேரமான் யானைக்கட்சேஎய் மாந்தரஞ்சேரல் இரும்பொறை என்று கருதப்பெறுகின்றுன்.

மேலே காட்டிய மரபு வரிசை பதிற்றுப் பத்தின் பதிகங்களால் அறியப் பட்டதாகும்.

பதிற்றுப் பத்தின் பதிகங்களால் விளக்கமாகும் சேர அரச மரபு வரிசை ஏற்றுக் கொள்ளற்பாலதே என்பது அண்மையில் 7.3.1965ல் “இந்து” நாளி தழில் திரு. ஐராவதம் மகாதேவன் என்பவரால் வெளியான ஒரு பழைய கல் வெட்டுச் சான்றுனும், கேரளப் பல்கலைக்கழகத் தமிழ்ப்பேராசிரியர் திரு. வி. ஐ. சுப்பிரமணியம் அவர்கள் துணையுடன், அதன் ஆராய்ச்சி அறிஞர் திரு. இர. பன்னீர்ச்செல்வம் என்பார் அதற்கு எழுதியுள்ள விளக்கக் குறிப் பாலும் வலியுறுகின்றது.

பதிற்றுப் பத்துப் பதிகத்தின் வரலாற்றுச் செய்தியைத் துணையாகக் கொண்டு நோக்குவோமாளுல், உதியஞ்சேரலாதன் என்பான் நிலைபெற்ற பெரும் புகழும், மறுவில்லாத வாய்மை மொழியும், இன்னிசை முரசமும் உடையவன் எனத் தெரிகின்றுன். கொடையால் வருவது புகழ் ஆகலின், நிலை பெற்ற பெரும் புகழ் உடையவன் உதியன் எனப்படுதலால், அவன் பெருஞ் சோறு கொடுக்கும் கொடை உடையவன் எனலாம். அவன் மறுவில் வாய் மொழி உடையவன் எனப்படுவதால், அறங்களெல்லாம் உடையவன் அவன் என்று நாம் திண்ணமாகக் கொள்ளலாம். இன்னிசை முரசம் உடையவன் அவன் எனப்படுதலால் வீரமும் வெற்றியும் நிலைபெற உடையவன் அவன் என் பது திண்ணம். பதிற்றுப் பத்தில் இவனைப் பற்றிப் பாடப்பட்ட முதல் பத்து இப்போது கிடைக்கப்பெறவில்லையெனினும் இரண்டாம் பதிகத்தின் முதற் கண் வரும் இச்சில செய்திகளால் உதியஞ்சேரல் என்பவன் ஈடெடுப்பில்லாத பேரரசனுகத் திகழ்ந்தவன் என்பது தெளியலாம். பதிற்றுப் பத்தின் முதல் பத்திற்கு இவன் தலைவனுகக் கொள்ளப்பட்டிருத்தலால், இவனை முதலாகக் கொண்டு தொன்று தொட்ட சேர அரச மரபு மறுமலர்ச்சி பெற்று வீறு

கொண்டு ஓங்குவதாயிற்று எனலாம். இந்த நம் கருத்திற்கு அரண் செய்வ தாக,

> "நாடுகண் அகற்றிய உதியஞ் சேரல்
> பாடிச் சென்ற பரிசிலர் போல
> உவவினி வாழிய நெஞ்சே"

(அகநா : 65)

என்ற மாமூலனர் வாய்மொழி அமைந்துள்ளமை காணலாம்.

உதியஞ்சேரல், சேர நாட்டைத் தன் வெற்றி வீரத்தால் விரிவாக்கிய வன் என்பதும், அதனுல், குறைவிலா நிறைவளம் உடையவன் ஆயினுன் என் பதும், அதன் விளைவால் பெருங்கொடை உடையவனுகத் திகழ்ந்தான் என் பதும், அவனைப்பாடிச் செல்லும் பரிசிலர் பேருவகை உறுவர் என்பதும் மாமூலனர் வாய் மொழியால் தெளிவாக விளங்கும். இத்தகைய சிறப்புக் களையெல்லாம் கேள்விப்பட்டே பராசரன் உதியஞ்சேரலாதனையோ, அவ னுடைய வெற்றிப் புகழ்ச் சிறப்புக்களைத் தன்பால் ஏற்றுக்கொண்ட பல் யானைச் செல்கெழு குட்டுவனையோ அடைய விரும்பினுன் என்று இப்போது திண்ணமாகக் கூறலாம்.

> "கொடைக் கடன் ஏன்ற கோடா நெஞ்சின்
> உதியன் அட்டில் போல ஒலிஎழுந்து
> அருவி ஆர்க்கும் பெருவரைச் சிலம்பு"

(அகநா : 168)

என்று கோட்டம்பலத்துத்துஞ்சிய சேரமான் என்பவன் பாடியிருத்தலையும் நாம் ஈண்டு நினைவுகூரலாம். உதியன், கொடுக்கும் தொழிலையே தன் கடனுகக் கொண்டவன். அறங்கள் எல்லாம் நிறைந்தவன்; கோடுதல் இல்லாத நெஞ் சினை உடையவன்; தன்னை நாடி வருவோர்க்கெல்லாம் பசிக்கொடுமை ஆற் றும் பெருஞ்சோறு கொடுக்கும் இயல்புடையவன். ஆதலால் அவனுடைய அட்டில் (சமையல் செய்யும் அகம்) என்றும், எப்பொழுதும் ஒலி நிரம்பியே இருக்கும். இன்னும் விரிவாக அவனைப்பற்றி யாது கூற வேண்டியிருக்கிறது?

இதுகாறும் ஈண்டுக் கூறியவற்றுல், சேர அரச பரம்பரையில் தொன் மைசான்ற சேர அரசன் சேரலாதனே என்பதும், அவன் இமயவரம்பன் நெடுஞ்சேரலாதனுடைய தந்தையே என்பதும், பராசரன் கேள்வியுற்ற கொடைத்திறம் நிறைந்த சேர அரசன் உதியஞ்சேரலாதனே என்பதும், புற நானூற்று இரண்டாம் பாடலில் பெருஞ்சோற்று மிகுபதம் வரையாது கொடுத்த சேரன் எனப்பட்டவனும் அவனே என்பதும் விளங்கும்.

இமயவரம்பன் நெடுஞ்சேரலாதனுடைய மைந்தனே கடல்பிறக்கோட் டிய செங்குட்டுவன். கண்ணகிக்கு நடுகல் நாட்டியவன் இச்செங்குட்டுவனே ஆவன். மதுராபதி, பராசரன் வாயிலாகச் சேர அரசரை உணர்த்துங்கால், இச்செங்குட்டுவனுக்கு முற்பட்டவரையே உணர்த்தியிருத்தல் நினைக்கத் தக்கதாகும். இந்தச் சேர மரபினரைச் சிலப்பதிகாரத்தில் மற்றோரிடத்தில் உணர்த்தியிருத்தலையும் ஈண்டு நினைவு கூர்தல் தக்கதாகும்.

சோழ பாண்டியர் தன்னை இழித்துரைத்தனர் என்று நீலன் முதலிய கஞ்சுக மாக்கள் கூறக்கேட்ட செங்குட்டுவன் சினந்தெழுந்தபோது, அவன்

சினத்தைத் தணிக்க மாடலன் கூறும் கூற்றின் இடையில்,

> "வேந்துவினைமுடித்த ஏந்துவாள் வலத்துப்
> போந்தைக் கண்ணிநின் ஊங்கணேர் மருங்கில்
> கடற்கடம் பெறிந்த காவலன் ஆயினும்
> விடர்ச்சிலை பொறித்த விறலோன் ஆயினும்
> நான்மறை யாளன் செய்யுட் கொண்டு
> மேல்நிலை உலகம் விடுத்தோன் ஆயினும்
> போற்றி மன்னுயிர் முறையிற் கொள்கெனக்
> கூற்றுவரை நிறுத்த கொற்றவன் ஆயினும்
> வன்சொல் யவனர் வளநாடு ஆண்டு
> பொன்படு நெடுவரை புகுந்தோன் ஆயினும்
> மிகப்பெருந் தானையொடு இருஞ்செரு ஓட்டி
> அகப்பா எறிந்த அருந்திறல் ஆயினும்
> உருகெழு மரபின் அயிரை மண்ணி
> இருகடல் நீரும் ஆடினேன் ஆயினும்...
> ...மீக்கூற்றாளர் யாவரும் இன்மையின்
> யாக்கை நில்லாது என்பதை உணர்ந்தோய்"

(சிலப் : 28 : 133-150)

எனச் செங்குட்டுவனுக்கு முற்பட்ட சேர அரசர்களைக் குறிக்க முற்பட்டு, இமயவரம்பன் நெடுஞ்சேரலாதனையும் அவன் தம்பி பல்யானைச் செல்கெழு குட்டுவனையும் எடுத்தியம்பி, அவர்கள் செய்த அருஞ்செயல்களையே பன்னிப் பன்னி உணர்த்தியுள்ளான். இங்கே குறித்துள்ள செய்திகள் பதிற்றுப் பத்துப் பாடல்களிலும் அதன் பதிகங்களிலும் காணப்படும் செய்திகளாகவே இருத்தலையும் காணலாம்.

சிலப்பதிகாரம் யாக்கப்பெற்ற காலத்திலேயே அதன் முதற்பத்துக் காணுதொழிந்ததுபோலும். அதனுல்தான் ஈண்டு இமயவரம்பன் தந்தை யாகிய உதியஞ்சேரலைப் பற்றி ஒன்றும் குறிக்கவில்லைபோலும். அக்காலத் திலேயே பதிகங்கள் இருந்திருத்தல் வேண்டும், என்பது ஈண்டுக் குறிக்கப் பட்ட செய்திகளிலிருந்து தெளிவாகத் தெரிதலால் அவை பதிற்றுப் பத்தைப் போலவே பழமையுடையவை, அல்லது அதற்குக் காலத்தால் அண்மையுடை யவை எனலாம்.

பதிற்றுப் பத்தின் பதிகங்கள் பழமையானவை போலவே, புறநானூற் றின் கொளுக்களும் பழமையானவையே ஆகும். அவையும் சிலப்பதிகார காலத்திற்கு முற்பட்டவையேயாகும். கண்ணகிக்குக் கல் எடுத்த செய்தியும் பதிற்றுப் பத்தின் ஐந்தாம் பதிகத்தில் வருதலால், சிலப்பதிகார காலத்தவை அல்லது அதற்குச் சற்றே முற்பட்ட காலத்தவை பதிகங்கள் எனல் தவரு காது. எது எவ்வாருயினும், புறநானூற்றுக் கொளுச் செய்திகளையும் பதிற் றுப் பத்தின் வரலாற்றுச் செய்திகளையும் துணையாகக் கொண்டே சிலப்பதி காரத்தில் சேரர் பற்றிய வரலாற்றுச் செய்திகள் யாக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன என லாம்.

புறநானூற்று இரண்டாம் பாடலின் கொளுவும், அப்பாடலில் வரும் ஐவர், ஈரைம்பதின்மர் பற்றிய செய்தியும் சிலப்பதிகார ஆசிரியரையும் சிறிது திகைப்படையச் செய்தனவோ என்று எண்ணவேண்டியுள்ளது. பதிற்றுப் பத்தில் உதியன் மரபினரை வேருகவும் பொறையன் மரபினரை வேருகவும்

வகைசெய்தே அந்நூலைத் தொகுத்துள்ளனர். அதில் முதல் பத்துக் காணு மற் போயினமையால், உதியனைப்பற்றிய எல்லாச் செய்தியையும் நாம் அறியக் கூடவில்லை. இரண்டாம் பத்தின் பதிகம் அவனை இமயவரம்பன் நெடுஞ் சேரலாதனுடைய தந்தை எனவும், "மன்னிய பெரும்புகழ் மறுவில் வாய் மொழி இன்னிசை முரசின் உதியஞ்சேரல்" எனவும் குறித்துள்ளது. இதனை முன்பும் எடுத்துக் காட்டினோம்.

புறநானூற்றிலும் பாடல்கள் ஒருவகை முறைபற்றியே தொகுக்கப் பெற்றுள்ளன. சேர, பாண்டிய, சோழர் என்ற நிரலில் தொன்றுதொட்டுத் தமிழ்நாட்டை ஆண்டுவந்த முப்பெரு வேந்தர்தம் பரம்பரை வரிசையை உணர்த்துகின்ற முறையில் அதன் பாடல்கள் நிரலாக அமைந்துள்ளன. அம் முறையில் உதியஞ்சேரலாதனே தொன்மையில் முதலிடம் பெற்றவனாகத் திகழ்கின்றான். அவனுக்கு அடுத்துத் தொன்மையை உடைய சேர மன்னனாகத் திகழ்பவன் சேரமான் கருவூர் ஏறிய ஒள்வாட் கோப்பெருஞ்சேரலிரும் பொறை. பொறை என்ற முடியையுடைய இவனைப் பொறையன் மரபில் தொன்மையில் முதலிடம் பெற்றவனாகக் கொள்ளலாம். பதிற்றுப்பத்தில், பொறையன் மரபில் முதலிடம் பெற்றவனாகக் குறிக்கப்படும் அந்துவஞ்சேரல் இரும் பொறை இவனே எனலாம்போல் தோன்றுகிறது. நிரல் வழி இவனுக்கு அடுத்த சேர மன்னனாகக் கடுங்கோ வாழியாதன் நிறுத்தப் பெற்றுள்ளான். பொறையன் மரபில் இரண்டாம் சேர மன்னனாகப் பதிற்றுப் பத்தில் காண் பவன் இவனே. இவனையடுத்துப் பெருஞ்சேரல் இரும்பொறையும் அவன்பின் இருஞ்சேரலிரும்பொறையும் நிறுத்தப்பெறுதல் முறையாகும். ஆனால் அவர் களிடத்தில் சேரமான் பாலைபாடிய கடுங்கோவும், மீண்டும் சேரமான் செல் வக் கடுங்கோ வாழியாதனும் காணப்படுகின்றனர். இவர்களையடுத்துச் சேர மான் யானைக்கட்சேஎய் மாந்தரஞ்சேரலிரும்பொறையே காணப்படு கின்றான். இவனே பதிற்றுப்பத்தின் இறுதிப்பத்தின் பாட்டுடைத் தலை வன் எனக் கருதப்பெறுகிறான். இவருள் முதல் மன்னனும் இறுதி மன்ன னும் நீண்டகாலம் அரியணையில் வீற்றிருந்தனர்போலும். அங்ஙனம் இருந் தால்தான் உதியன் மரபினரும், பொறையன் மரபினரும், சமகால மன்னர் கள் எனல் கூடும். பதிற்றுப்பத்தில் காணப்படும் இரு மரபினருள் பொறை யன் மரபினரே புறநானூற்றில் நிரலாகப் போற்றிக் கொள்ளப்பெறுகின்ற னர் எனலாம். உதியன் மரபினருள், உதியஞ்சேரலாதன் முதற்கண் வந்து மறைந்து விடுகின்றவன். அவன் மரபில் ஏனையவர் தொடர்ந்து புறநானூற் றில் கூறப்படவில்லை.

புறநானூற்றில் சேரவேந்தர் நிரலில் உதியஞ்சேரலாதன் மிகமிகப் பழமையான சேரவேந்தனாகக் காணப்படுதல் போலச் சோழ வேந்தர் நிர லில் உருவப்பஃறேர் இளஞ்சேட்சென்னியே மிகமிகப் பழைய சோழ வேந்த னாகக் காணப்படுகின்றான். அங்ஙனமே, பாண்டியன் கருங்கை ஒள்வாட் பெரும்பெயர்வழுதியே பாண்டிய வேந்தருள் மிகமிகப் பழமையான பாண்டி யனாகக் காணப்படுகின்றான். எனவே, உதியஞ்சேரலாதனும் உருவப்பஃறே ரிளஞ்சேட்சென்னியும் பாண்டியன் கருங்கை ஒள்வாட் பெரும்பெயர்வழுதி யும் சம காலத்தரசர்கள் எனலாம்.

அங்ஙனமே அடுத்த நிரலைக் கொண்டு பார்ப்போமேயானால், கருவூர் ஏறிய ஒள்வாட் கோப்பெருஞ்சேர லிரும்பொறையொடு பாண்டியன் பல் யாகசாலை முதுகுடுமிப் பெருவழுதியும் சோழன் கரிகாற் பெருவளத்தானும் ஒத்த காலத்தவராகக் காணப்படுகின்றனர்.

அதற்கடுத்த நிரல்படி, சேரமான் கடுங்கோ வாழியாதனும் பாண்டியன் பல்யாகசாலை முதுகுடுமிப் பெருவழுதியும் சோழன் நெய்தலங்கானல் இளஞ் சேட்சென்னியும் ஒத்த காலத்தவராகக் காணப்படுகின்றனர்.

இந்நிரல்களையெல்லாம் ஒப்பிட்டுப் பார்க்கும்போது சேரமான் உதி யஞ் சேரலாதன் காலத்தில் சோழர் மரபில் உருவப்பஃறேர் இளஞ்சேட் சென்னியும் உதியஞ் சேரலாதனுக்கு அடுத்த சேரமன்னன் காலத்தில் சோழன் கரிகால் பெருவளத்தானும் தமிழ்நாட்டுள் தத்தம் பகுதிகளை அர சாண்டனர் என்பது தெளிவாகின்றது.

சோழன் கரிகால் பெருவளத்தான், சோழன் உருவப்பஃறேர் இளஞ் சேட்சென்னியின் மைந்தன் என்பது பத்துப்பாட்டுப் பொருநராற்றுப் படை யாலும், புறநானூற்றுள் ஏனைய பாடல்களில் வரும் குறிப்புக்களாலும் அறி யப்படும்.

இவற்றையெல்லாம் சீர்தூக்கிப் பார்க்கும்போது சேரமான் உதியஞ் சேரலாதனும் சோழன் உருவப்பஃறேரிளஞ்சேட் சென்னியும் சமகாலத்த வர் என்பதும் சேரமான் பெருஞ்சேரலாதன், சேரமான் செல்வக்கடுங்கோ வாழியாதன், சேரமான் குடக்கோ நெடுஞ்சேரலாதன், சோழன் கரிகாற் பெருவளத்தான் என்பவர்கள் சமகாலத்தவர் என்பதும் விளக்கமாகும்.

சிலப்பதிகார ஆசிரியரான இளங்கோவடிகள் புறநானூற்றையும் பதிற் றுப் பத்தையும் அறிந்தவரே. பதிற்றுப் பத்தில் சேரமன்னர்கள் இரு மரபின ராக நிறுத்தப் பெற்றுள்ளமையை அவர் அறிந்தவரே. புறநானூற்றில், சேர மன்னர் மரபில் சேரமான் உதியஞ்சேரலாதனை அடுத்துப் பொறையன் மர பினன் ஒருவனுக்கு முதன்மையும் அவனையடுத்துக் கால முறைப்படி ஏனைய வர்க்கு அடுத்தடுத்து நிற்கும் முறைமையும் உரிமையும் இருத்தலை அவர் நன்கு அறிந்தவரே.

செங்குட்டுவனை ஒப்ப அவன் தந்தை இமயவரம்பன் நெடுஞ்சேரலா தன் கடம்பெறிந்தும் இமயத்தில் விற்பொறி பொறித்தும் சிறப்பெய்தியவன். அவன் தம்பி பல்யானைச் செல்கெழு குட்டுவனும் அகப்பா எறிந்தும், இரு கடல் நீராடியும், சிறப்பும் பெருமையும் எய்தியவன். இவ்விருவர்களைப் பற்றி யும் அவர் நன்கறிந்தவரே.

பொறையன் மரபென்பதொன்றுண்டெனவும் அம்மரபில் வந்தவர் செய்திகளும் அவர் நன்கறிந்தவரே.

உதியஞ்சேரலாதன், இமயவரம்பன் நெடுஞ்சேரலாதனுடைய தந்தை என்பதையும், அவனைப் பற்றிப் புறநானூறு இரண்டாம் பாடல் கூறுவதை யும் அவர் நன்கறிந்தவரே; அப்பாடலில் அவன் பெருஞ்சோறு கொடுத்த செய்தியைக் கூறும் அடிகளை ஒட்டியே அவர் பாட விழைந்து, விழைந்த வாறே அவர் பாடியும் இருப்பார்.

உதியன் பெருஞ்சோறு கொடுத்த செய்தியை அவர் உணர்த்தும் பாடல்,

> "ஓரைவர் ஈரைம் பதின்மர் உடன்றெழுந்த
> போரில் பெருஞ்சோறு போற்றாது தானளித்த
> சேரன் பொறையன் மலையன் திறம்பாடிக்
> கார்செய் குழலாட ஆடாமோ ஊசல்
> கடம்பெறிந்த வாபாடி ஆடாமோ ஊசல்"

(சிலம் : 29 : 24)

என்பதாகும். இப்பாடல் சிலப்பதிகார வாழ்த்துக் காதையில் ஊசல் வரி

என்ற தலைப்பின் கீழ் வரும் மூன்று பாடல்களுள் இடைப் பட்டதொன்று கும். உதியன், பெருஞ்சோறு எப்போது கொடுத்தான் என்ற செய்தியை இளங்கோவடிகள் அறியாமலா பாடியிருப்பர்? எப்படிப்பட்ட பெருஞ் சோறு அவன் கொடுத்தான் என்பதை உணராமலா பாடியிருப்பர்? "போரில் பெருஞ்சோறு" என்பதே அதற்குச் சான்றுகும் எனலாம். "ஒப் பற்ற பெருஞ்சோறு" என்று கூறுவதே அவர் கருத்தாகும். "பொரு இல் பெருஞ்சோறு" "போரில் பெருஞ்சோறு" என ஆதல் இலக்கணத்தோடு பொருந்திய முறைமையேயாகும். இவ்வாறுதலை உணராது, போர் என்ப தற்குச் சண்டையில் என்று பொருள் அமைத்துக் கொண்டதனுலேதான் குழப்பமெல்லாம் நேர்ந்ததெனலாம்.

புறநானூற்றுப் பாடற் போக்கிற்கு ஏற்ப இதன் முதலடி அமைய வேண்டுமானல் "ஓரைவர் ஈரைம்பதின்மர் உடன்றழிய" என்றுதான் இருத் தல் இயலும். புறநானூற்றில் "ஈரைம்பதின்மரும் பொருது களத்தொழிய" என்று வருவதற்கு ஏற்பவே இளங்கோவடிகள் பாட விழைந்து, விழைந்த வாறே பாடியிருப்பாரெனில், "ஓரைவர் ஈரைம்பதின்மர் உடன்றழிய" என்றுதான் அவர் பாடிய பாடலின் முதலடி அமைந்திருக்கும். "ஒழிய" என்பதற்கு "ஒழிந்துபோக" என்று பொருள் கொள்ளலாம். அவ்வாறே "அழிய" என்பதற்கு "அழிந்துபோக" என்று பொருள் கொள்ளலாம். இங் ஙனம் "அழிய" என நிற்பதன்றி "ஒழிய" எனப் புறநானூற்றில் உள்ள வாறே நிற்பினும் அமையும்; பொருள் அப்போதும் ஒன்றேயாகும்.

புறநானூற்று உரையாசிரியர் "ஒழிய" என்பதற்கு "ஒழியுந்துணையும்" என்று பொருள் கொள்வர். அவ்வாறு உரைத்த உரையே மலைவுகட்கெல் லாம் இடம் தந்தது. "ஒழிய" என்பதற்கு "ஒழிந்துபோக" அல்லது "ஒழிந் தனராக" என்று பொருள் கூறுவதே நேர். அங்ஙனம் கூறியிருப்பின் மலைவே வருவதற்கு இடமில்லை. எனவே, சிலப்பதிகார ஊசல் வரியில் வரும் அடியில் "உடன்றழிய" என்ற தொடர் "உடன்றெழுந்த" என்ற தொடராக மாற்றப் பட்டிருத்தல் நன்கு விளங்குவதாகும். யார் எப்போது மாற்றினர் என்பது தெரியவில்லை. இம்மாற்றம் புறநானூற்று உரையாசிரியர்தம் உரைக்கேற்ப நேர்ந்ததாகும் எனலாம்.

இப்போதுள்ள சிலப்பதிகாரப் பாடத்தை வைத்துக்கொண்டு, அதன் ஆசிரியரும் புறநானூற்று இரண்டாம் பாடற் கருத்தைப் போலவும் அதன் உரையாசிரியர் உரைக்கருத்தைப் போலவும் பாடியிருத்தலால், உதியஞ்சேர லாதன் என்பவன் பாரதப் போரில் பெருஞ்சோறு கொடுத்தது உண்மை யென்றும், ஆதலால், முரஞ்சியூர் முடிநாகராயர் உதியனை முன்னிலைப் படுத் திப் பாடும் பாடல் பாரதப்போர் நிகழ்ந்த காலத்தில் பாடப்பட்டதென்று நாம் கொள்ள வேண்டும் என்றும் ஒரு குரலில் தமிழறிஞர் அனைவரும் கூறு வர். இக்கருத்திற்கு மாறுபட்ட கருத்துக் காணுதவரையில் இக்கருத்தே உண்மையெனத் திட்பமாகக் கொள்ளுதற்கு உரியதென்றும் அவரெல்லாம் கூறுவர்.

பாரதப்போர் நிகழ்ந்த காலம் சங்க காலத்திற்கு எத்துணையோ நூற் றுண்டுகள் முற்பட்ட காலமாகும். தொல்காப்பியர் காலத்துக்கும் எத் துணையோ நூற்றுண்டுகள் முற்பட்ட காலம் ஆகும். தொல்காப்பியர் காலத் திற்கு முற்பட்ட காலத்திய நூல்கள் ஒன்றுகூட, ஏன், ஓர் ஏடு கூடச் சென்ற இடம் இன்னதென்று அறிய முடியாமல் ஒருசேர மறைந்தொழிந் தன; அழிந்தொழிந்தன. அங்ஙனமாக, அவற்றுள் ஒரு பாடல் மட்டும் எப்

படியோ கிடைத்துப் புறநானூற்றில் கடவுள் வாழ்த்துப் பாடலையடுத்து முதற்பாடலாக அதன் மிகமிகப் பழமை பற்றிக் கோக்கப்பட்டதென்று கொள்வது, வான் தாமரை நானிலம் முழுதும் சூழ நறுமணம் வீசுகின்ற தென்று கூறும் கூற்றையே ஒக்கும்.

இன்று கிடைத்துள்ள நம் தமிழ் நூல்களையெல்லாம் காலமுறைப்படி நிரல் படுத்திப் படித்துப் பார்ப்போமேயானுல், அவற்றில் நூற்ருண்டுக்கு நூற்ருண்டு சொற்களும் அவற்றின் பொருள்களும், சொற்கோவையும் சொல்நடையும் சொற்கட்டும் இன்னோரன்ன பிறவும் சிறிதளவாதல் மாறு பட்டிருக்கக் காண்போம். ஆனுல் சங்க நூல்களில் வரும் ஏனைய பாடல்களை யும் புறநானூற்றின் இரண்டாம் பாடலையும் ஒப்பிட்டுப் பார்க்குமிடத்து எந்த வகையிலும் நாம் சிறிதளவும் அவற்றிடையே வேறுபாடோ மாறு பாடோ காண முடியவில்லை. எனவே புறநானூற்று இரண்டாம் பாடல் எந்த வகையாலும் சங்க காலத்திற்கு முற்பட்டதன்று என்று துணிந்து கூற லாம்.

இமயவரம்பன் நெடுஞ்சேரலாதனுடைய தந்தை உதியஞ்சேரலாதன் என்பது யாவராலும் ஒப்புக் கொள்ளப்பட்ட உண்மை. ஐவருக்கும் ஈரைம் பதின்மருக்கும் பெருஞ்சோறு கொடுத்தவன் அவன் என்ற கருத்துப் பெறச் சிலப்பதிகார ஆசிரியர் பாடியுள்ளார் என்றே வைத்துக் கொண்டாலும், இமயவரம்பன் நெடுஞ்சேரலாதனுக்குத் தந்தை அவன் என்ற முறையில் தான் அவனைக் கருதிப் பாடுகின்ருர் என்பது மேலே காட்டிய பாடலின் முன்னும் பின்னும் நம் கருத்தைச் செலுத்திஞல் நன்கு விளக்கமாகும். மேலே குறித்த பாடல் வாழ்த்துக் காதையில் ஊசல் வரி என்ற தலைப்பின் கீழ் வரும் மூன்று பாடல்களுள் இடையில் வருவதாகும் என்பதை முன்பும் குறித்தோம். அவற்றுள் முதற் பாடல் கடம்பு முதல் தடிந்த காவலன் ஆகிய இமயவரம்பன் நெடுஞ்சேரலாதனைப் பாடுதல் வாயிலாக அவன் செய்தியைச் செங்குட்டுவன் மேல் ஏற்றிப் பாடுதலைக் கூறுவதாகும்.

மூன்ரும் பாடலாகிய இறுதிப்பாடல், வன்சொல் யவனர், வளநாடு, வன்பெருங்கல், தென் குமரியாண்ட நெடுஞ்சேரலாதன், இவர்களைப் பாடு தல் வாயிலாக நெடுஞ்சேரலாதன் செய்தியைச் செங்குட்டுவன் மீது ஏற்றிப் பாடியாடுதலைக் கூறுவதாகும்.

இடையில் வருவதான மேற் காட்டிய பாடல் உதியன் புகழும் நெடுஞ் சேரலாதன் புகழும் ஒருங்கே கூறி அவர்கள் செய்தியைச் செங்குட்டுவன் மேல் ஏற்றிப்பாடியாடுதலைக் குறிப்பதாகும் என்பது சொல்லாமலே விளங் கும். இப்பாடலின் இறுதியடியில் கடம்பெறிந்த செய்தி தெளிவாகக் கூறப்படு தலால் அஃது இமயவரம்பன் நெடுஞ்சேரலாதன் செய்தியாம் என்பது தெளி வாகும். எனவே, முதல் மூன்று அடிகள் அவன் தந்தையைப் பற்றியனவே யாகும் என்பது வெளிப்படை. இமயவரம்பன் தந்தை ஒருவன் உளனுகவும் அவனைப் பற்றிக் கூருது, என்ரூே பாரதப் போர் நிகழ்ந்த காலத்தில் இருந்த உதியஞ்சேரலைப்பற்றி இமயவரம்பனெடு பிணைத்து ஈண்டுப் பாடப்பட்டுள் ளதென்பது அளவிற்கு எவ்வாற்ருலும் பொருந்துவதின்ருகும்.

புறநானூற்றிலும் அகநானூற்றிலும் ஏனைய புலவர்கள் உதியஞ்சேர லைப்பற்றிப் பாடிய பாடல்கள் மேலே காட்டப் பெற்றன. அவைகளெல்லாம் அங்ஙனம் பாடப் பெற்றவன் சங்ககாலத்து உதியஞ்சேரலாதனே என்பதை யும், அவனே பெருங்கொடையாளி பெருஞ்சோறு கொடுத்தவன் என்பதை யும், நன்கு உணர்த்துகின்றன. அவனுக்கு வேருகப் பாரதப் போர் நிகழ்ந்த

காலத்தில் பெருஞ்சோறு கொடுத்த உதியன் சேரலாதன் என்பானெருவன் இருந்தான் என்பதற்குப் புறநானூற்று உரையாசிரியர் கூற்றைத் தவிரச் சான்று வேறொன்றுமே இல்லை.

அவ்வாறுயின் புறநானூற்று இரண்டாம் பாடலில் வரும் ஐவர், நூற்றுவர் பற்றிய குறிப்பும், சிலப்பதிகார காலத்தில் உண்மைப் பாடல் ஈதென உணர்த்திய பின்னும், அது குறிக்கும் குறிப்பும் உணர்த்தும் உண்மைப் பொருள் யாதென்று கேட்பது ஏற்புடையதேயாகும்.

அதற்கு விடை பகர்வான் வேண்டிச் சங்கப் புலவர்களுள் சிறப்பும் பெருமையும் ஒருங்கே உடையவரான மாமூலனர் என்ற சான்றோர் நமக்குத் தோன்றாத் துணையாய் இருப்பதற்கு நாம் அவருக்கு என்றென்றும் கடமைப்பட வேண்டும்.

இந்த மாமூலனர், அகநானூற்றில் வரும் ஒரு பாட்டில் (233) உதியஞ்சேரல் என்ற ஒருவனையும் அவன் பெருஞ்சோறு கொடுத்த செய்தியையும் ஒருங்கே குறிப்பிட்டுள்ளார். எனவே, அவன் பெருஞ்சோறு கொடுத்த உதியஞ்சேரலாதனே என்பதில் எள்ளளவும் ஐயமே இல்லை. அவ்வாறுயின் புறநானூற்று இரண்டாம் பாடலால் பெறப்படும் உதியஞ்சேரலும் இவனும் ஒருவனே என்று உறுதியுடன் கூறலாம் அன்றே?

புறநானூற்று இரண்டாம் பாடலில் உதியஞ் சேரலின் பெயர் வரவில்லை. ஆனல், அவன் பெருஞ்சோறு கொடுத்தது பற்றிய செய்தி வந்துள்ளது. சிலப்பதிகாரத்திலும் உதியஞ்சேரலுடைய பெயர் வரவில்லை. ஆனல் அவன் பெருஞ்சோறு கொடுத்த செய்தி வந்துள்ளது.

மாமூலனர் பாடிய அகநானூற்றுப் பாடலிலோ, உதியஞ் சேரலுடைய பெயரும், அவன் பெருஞ்சோறு கொடுத்த செய்தியும் ஒருங்கே தெளிவாக உணர்த்தப்பெற்றுள்ளன. உண்மையில் முரஞ்சியூர் முடிநாகராயர் பாடிய பாடலின் பாட்டுடைத் தலைவனும், சிலப்பதிகாரத்தில் பெருஞ்சோறு கொடுத்தவன் என்று குறிக்கப்பட்டிருப்பவனும் உதியஞ்சேரலே என்று கொள்வதற்கு மாமூலனர் பாடியுள்ள பாடலில் வரும் செய்தியே உறுதுணையாகும். எனவே மாமூலனர் குறிக்கும் பெருஞ்சோறு கொடுத்த உதியஞ்சேரலைப் பற்றிய பாடற்பகுதியை ஈண்டு நாம் நினைவுகூர்தல் தக்கதாகும். அப்பகுதி,

> "மறப்படைக் குதிரை மாறா மைந்தின்
> துறக்கம் எய்திய தொய்யா நல்லிசை
> முதியர்ப் பேணிய உதியஞ் சேரல்
> பெருஞ்சோறு கொடுத்த ஞான்றை இரும்பல்
> கூளிச் சுற்றம் குழீஇ இருந் தாங்குக்
> குறியவும் நெடியவும் குன்றுதலை மணந்த
> சுரனிறந்து அகன்றன ராயினும்......நீடலோஇலர்"
>
> (அகநா : 233 : 6-12)

என்பதாகும்.

புறநானூற்றிற்போல, இதில் ஐவர், ஈரைம்பதின்மர் என்ற ஆட்சி இல்லையாயினும், புறநானூற்றில் இல்லாத தெளிவு ஈண்டு நமக்குக் கிடைக்கின்றது.

முன்பே கூறியவாறு, இரு திறத்தினர், தம்முள் போர் புரியும்போது நொதுமலர் ஒருவர், அவர் தம்முள் ஒரு திறத்தார்க்கு மட்டும் உதவுதல்

பொருந்துமேயன்றி இரு திறத்தார்க்கும் உதவுதல் பொருந்தவே பொருந் தாது. அஃது இயற்கையும் அன்று; மரபும் அன்று.

புறநானூற்று உரையாசிரியரோ, உதியஞ்சேரல் ஐவர், ஈரைம்பதின் மர் என்ற இரு திறத்தார்க்கும் பெருஞ்சோறு கொடுத்ததாகக் கூறியுள் ளார். அது பொருந்தாததாகும், என்பது கூறவும் வேண்டுமோ.

மாமூலனுர், தாம் பாடிய இவ்வகநானூற்றுப் பாடலில், துறக்கம் எய் திய முதியரைப் பேணும் பொருட்டு உதியஞ்சேரல் பெருஞ்சோறு கொடுத்த தாகக் கூறியுள்ளார். உதியஞ்சேரல் என்ற பெயரும், பெருஞ்சோறு கொடுத் தான் என்ற செயலும் பாட்டில் தெளிவாக எடுத்துக் கூறப் பெற்றிருந்த லால், அங்ஙனம் பெருஞ்சோறு கொடுத்தவன் பெருஞ்சோற்று உதியஞ்சேர லாதனே என்பது உறுதியாகும்.

புறநானூற்றிலும் சிலப்பதிகாரத்திலும், ஐவர், ஈரைம்பதின்மர் இவர் களைச் சார்த்திப் பெருஞ்சோறு கொடுத்த செய்தி கூறப்பட்டுள்ளது. இவ் வாறு கூறப்பட்டிருப்பதை ஆழ்ந்து நோக்காமல் இவர்கட்கே பெருஞ் சோறு கொடுக்கப்பட்டதென்று அறிஞர்கள் பொருள் கொள்ளலாயினர்.

உண்மையில் உதியஞ்சேரல், யாருக்கு, எப்போது, ஏன் பெருஞ்சோறு கொடுத்தான்? இதற்கு விடை மாமூலனுர் பாடலில் நமக்குக் கிடைக்கின் றது.

புறநானூறு, "அலங்கு உளைப் புரவி ஐவர்," எனப் புரவியைச் சார வைத்தே ஐவரை உணர்த்துகின்றது. புரவியை ஊர்ந்தே பொருது வெற்றி பெறுதலில் ஐவர் சிறந்திருந்தனர் போலும். எனவே, புரவியின் சார்பா கவே, அவர்கள், யாவராலும் உணரப் பெற்றனர் போலும். எனவே, அவரை ஐவரென உணர்த்த வேண்டாது, "மறப்படைக் குதிரை............முதியர்," என உணர்த்திஞலே அமையுமென்று கருதி, மாமூலனுர் அவ்வாறு உணர்த் தினர் போலும்.

ஈரைம்பதின்மர் ஐவரொடு பொர எழுந்தது "எஞ்சாத மண் நசை" முன் னிட்ட வஞ்சியைச் சார்ந்து, மைந்து பொருளான தும்பைப் போர் பொருதற் காகவேயாகும். எனவே, புறநானூறு நிலந்தலைக் கொண்ட பொலம்பூந் தும்பை ஈரைம்பதின்மரும்" என்று அவரைக் குறிக்கின்றது. ஆனுல், இந்த ஈரைம்பதின்மரும் பொருது களத்து ஒழிந்தனர் என்றும் அது குறிக்கின்றது. எனவே, ஐவர் வெற்றி பெற்றனர் என்பது கூருமலே அமையும். வெற்றி பெற்ற ஐவர் இன்று உலகில் உள்ளனரா? பிறந்தவர் அனைவரும் என்ருவது ஒருநாள் இறக்கவே வேண்டும். இறவாமல் என்றும் வாழ்தல் என்பது மக்க ளாகப் பிறந்தவர்க்கு இயலாததொன்ருகும். எனவே, ஈரைம்பதின்மர் போர்க்களத்தில் இறந்தொழிந்த சில காலத்திற்குப் பின் ஐவரும் கூட இறந் தனர். ஆனுல், அறம் வழுவாது வாழ்ந்திருந்து அறப்போர் புரிந்த அவர் ஏனையவர்களைப்போலல்லாமல் துறக்கம் எய்தினர். அங்ஙனம் துறக்கம் எய் தினவர், இந்நிலவுலகத்தில் யாராலும் அழிக்கவொண்ணுத நல்ல புகழை நிலைநாட்டிவிட்டுப் போயினர். இன்றைக்கு அவர்கள் கதை பழங் கதையா கும். அவர்கள் பழையோரே; முதியோரே ஆவர். மைந்து பொருளாக வந்த ஈரைம்பதின்மரை, மாருக மைந்து பொருளாக எதிர்த்து அவரை வீழ்த்திப்

பின் துறக்கம் எய்தினர் ஐவர். இவ்வெல்லாக் கருத்துக்களையும் உள்ளடக்கி, மாமூலனர்,

> "மறப்படைக் குதிரை மாறு மைந்தின்
> துறக்கம் எய்திய தொய்யா நல்இசை
> முதியர்"

என்று குறித்திருப்பது மிகவும் பாராட்டுதற்கு உரியதாகும். அங்ஙனம் துறக்கம் எய்தியவர்க்குப் பின் அவர்க்கு நீர்க்கடன் முதலியன ஆற்ற மக்கட் செல்வமும் வஞ்சித்து அழிக்கப்பட்டதென்ற வரலாறு, கேட்பவர் எவருடைய நெஞ்சையும் வருத்தாமல் இராது.

ஐவர் ஈரைம்பதின்மரைப் பற்றிய முழுவரலாறும் வியாசரால் பாரதமாக எழுதப்பட்டது வடமொழியில். அவ்வரலாறு தமிழ் நாட்டிலும் ஓரளவு தெரிந்திருந்தது. கேட்டவர் யாவரும் ஐவரைக் குறித்து வருந்தாது இருந்திருப்பாரோ. வருத்தக் குறிப்பு மட்டும் காட்டிப் பயன் யாது?

ஏனையவர் செவியிற் பட்டது போலவே, ஐவர்தம் வரலாறு சங்க காலத்தில் உதியஞ்சேரலாதனுடைய செவியிலும் பட்டது. வழிவழி எச்சம் இல்லாது துறக்கம் எய்தியவரைப் பேணுதல் தன் கடமை என்று அவன் பெரிதும் உணரலாஞன். எனவே அவரைப் பேணும் பொருட்டு உதியஞ்சேரலாதன் பெருஞ்சோறு கொடுத்தான். இக்கருத்து மாமூலனர் பாடலில் தெளிவாக உணர்த்தப்பெற்றுள்ளது எனலாம்.

இக்கருத்தை உளத்திற் பதித்துக் கொண்டு புறநானூற்று இரண்டாம் பாடலைத் திருப்பிப் படிப்போமானல், "ஐவரொடு சினந்து ஈரைம்பதின் மரும் பொருதுகளத்து ஒழிந்தனராக, அறவழிநின்று அவர்களொடு பொருது வென்று அதனல் பின் துறக்கம் எய்திய, வழிவழி மக்கட்செல்வம் இல்லாதொழிந்த ஐவரைப் பேணும் பொருட்டு உதியஞ்சேரலாதன் பெருஞ்சோறு கொடுத்தான்" என்ற பொருள் அதிற் பொதிந்திருத்தலை நாம் உணரலாம். சிலப்பதிகாரத்திலும் இத்தகைய பொருளே பொதிந்திருத்தலையும் நாம் உணரலாம்.

துறக்கம் எய்திய தொய்யா நல் இசை முதியரைப் பேணும் பொருட்டு உதியஞ்சேரலாதன் பெருஞ்சோறு கொடுத்த முறை யாது? பொருத்தம் யாது?

திருவள்ளுவர், இல்லறத்தார்க்கு வகுக்கும் கடன்களுள் ஒன்று தென்புலத்தார் கடனுகும். அக்கடன் புதல்வரைப் பெறுதலால் இறுக்கப்படும். அப்புதல்வர் தம் முன்னேர் நல்லுலகின்கட் செல்லவும் ஆண்டு இன்பம் பெற்றிருக்கவும் பிதிரர்கட்குத் திங்கள் தோறும், ஆண்டுதோறும் நீர்க்கடன் ஆற்றுதல் வாயிலாக அவரைப் பேணுவர். அங்ஙனம் புதல்வர் இன்றித் தம்பால் வந்து இறந்தவர்க்கு நீர்க்கடன் ஆற்றுதல் ஒவ்வொரு இல்லறத்தாருடைய கடனுமாகும். இக்கடன் ஆற்றுதல் பொருட்டே உதியஞ்சேரலாதன் பெருஞ்சோறு கொடுத்தான் எனலாமன்றே? பாண்டவர் ஐவர்க்கும் உதியஞ்சேரலாதன் குடிக்கும் யாதொரு தொடர்பும் இல்லையெனினும், "துறந்தார்க்கும் துவ்வாதவர்க்கும் இறந்தார்க்கும் இல்வாழ்வான் என்பான் துணை" என்று திருவள்ளுவர் கூறியுள்ள கருத்து நிலைபெற்றிருந்த தமிழகத்தில், தொடர்பின்றியே இறந்தவர்க்கும் நீர்க்கடன் ஆற்றுதல் வாயிலாக அவரைப் பேணுதல் தன் கடனும் என்பதை நன்குணர்ந்தே உதியஞ்சேரல் பெருஞ்சோறு கொடுத்தான் என்க.

இவ்வாறு பொருந்தக் கூறலே விடுத்துப் பாரதப் போர் நிகழ்ந்த காலத்தில் ஐவருக்கும் ஈரைம்பதின்மருக்கும் பெருஞ்சோறு கொடுத்தான் உதியஞ் சேரலெனவும், சங்ககாலத்தில் பாரதக்கூத்து ஆடியவருக்கும் பெருஞ்சோறு கொடுத்தான் உதியஞ்சேரல் எனவும் கூறுவது பொருந்தாது என்பது இப் போது நன்கு விளங்கும்.

இன்றும், வடநாட்டில், பாரதப்போர் நிகழ்ந்த இடமாகிய குருக்ஷேத் திரத்தில் கிரஹண காலத்தில், பாண்டவர் துரியோதனுதியர் நினைவாக, மக்கள் தர்ப்பணம் செய்கின்றனர். நம் போன்றவர் அங்கே போக நேர்ந் தால், எந்த நாளாயிருந்தாலும் தண்ணீரோ, துளசியோ, பிறபொருளோ கொண்டு நாம் விரும்புபவர்கள் சார்பாகத் தர்ப்பணம் செய்யலாம் என்று அங்குள்ள புரோகிதர்கள் கூறி, அவ்வாறு தர்ப்பணம் செய்யுமாறு வேண் டிக் கொள்வர். உதியன் காலத்தில் ஐவர்க்குத் தர்ப்பணம் செய்யும் முறை வழக்கில் இருந்தது போலும்.

உதியன் அம்முறையை நேரில் கண்டறிந்து தானும் செய்ய முன் வந்த னன் போலும். அதுகண்டு முடிநாகராயர் அவனை அந்நிகழ்ச்சி கூறிப் பாடி னர் போலும். உரையாசிரியர் காலத்தில் ஐவர்க்கேயன்றி நூற்றுவர்க்கும் தர்ப்பணம் செய்யும் இக்கால முறை ஏற்பட்டது போலும். அதுகொண்டு, அவர் தர்ப்பணம் செய்யும் நாளில் இரு திறத்தார் சார்பாகவும் பெருஞ் சோறு கொடுத்தான் எனக் கூறவந்தவர், இரு திறத்தார்க்கும் பெருஞ் சோறு கொடுத்தான் என்று கூறினர் போலும்.

பெருஞ்சோறு கொடுத்தல் என்பது வஞ்சிப் புறத்திணையில் ஒரு துறை யாய் வருவது கொண்டும், "பிண்டம் மேய பெருஞ்சோற்றுநிலை" தொல்: 1009 என்று அது விளக்கப் பெற்றிருத்தல் கொண்டும், "வேந்தன், போர் தலைக் கொண்ட பிற்றை ஞான்று போர் குறித்த படையாளரும் தானும் உட னுண்டாற் போல்வதோர் முகமன் செய்வதற்குப் பிண்டித்து வைத்த உண வைக் கொடுத்தல் மேயின பெருஞ்சோற்று நிலையும்," என்று அதற்கு நச் சினர்க்கினியர் உரைத்திருக்கும் உரை கொண்டும், அங்ஙனம் வஞ்சித்திணைப் போர் வீரர்க்குக் கொடுப்பதே பெருஞ்சோறு கொடுத்தலாம்; ஆகையால் இறந்தார் பொருட்டு அவரை நினைந்து கொடுத்தல் அஃதாகா தெனக் கூற முன் வரலாம்.

இவ்வாறுயின், பாரதப் போரில், இரு படையினர்க்கும் சோறு கொடுக் கப்பட்டதென்பது வஞ்சித்திணை பற்றிப் போருக்கெழுந்த தன் படை வீரர்க் குச் சோறு கொடுக்கப்பட்ட தன்மையின் அஃதும் பெருஞ்சோறு கொடுத்த தெனப்படாமையை அறிக. மேலும்,

"பெருஞ்சோறு பயந்து பல்யாண்டு புரந்த
பெருங்களிறு இழந்த பைதற் பாகன்
அதுசோர்ந்து அல்கிய அழுங்கல் ஆலை
வெளில்பாழ் ஆகக் கண்டுகலுழ்ந் தாங்குக்
கலங்கினன் அல்லனே யானே பொலந்தார்த்
தேர்வண் கிள்ளி போகிய
பேரிசை மூதூர் மன்றம் கண்டே

(புறநா : 220)

என்ற பாடலில் "தனக்குப் பெருஞ்சோறு பயந்து பல ஆண்டுகள் தன்னைப் புரந்த யானையை இழந்த பாகன்" என்று வரும் செய்தியில் போர் நிகழ்விடத்

தன்றிப் பிறிதிடத்தும் பெருஞ்சோறு கொடுத்தலென்பது ஆட்சி பெற்றிருத் தலைக் காண்க.

ஈதன்றியும்,

"சிறுசோற் ருனும் நனிபல கலத்தன் மன்னே
பெருஞ்சோற் ருனும் நனிபல கலத்தன் மன்னே"

(புறநா : 235)

என்ற பாடலில் சிறுசோறு என்பதற்கு முரண் தொடையாகப் பெருஞ்சோறு என்று வரும் வழக்கும் காண்க. ஈண்டுச் சிறுசோறு என்பது "சிற்றளவினை யுடைய சோறு" என்றும் பெருஞ்சோறு என்பது "மிக்க அளவினையுடைய சோறு" என்றும் பொருள்படுமென்று புறநானூற்று உரையாசிரியர் கூறு வர்.

இனிச் சிறுசோறு என்பது தயிர்ச்சோறு என்றும், பெருஞ்சோறு என் பது "புலராப் பச்சிலை யிடையிடுபு தொடுத்த மலயா மாலைப் பந்து உண் டன்ன ஊன் சோற்றமலை" என்றும் கொள்வர்.

"அந்தோ எந்தை அடையாப் பேரில்
வண்டுபடு நறவின் தண்டா மண்டையொடு
வரையாப் பெருஞ்சோற்று முரிவாய் முற்றம்
வெற்றியாற் றம்பியின் எற்றற் ருகக்
கண்டனன் மன்ற சோர்களன் கண்ணே"

(புறநா : 261)

என்றவிடத்து வந்தவர்க்கெல்லாம் பெருஞ்சோறு வழங்குவர் பாட்டுடைத் தலைவர் என்றே கூறப்பெற்றிருத்தலும் காண்க.

மாமூலனர் பாடலில், உதியஞ்சேரல் பெருஞ்சோறு கொடுத்தபோது அகன்ற சுரம் குறியவும் நெடியவும் குன்று பல மணந்திருந்தன. அக்காட்சி, உதியஞ்சேரல் பெருஞ்சோறு கொடுத்தபோது கூளிச் சுற்றம் குழீஇ இருந் தது போல் இருந்தது என்கிருர் மாமூலர். இதனல் பெருஞ்சோறு கொடுக் கூளிச் சுற்றம் குழீஇ இருந்ததாக ஒரு குறிப்பு வந்துள்ளது. தலைவன் கடந்து கப்பட்ட வகை ஒருவாறு தெளிவாகும்.

இதற்கு விளக்கம் தருவதுபோல், இமயவரம்பன் நெடுஞ்சேரலாதன் தம்பியான பல்யானைச் செல்கெழு குட்டுவன் புகழைப் பாடும் பதிற்றுப் பத் தின் மூன்றும் பத்தின் இறுதிப் பாடலில் (30) ஒரு செய்தி அமைந்துள்ளது. ஏன், அது மேற்குறித்த தொல்காப்பிய வஞ்சித் திணையில் வரும், "பிண்டம் மேய பெருஞ்சோற்று நிலை" என்பதற்கே விளக்கம் தருவதுபோல் அமைந் துள்ளது என்றும் கூறலாம்.

பதிற்றுப் பத்து முப்பதாம் பாடலில் வரும் செய்தி, "போர் குறித்து வரும் படையாளருக்குப் பெருஞ்சோறு உகுத்ததற்கு முரசு எறியப்படுகின் றது. அங்ஙனம் முரசு எறிவதற்கு முன், மிக்க சினத்தைச் செலுத்தி உரக்க உச்சரிக்கப்படும் மந்திரங்களால் அம்முரசுறை கடவுளை வழிபடும் பொருட்டு, அம்முரசுறை கடவுளை வழிபடுவோனுகிய உயர்ந்தோன் அம்முர சுறை கடவுளுக்கு ஏந்திய அரும்பெறற் பிண்டத்தினையும், நெய்த்தோர் (இரத்தம்) தூவிய நிறை மகிழ் இரும்பலியினையும் கண்டு கூளிகள் கை புடைத்து நடுங்கி நிற்க, அம்முரசுறை கடவுள் தன் ஆணையால் தன் பலிகளை, மேல் தன்னருளாலே போர் வெற்றி விளைவித்தற்கு நிமித்தமாகக் காக்கை

யும், பருந்தும் இருந்து ஆர, மறவர்க்குக் கடுஞ்சினம் கடாவிப் போர் முரசு எறிந்தது'' என்பதாம்.

முரசுறை கடவுளுக்குப் பலியாக இட்ட பிண்டத்தினைக் கூளிகள் உண்ண முடியாமல் நடுங்கினமைபோல, துறக்கம் எய்திய முதியோரைப் பேண இட்ட பிண்டத்தினைக் கூளிகள் அஞ்சி உண்ண முடியாமல் குழீஇ இருந்தன எனலாம்.

பிண்டம் மேய பெருஞ்சோற்று நிலை என்பதற்கும், முதலில் முரசுறை கடவுளுக்குப் பிண்டம் பலி வழங்கிப் பிறகு போர் வீரர்களுக்குப் பெருஞ் சோறு வழங்குதல் மரபெனப் பொருள் செய்ய வேண்டும் போலும்.

அங்ஙனம் துறக்கம் எய்திய முதியோரை நடுகல் நாட்டிக் கடவுளாக் கிப் பிண்டப் பலி வழங்கிப் பின் அவர்கள் நினைவாகிப் பலர்க்கும் பெருஞ் சோறு கொடுத்தல் மரபாம் என்று பொருள் கொள்ளலாம். "மாசில் மரத்த......" (நற். 281) என்ற பாடற் கருத்தும் ஈண்டு நினைவு கூர்தற்கு உரியதாகும்.

ஈமக்கடன், இழவுக்கடன், இறந்தவரைக் குறித்து ஆண்டுதோறும் ஆற் றும் கடன் முதலியனவெல்லாம் தமிழகத்தில் தொன்றுதொட்டு நிலவி வந் தனவேயாகும். எனவே, பாரதப் போரில் அறத்தாறு நின்று வென்று துறக் கம் எய்திய முதியோரைப் பேணும் பொருட்டு அவருக்குப் பிண்டப் பலியும் அவர் நினைவாக ஏனையோருக்குப் பெருஞ்சோறும் சங்ககாலத்து உதியஞ் சேரல் அளித்தான் என்று கூறுவதே பொருத்தமாகும்.

இனி உதியஞ்சேரலைக் குறிக்கும் மாமூலர் வேறு யார் யாரைக் குறிக் கின்றார் என்று சீர் தூக்கிப் பார்த்தலும், அவன் சங்க காலத்தவனு, பாரதப்போர்க் காலத்தவனு என்பதை அறுதியிடுவதற்கு ஏற்ற துணையா கும்.

உதியஞ்சேரலைப்பற்றி அவர் இரண்டிடங்களில் (அகநா: 65, 233) குறித்துள்ளார். நெடுஞ்சேரலாதனைப் பற்றியும் (அகநா: 127, 347) பெருஞ் சேரலாதனைப் பற்றியும் (அகநா: 55), பல்யானைச் செல்கெழு குட்டுவனைப் பற்றியும் (நற். 14), கரிகால் வளவனைப் பற்றியும் (அகநா: 55) அவர் தம் பாடல்களிற் குறிப்பிடுகின்றார்.

உதியஞ்சேரலைப் பற்றித் தோழி தலைவிக்குக் கூறும் கூற்றாகக் கூறுங் கால்,

> "நாடுகண் அகற்றிய உதியஞ் சேரல்
> பாடிச் சென்ற பரிசிலர் போல
> உவவினி வாழிய தோழி"
>
> (அகநா : 65)

என்று அவர் கூறியிருத்தல் கருதத் தக்கது. "கிழவி சொல்லின் அவளறி கிளவி, தோழிக்காயின் நிலம் பெயர்ந் துரையாது" (தொல்: 1247) என்ற தொல்காப்பியர் கூற்றால் இவ்வுவமம், கூற்று நிகழ்ந்த காலத்ததாதல் வேண் டும் என்பது வெளிப்படை. எனவே, இதில் வரும் உதியஞ்சேரல், மாமூலனர் காலமாகிய சங்ககாலத்தவனேயன்றிப் பாரதப் போர்க் காலத்தவனல்லன். மற்றோரிடத்து உதியஞ்சேரலைக் குறிக்கும் பாடலும் (233) தோழி தலை மகட்குக் கூறும் கூற்றாகவே இருத்தலால் அங்கே வரும் உதியஞ்சேரலும் சங்ககாலத்தவனே என்பதில் ஐயமில்லை.

"கரிகால் வளவனொடு வெண்ணிப் பறந்தலையில் பொருது புண் நாணிய

சேரலாதன் வடக்கிருக்க அவனோடு மற்றையோரும் வடக்கிருந்தனர்'' என்ற செய்தியை மாமூலனர் அகநானூற்றில் (55) குறிக்கின்றார். இந்தச் சேரலாதன் சேரமான் பெருஞ்சேரலாதன் என்பது, "கழாத்தலையார், பெருஞ் சேரலாதன் கரிகாற் பெருவளத்தானோடு பொருது புண் நாணி வடக்கிருந் தானைப் பாடியது'' (புறநா: 65) என்ற புறநானூற்றுக்கொளுவால் விளங் கும்.

இப்பெருஞ்சேரலாதன், "குடக்கோ நெடுஞ்சேரலாதனின் வேறாயவன். குடக்கோ நெடுஞ்சேரலாதனும், வேல்பஃறடக்கைப் பெருவிறற் கிள்ளியும் போர்ப்புறத்துப் பொருது வீழ்ந்தாரைக் கழாத் தலையார் பாடியது'' (புறநா: 62) என்ற புறநானூற்றுக் கொளுவால் நெடுஞ்சேரலாதன் செய்தி விளங்கும். சேரநாட்டின் குட பகுதியை நெடுஞ்சேரலாதன் ஆண்டு வர, மற்றொரு பகுதியில் பெருஞ்சேரலாதன் இருந்து அதனை ஆண்டு வந்தான் எனலாம். அதே நேரத்தில் வேறொரு பகுதியில் நெடுஞ்சேரலாதன் தம்பி பல்யானைச் செல்கெழு குட்டுவன் இருந்து ஆண்டு வந்தான் எனலாம்.

பரணரும் மேற்குறித்த இருவர் தம் வீழ்ச்சியைக் குறிப்பதோடு, கரி கால் வளவனுடைய தந்தை உருவப்பஃறேரிளஞ்சேட் சென்னியைப் பற்றியும் (புறநா: 4) சேரமான் கடல்பிறக் கோட்டிய வேல்கெழு குட்டுவனைப் பற்றி யும் (புறநா: 369) பாடுகிறார். இந்த வேல்கெழு குட்டுவன் கடல்பிறக் கோட்டிய செங்குட்டுவனே என்பது அவனைப் பற்றிப் பரணர் பதிற்றுப் பத் தில் ஐந்தாம் பத்தில் பாடியிருத்தலால் தெளியலாம்.

மாமூலர், "குட்டுவன் காப்பப் பசி என அறியாப் பணைபயில் இருக்கை ....குடநாடு பெறினும் தவிரலர்'' (அகநா: 91) என்ற பாட்டில் செங் குட்டுவனைப் பற்றியே குறிக்கிறார் எனலாம். ஏன் நெடுஞ்சேரலாதன் குட நாட்டை ஆண்டு வந்ததனால், குடக்கோ நெடுஞ்சேரலாதன் என்று மயங்கி யதனால், அவன் மகன் செங்குட்டுவனும் குடநாட்டிற்கு உரியவன் என்பது பெறப்படுமாதலால், குட்டுவனோடு குடநாடு சார்த்திக் கூறப் பெறும் கார ணத்தால் இக்குட்டுவன் கடல்பிறக்கோட்டிய வேல்கெழு குட்டுவனாகிய செங்குட்டுவனே ஆம். அகப்பாவோடு சார்த்திக் கூறப்படும் மற்றொரு குட்டுவன் (நற்: 14) பதிற்றுப் பத்தில் அகப்பா எறிந்தான் எனப் பாட்டி லும் (பதிற்: 22) பதிகத்திலும் (பதி: 3) குறிக்கப்படும் பல்யானைச் செல்கெழு குட்டுவனேயாம்.

உதியஞ்சேரலாதன், அவன் மகன் இமயவரம்பன் நெடுஞ்சேரலாதன், அவன் தம்பி பல்யானைச் செல்கெழு குட்டுவன், அவர்கள் சமகாலத்துக் கரி காற் பெருவளத்தான், நெடுஞ்சேரலாதன் மகன் செங்குட்டுவன் இவர்களை மாமூலனர் நன்கறிந்தவராக இருத்தலால் இவர்களெல்லாம் வாழ்ந்திருந்த சங்க காலத்தில் இரண்டு மூன்று தலைமுறை மக்களை அறியும் வாய்ப்புப் பெற்ற நீண்ட வாழ்க்கை யுடையவர் அவர் (மாமூலனர்) எனவும், அவர் கூற்றிலிருந்து உதியன் சேரல் என்பான் பெருஞ்சோறு கொடுத்தது, ஐவருக் கும் ஈரைம்பதின்மருக்கும் போர் நடந்த பாரத காலத்திலன்று, அவர் நினை வாக இறந்தார்க்கு நீர்க்கடனுற்றுங் கடப்பாடு பற்றிச் சங்க காலத்திலேயே யாம் எனலாம்.

இதுகாறும் கூறியவற்றால் பெருஞ்சோற்று உதியஞ்சேரலாதன் என் பான் பாரதப்போர் நிகழ்ந்த காலத்தவன் அல்லன், சங்ககாலத்தவனே என் பது திண்ணமாம் என்று தெளியலாம்.

பத்துப் பாட்டில் ஆற்றுப்படை

லெ. ப. கரு. இராமநாதன் செட்டியார்

சங்கப் புலவர்களின் பாட்டுக்கள், எட்டுத்தொகை பத்துப் பாட்டு என்னும் இரண்டு பிரிவுகளாகத் தொகுக்கப் பெற்றுள்ளன. இவற்றுள் எட்டுத் தொகையில் அடங்கிய நூல்களாவன:- நற்றிணை, குறுந்தொகை, ஐங்குறு நூறு, பதிற்றுப் பத்து, பரிபாடல், கலித்தொகை, அகநானூறு, புறநானூறு என்பனவாம். பத்துப் பாட்டில் அடங்கிய பாட்டுக்களாவன:- திருமுருகாற்றுப்படை, பொருநராற்றுப்படை, சிறுபாணாற்றுப்படை, பெரும்பாணாற்றுப்படை, முல்லைப்பாட்டு, மதுரைக்காஞ்சி, நெடுநல்வாடை, குறிஞ்சிப் பாட்டு, பட்டினப்பாலை, மலைபடுகடாம் என்பனவாம்.

இவ்விருவகைத் தொகை நூல்களிலும் அடங்கிய செய்யுட்களை இயற்றிய புலவர்கள் அனைவரும் ஒரு காலத்தில் வாழ்ந்தவர் அல்லர். இதற்கு எடுத்துக்காட்டாகப் பத்துப் பாட்டினுள் ஒன்றினைக் காண்போம். பத்துப் பாட்டினுள் ஒன்றாகிய குறிஞ்சிப் பாட்டின் ஆசிரியராகிய கபிலர், வள்ளல்களில் ஒருவனாகிய பாரியின் காலத்தினராவர். பத்துப் பாட்டினுள் மற்றொரு பாட்டாகிய சிறு பாணாற்றுப்படையின் ஆசிரியராகிய நத்தத்தனார் மேற் குறிப்பிட்ட பாரி முதலிய வள்ளல்கள் எழுவரும் மாய்ந்த பின்பு சிறப்புடன் வாழ்ந்த நல்லியக்கோடன் என்னும் வள்ளலைத் தம் பாட்டில் பாராட்டிப் பாடியுள்ளார். இதனால், இந் நத்தத்தனார், கபிலர் காலத்திற்குப் பிற்பட்ட காலத்தினர் என்று கருத இடம் உண்டு. இவ்வாறே எட்டுத் தொகை நூல்களில் உள்ள செய்யுட்களை இயற்றிய புலவர்களும் ஒரு காலத்தில் வாழ்ந்தவர் அல்லர் என்பது பல சான்றுகளால் புலப்படுகின்றது. ஆயினும் மேற் குறிப்பிடப் பெற்ற புலவர்கள் அனைவரும் சில நூற்றாண்டுகளைத் தன்னகத்துக் கொண்ட சங்க காலத்தில் வாழ்ந்தவர்கள் என்று கொள்வதில் தடையில்லை. சங்க காலத்தின் கீழ் எல்லை, கி.பி. 250 என்பர்.

பத்துப் பாட்டினுள் முதலாவதாக உள்ள திருமுருகாற்றுப்படை, சங்க காலத்திற்குப் பிற்பட்டது என்று ஆராய்ச்சி அறிஞர்களால் கருதப் பெறுகின்றது. இத் திருமுருகாற்றுபடை, முருகப் பெருமானைப் பற்றியே பாடப் பெற்றது. பரிபாடல் என்னும் தொகை நூலிலும் முருகப் பெருமானைப் பற்றிப் பாடப் பெற்ற செய்யுட்கள் பல உள்ளன. தொகை நூல்களில் உள்ள பிற செய்யுட்களிலும் முருகப் பெருமானைப் பற்றிய குறிப்புக்கள் பல இடங்களில் காணப்படுகின்றன. ஆயினும், அச் செய்யுட்களில், முருகப் பெருமான், ஆறுமுகமும் பன்னிரு கையும் உடையவனாகக் கூறப் பெறவில்லை; ஆனால், திருமுருகாற்றுப்படையிலும், பரிபாடலிலும் அவ்வாறு கூறப் பெற்றுள்ளது. மேலும், பிற்காலத்தில் புராணங்களில், முருகப்பெருமானைப் பற்றிக் கூறப் பெறும் கதைக் குறிப்புக்களில் சிலவும் திருமுருகாற்றுப் படையிலும்

பரிபாடலிலும் காணப்பெறுகின்றன. இத்தகைய காரணங்களால், திருமுரு காற்றுப்படை பிற்காலத்தில் எழுந்தது என்பர்.

எட்டுத் தொகை நூல்களில் உள்ள செய்யுட்கள் எல்லாம், வெவ்வேறு பொருள் பற்றிப் பாடப்பெற்ற தனிச் செய்யுட்களாகும். சங்க காலத்தை அடுத்துத் தோன்றிய சிலப்பதிகாரம் முதலிய பொருள் தொடர்நிலைச் செய் யுட்கள், கதை தழுவியனவாயும், அளவில் பெரியனவாயும் அமைந்துள்ளன. பத்துப் பாட்டில் உள்ள பாட்டுக்கள் எட்டுத் தொகைச் செய்யுட்கள் போலத் தனிச் செய்யுட்களாக இருப்பினும் அடி அளவின் மிகுதியினுலும், எடுத்துக்கொண்ட பொருளை விரிவாகக் கூறும் முறையினுலும் எட்டுத் தொகைச் செய்யுட்களுக்கும், சிலப்பதிகாரம் முதலிய பொருள் தொடர் நிலைச் செய்யுட்களுக்கும் இடைப்பட்ட அமைப்பு உடையனவாய் இருக்கின் றன. எட்டுத் தொகை நூல்களில் கூறப்பட்டுள்ள சில பொருள்களின் விரி வான நிலையினையும், சிலப்பதிகாரம் முதலிய பொருள் தொடர்நிலைச் செய் யுட்களில் விரிவாகக் கூறப்பெற்றுள்ள சில பொருள்களுக்குத் தொடக்க நிலையினையும் இப் பத்துப் பாட்டிற் பார்க்கலாம்.

பத்துப் பாட்டிலும், எட்டுத் தொகையிலும் பல்வேறு பொருள்கள் பற்றிய செய்யுட்கள் தொகுக்கப்பெற்றுள்ளன. அவற்றுள், ஆற்றுப்படைப் பொருளில் அமைந்த செய்யுட்களைப் பற்றிப் பொதுவாகவும், பத்துப் பாட் டில் உள்ள ஆற்றுப்படைப் பாட்டுக்களைப் பற்றிச் சிறப்பாகவும் இங்குக் காண்போம்.

பத்துப் பாட்டில், முதலில், முறையே திருமுருகாற்றுப்படை, பொரு நராற்றுப்படை, சிறுபாணுற்றுப்படை, பெரும்பாணுற்றுப்படை என ஆற் றுப் படைப் பாட்டுக்கள் நான்கு உள்ளன. பத்துப் பாட்டில், பத்தாவதாக உள்ள மலைபடுகடாம் என்னும் பாட்டிற்குக் கூத்தராற்றுப்படை என்று மற் ருெரு பெயர் உண்டு. எனவே பத்துப் பாட்டினுள், ஆற்றுப்படைப் பாட்டுக் கள் ஐந்து இருத்தலை அறியலாம். புறநானூற்றில் விறலியாற்றுப்படைச் செய்யுட்கள் நான்கும்[1] புலவராற்றுப்படைச் செய்யுட்கள் மூன்றும்[2] பாணுற் றுப்படைச் செய்யுட்கள் ஏழும்[3] ஆக ஆற்றுப்படைச் செய்யுட்கள், பதினுன்கு உள்ளன. பதிற்றுப்பத்தில் பாணுற்றுப்படைச் செய்யுள் ஒன்றும்,[4] விறலியாற் றுப்படைச் செய்யுட்கள் ஆறும்,[5] ஆக ஆற்றுப்படைச் செய்யுட்கள் ஏழு உள் ளன. எனவே, எட்டுத் தொகையில் இருபத்தொன்றும் பத்துப் பாட்டில் ஐந் தும் ஆகத் தொகை நூல்களில், ஆற்றுப்படைச் செய்யுட்கள் இருபத்தாறு இருத்தலை அறியலாம்.

பத்துப் பாட்டில் உள்ள பாட்டுக்கள் பத்தனுள், திருமுருகாற்றுப்படை, நெடுநல்வாடை என்னும் பாட்டுக்கள் இரண்டனையும் நக்கீரனுரும், பெரும் பாணுற்றுப்படை, பட்டினப்பாலை என்னும் பாட்டுக்கள் இரண்டனையும் கடி யலூரர் உருத்திரங் கண்ணனுரும் பாடியுள்ளனர். ஏனைய பாட்டுக்கள் ஆற னுள், பொருநராற்றுப்படையினை முடத்தாமக் கண்ணியாரும், சிறுபாணுற் றுப்படையினை நல்லூர் நத்தத்தனுரும், முல்லைப்பாட்டினைக் காவிரிப்பூம் பட்டினத்துப் பொன்வாணிகனுர் மகனுர் நப்பூதனுரும், மதுரைக் காஞ்சி யினை மாங்குடி மருதனுரும், குறிஞ்சிப் பாட்டினைக் கபிலரும், மலைபடுகடாத்

1. புறநானூறு, செய்யுள், 64, 103, 105, 133.
2. புறநானூறு, செய்யுள், 48, 49, 141.
3. புறநானூறு, செய்யுள், 68, 69, 70, 138, 141, 155, 180.
4. பதிற்றுப்பத்து, செய்யுள், 67.
5. பதிற்றுப்பத்து, செய்யுள், 40, 49, 57, 60, 78, 87.

தினைப் பெருங்குன்றூர்ப் பெருங் கௌசிகனாரும் பாடியுள்ளனர். எனவே, பத்துப் பாட்டில் உள்ள பாட்டுக்கள் பத்தனையும் இயற்றிய புலவர்கள் எண்மர் என்பது பெறப்படும். மேற் குறிப்பிட்ட ஆற்றுப்படைப் பாட்டுக் கள் ஐந்தனுள் திருமுருகாற்றுப்படையும், பெரும்பாணாற்றுப் படையும் நீங்கலாக, ஏனைய ஆற்றுப்படைகளைப் பாடிய புலவர்களுடைய செய்யுட் கள், எட்டுத் தொகை நூல்களில் இல்லை. திருமுருகாற்றுப்படையினைச் சங் கப் பாட்டாகக் கொண்டால், அதன் ஆசிரியராகிய நக்கீரனாருடைய செய் யுட்கள், எட்டுத்தொகை நூல்களிற் காணப் பெறுகின்றன என்று சொல்ல லாம். ஆயினும், அச் செய்யுட்களில் ஒன்றேனும் ஆற்றுப்படையாக இல்லை. பெரும்பாணாற்றுப் படையினைப்பாடிய கடியலூர் உருத்திரங் கண் ணனாருடைய செய்யுட்களாக எட்டுத் தொகை நூல்களில் இருப்பவைகளும் ஆற்றுப்படைச் செய்யுட்களாக இல்லை. பத்துப் பாட்டில் உள்ள ஆற்றுப் படைப் பாட்டுக்கள் ஐந்தின் ஆசிரியர்கள் தவிர, ஏனைய பாட்டுக்களின் ஆசிரியர்கள், காவிரிப்பூம்பட்டினத்துப் பொன்வாணிகனார் மகனார் நப் பூதனார், மாங்குடி மருதனார், கபிலர் ஆகியோராவர். இம் மூவருள், நப் பூதனாருடைய செய்யுட்கள், எட்டுத் தொகை நூல்களில் இல்லை. மாங்குடி மருதனாருடைய செய்யுட்கள், எட்டுத்தொகை நூல்களில் இருப்பினும் அவற்றுள் ஒன்றேனும் ஆற்றுப்படைத்துறையில் இல்லை. பதிற்றுப்பத்தில் கபிலர் பாடியதாக உள்ள 67ஆம் செய்யுள், பாணாற்றுப்படையாகவும், புறநானூற்றில் கபிலர் பாடியதாக உள்ள 105ஆம் செய்யுள், விறலியாற் றுப்படையாகவும் உள்ளன. ஆயினும் பத்துப் பாட்டில், கபிலர் பாடிய தாக, ஆற்றுப்படைப் பாட்டு ஒன்றும் இல்லை. இவைகளை நோக்கும்போது, பத்துப் பாட்டில் உள்ள, ஆற்றுப்படைப் பாட்டுக்களை இயற்றிய புலவர் களுடைய செய்யுட்கள், எட்டுத் தொகை நூல்களில், ஆற்றுப்படைத் துறை யில் இல்லை என்பதனையும், எட்டுத் தொகை நூல்களில் உள்ள, ஆற்றுப் படைச் செய்யுட்களை இயற்றிய புலவர்களுடைய பாட்டுக்கள், பத்துப் பாட்டில் ஆற்றுப்படைத் துறையில் இல்லை என்பதனையும் அறியலாம்.

ஆற்றுப்படை என்பது, வழிப்படுத்துதல் என்று பொருள்படும். கலை ஞன் ஒருவன், வள்ளல் ஒருவனிடத்துச் சென்று, தன் கலைத்திறம் காட்டிப் பெரும்பொருள் பெற்றுத் திரும்புவான். மற்றொரு கலைஞன், தன் கலைத் திறம்கண்டு பொருள் வழங்கும் வள்ளலைக் காணாது மயங்கித் திரிவான். இவ் விருகலைஞரும் ஓர் இடத்தில் எதிர்ப்படுவர். பொருள் பெற்றுத் திரும்பும் கலைஞன், பொருள் பெறாது உழல்வோனை நோக்கி, "யான் இன்ன வழி யாகச் சென்றேன். இத்தகைய வள்ளலை அணுகினேன். அவனிடத்தில் இன்ன இன்ன பரிசில் பெற்றேன். நீயும் அவனிடத்துச் சென்றால் பெரும் பரிசில் பெறலாம்" என்று கூறி, அவனை வழிப்படுத்துவான். இதுவே, ஆற்றுப்படைச் செய்யுட்களிற் காணப்படுகின்ற பொது அமைப்பாக உள் ளது.

இவ்வாறு ஆற்றுப்படுத்தும்போது, பொருநன், பொருநனையும், பாணன், பாணனையும், கூத்தன், கூத்தனையும் விறலி, விறலியையும் ஆற்றுப் படுத்தியதாகக் கூறுதல் இலக்கிய மரபாகும். ஆனால், பத்துப் பாட்டில் உள்ள திருமுருகாற்றுப்படை ஒன்று மட்டும் இம் முறையிலிருந்து வேறு பட்டது. முருகப் பெருமானின் அருள் பெற்ற அடியவர் ஒருவர், அவ் வருள் பெறுதற்குத் தகுதியுடைய மற்றொருவரை அப் பெருமானிடத்து வழிப் படுத்தியதாக அப்பாட்டு அமைந்துள்ளது. பத்துப்பாட்டில் உள்ள பொரு

நராற்றுப்படை முதலிய நான்கு ஆற்றுப்படைகளிலும் பரிசிலன் பெற விரும்புவது, பொருட் செல்வமாகும். திருமுருகாற்றுப் படையில், பரிசிலன் பெற விரும்புவது அருட்செல்வமாகும். இத்தகைய ஆற்றுப்படையும் பொருநராற்றுப்படையும் கூத்தராற்றுப் படையும் எட்டுத் தொகை நூல் களில் இல்லை. எட்டுத் தொகை நூல்களில் காணப்படுகின்ற விறலியாற்றுப் படை, பத்துப் பாட்டினுள் இல்லை. பத்துப் பாட்டு எட்டுத் தொகை இரண்டிலும் காணப்படுகின்ற ஆற்றுப்படைச் செய்யுட்கள், பாணாற்றுப் படைகளே ஆகும். புலவராற்றுப் படையினைப்பற்றிப் பின்பு ஆராய்வோம். எட்டுத் தொகை நூல்களுள் ஆற்றுப்படைகளாக அமைந்த இருபத்தொரு செய்யுட்களில், விறலியாற்றுப்படையாகப் பத்துச் செய்யுட்களும் பாணாற் றுப்படையாக எட்டுச் செய்யுட்களும் புலவராற்றுப் படையாக மூன்று செய்யுட்களும் உள்ளன. இதிலிருந்து, அக்காலத்தில் விறலியாற்றுப்படை, பெருவழக்கில் இருந்தது என்று நினைக்கலாம்.

இவ்வாறு எட்டுத்தொகை நூல்களில் பெரு வழக்காயிருந்த விறலியை ஆற்றுப்படுத்துகின்ற நிலை, பத்துப் பாட்டினுள் இல்லாமைக்கு உரிய காரணத்தினைப் பார்ப்போம். பொருநராற்றுப்படை முதலிய நான்கனுள் ளும், பொருநன் முதலியோருடன் சென்ற விறலி, பாடினி எனப்படுவோர் குறிப்பிடப் பெறுதலையும், அவர்களின் தோற்றப் பொலிவு முதலியன புனைந் துரைக்கப் பெறுதலையும் அறிகின்றோம். பாணன், பொருநன், கூத்தன் ஆகி யோர் ஆற்றுப்படுத்தப் பெற்றுச் செல்லும்போது, அவர்களுடன் விறலி, பாடினி முதலியோர் செல்லுதல் இயல்பே ஆகும். அதனால், பொருநன் முதலியோர் ஆற்றுப்படுத்தப் பெற்றபோது, அவர்களுடன் சென்ற விறலி முதலியோரும் ஆற்றுப்படுத்தப் பெற்றவராவர். ஆதலால், விறலியைத் தனி யாக ஆற்றுப்படுத்த வேண்டிய இன்றியமையாமை இல்லையாயிற்று. பொருநராற்றுப் படையில், "பெருந்தகு பாடினி"[6] எனவும், சிறுபாணாற்றுப் படையில், "வாணுதல் விறலியர்"[7] எனவும், பெரும் பாணாற்றுப்படையில், "விறலியர் மலைய"[8] எனவும் கூத்தராற்றுப்படையில், "இலங்குவளை விறலி யர்"[9] எனவும் அவ்விறலியர், குறிப்பிடப் பெறுதலைக் காண்கிறோம். விறலி யைக் குறிக்கும் மற்றொரு பெயர், பாடினி என்று கொள்ளலாம். பதிற்றுப் பத்தில், "சென்மோ பாடினி நன்கலம் பெறுகுவை"[10] என்று தொடங்கும் செய்யுளில், பாடினி ஆற்றுப் படுத்தப் பெற்றிருத்தலும், அச்செய்யுளுக்கு விறலியாற்றுப்படை என்றே துறை கூறப்பெற்றிருத்தலும், பாடினி ஆற்றுப் படை என்று தனியாக ஓர் ஆற்றுப்படை ஒரு நூலிலும் இல்லாதிருத்தலும் இதற்குச் சான்றாகும்.

இனி, மேற் குறிப்பிட்டவாறு, புலவராற்றுப் படையினைப் பற்றிக் காண்போம். பத்துப் பாட்டில், முதலாவதாக உள்ள திருமுருகாற்றுப் படைக்குப் புலவராற்றுப்படை என்ற பெயரும் உண்டு என்பர். ஆனால், ஆற்றுப்படையின் இலக்கணம் கூறப்பெறுகின்ற தொல்காப்பிய நூற்பாவில், கூத்தர், பாணர், பொருநர், விறலி ஆகியோர் ஆற்றுப் படுத்தப் பெறுவர் எனக் கூறப்பட்டுள்ளதே அன்றிப் புலவரும் ஆற்றுப்படுத்தற்கு உரியர்

6. பொருநராற்றுப்படை, அடி, 47.
7. சிறுபாணாற்றுப்படை, அடி, 31.
8. பெரும்பாணாற்றுப்படை, அடி, 486.
9. கூத்தராற்றுப்படை (மலைபடுகடாம்), அடி, 46.
10. பதிற்றுப்பத்து, செய்யுள், 87.

என்று சொல்லப்பெறவில்லே.

> "கூத்தரும் பாணரும் பொருநரும் விறலியும்
> ஆற்றிடைக் காட்சி உறழத் தோன்றிப்
> பெற்ற பெருவளம் பெறுஅர்க் கறிவுறீஇச்
> சென்றுபய னெதிரச் சொன்ன பக்கமும்"[11].

என்பதே அந்நூற்பாவாகும். இதற்கு உரை எழுதிய இளம்பூரணரும், நச்சினர்க்கினியரும் அவர்களின் உரைகளிலும் புலவரும் ஆற்றுப்படுத்துதற்கு உரியர் என்று குறிப்பிடவில்லே. மேலும், இந் நூற்பாவின் உரையில், நச்சினர்க்கினியர், திருமுருகாற்றுப்படைக்கு வழங்குவதாகச் சொல்கின்ற புலவராற்றுப்படை என்ற பெயர், வழக்கில் இல்லே என்று கூறி, அப்பெயரினே மறுத்துள்ளார்.

ஆனல், புறநானூற்றில், 48, 49, 141ஆம் செய்யுட்களுக்குப் புலவராற்றுப்படை எனத் துறை குறிக்கப்பெற்றுள்ளது. இத் துறைக்குத் தொல்காப்பியத்தில் விதி இல்லாமைக்கு உரிய காரணம் ஆராய்தற்கு உரியது. மேற்குறிப்பிட்ட புறநானூற்றுச் செய்யுட்கள் மூன்றினேயும் பார்ப்போம். புறநானூற்றில் உள்ள 48-ஆம் செய்யுளில், "எம்முமு் உள்ளுமோ முதுவாய் இரவல" என்று இரவலன் ஆற்றுப்படுத்தப் பெறுகின்முன். இரவலன் என்ற சொல்லிற்குப் புலவன் என்பது நேரான பொருள் அன்று.[12] இரவலன் என்ற சொல்லிற்கு, இரத்தல் தொழிலில் வல்லவன் என்பது பொருள்; இச்சொல், இரத்தல் தொழிலே உடைய எல்லாரையும் குறிக்கும். புறநானூற்றில் உள்ள மற்ருெரு செய்யுளில், பாணனும், "முதுவாய் இரவல"[13] என்று விளிக்கப் பெறுகின்முன். ஆதலால், இச் செய்யுளுக்குப் புலவராற்றுப்படை எனத் துறை வகுத்தது, பொருந்துவதாக இல்லே. 49ஆம் செய்யுளின்கீழ், "திணேயும் துறையும் அவை: துறை இயன்மொழியும் ஆம்" என்பது காணப் பெறுகின்றது. இதனல் 49ஆம் செய்யுளும் புலவராற்றுப்படை ஆகின்றது. ஆனல், இச் செய்யுளில், புலவரை ஆற்றுப்படுத்திய குறிப்பே இல்லே. அதனல் இச் செய்யுளும், புலவராற்றுப்படை ஆகாது. 141ஆம் செய்யுளின்கீழ், "துறை–பாணுற்றுப்படை, புலவராற்றுப்படையும் ஆம்" என்று துறை எழுதப்பெற்றுள்ளது. இச் செய்யுளில், பரிசில் பெற்று வருகின்ற பாணனேப் பார்த்து "யாரீரோ" என வினவுகின்றவன் இரவலன் என்று குறிப்பிடப் பெறுகிமுன். இரவலன் என்ற சொல், புலவன் என்னும் பொருள் தருகின்ற சொல் அன்று என்பது, முன்பே கூறப்பட்டது. மேலும் இச் செய்யுளில் உள்ள உரையாடல், பாணனுக்கும் இரவலனுக்கும் நிகழ்வதாக அமைகின்றது. ஆதலால், இச் செய்யுளில் இரவலன் என்று குறிக்கப் பெற்றவன், பாணன் எனக் கொள்வதே பொருத்தமாகத் தோன்றுகின்றது. எனவே, இச் செய்யுளுக்குப் புலவராற்றுப்படை என்று துறை குறிப்பிட்டதும் பொருந்துவதாக இல்லே. மேற்கூறிய காரணங்களால், புறநானூற்றில், புலவராற்றுப்படை எனக் குறிப்பிடப்பட்ட செய்யுட்கள் ஒன்றேனும் புலவராற்றுப் படையாக இல்லே என்பது புலப்படுகின்றது. தொல்காப்பியனர், புலவரை ஆற்றுப்படுத்துவதைச் சொல்லாமையாலும், புறநானூற்றில் புலவராற்றுப்படை என்று துறை எழுதப்பெற்றுள்ள செய்யுட்கள், புலவ

11. தொல்காப்பியம், பொருளதிகாரம், புறத்திணேயியல், நூற்பா, 36,
12. 'முதுவாய் இரவலன்' என்ற தொடர்க்கு, 'அறிவு முதிர்ந்த வாய்மையையுடைய புலவன்' எனப்பொருள் வரைந்தார் நச்சினர்க்கினியர். (திருமுரு-284 உரை).
13. புறநானூறு, செய்யுள், 70.

ராற்றுப்படை ஆகாமையாலும் புலவராற்றுப்படை எனக் கூறும் வழக்கு, பிற்கால வழக்கு என்று கருதலாம். பிற்கால இலக்கண நூல்கள், புலவரை ஆற்றுப்படுத்துவதையும் சேர்த்துக் கொண்டுள்ளன. எனவே திருமுருகாற்றுப்படை, புலவராற்றுப்படை ஆகாது என்பது புலப்படுகின்றது.

இனி, ஆற்றுப்படைச் செய்யுட்களின் அமைப்புக்களைப் பார்ப்போம். பத்துப் பாட்டில் உள்ள ஆற்றுப்படைப் பாட்டுக்களின் அமைப்பு, தொல்காப்பியத்திற் கூறப்பட்டுள்ள ஆற்றுப்படை இலக்கணத்தினுடன் பெரிதும் ஒத்திருக்கின்றது. புறநானூற்றிலும், பதிற்றுப் பத்திலும் உள்ள ஆற்றுப்படைச் செய்யுட்கள், பொதுநோக்காகப் பார்க்கும்போது ஒத்திருப்பினும் சிறப்பாகப் பார்க்கும்போது அவற்றின் அமைப்பு, தொல்காப்பியத்தில் உள்ள ஆற்றுப்படை இலக்கணத்தினுடனும், பத்துப் பாட்டில் உள்ள ஆற்றுப்படை பாட்டுக்களின் அமைப்பினுடனும் சில முறைகளில் வேறுபட்டுள்ளன. அவ்வேறுபாடுகளைக் காண்போம்.

"செல்லா மோதில் சில்வளை விறலி"[14]

எனப் புறநானூற்றிலும்,

"மெல்லிய வகுந்திற் சீரடி யொதுங்கிச்
செல்லா மோதில் சில்வளை விறலி"[15]

எனப் பதிற்றுப் பத்திலும் உள்ள செய்யுட் பகுதிகளை நோக்கும்போது, விறலி முன்னரே சென்று பரிசில் பெற்று வந்து, பின்னர் மற்றொரு விறலியினை ஆற்றுப்படுத்தினாள் என்று, இங்கே கொள்ளுதற்கில்லை. இருவரும் சேர்ந்து வள்ளலிடத்தில் செல்வது பற்றித் தம்முள் உரையாடிய முறையில் இச் செய்யுட்கள் அமைந்துள்ளன. பெற்ற பெருவளம் பெறாஅர்க்கு அறிவுறுத்திய நிலை, இச் செய்யுட்களில் காணப்படவில்லை. இவ்வாறு கூறப்பட்டிருப்பது, ஒரு முறையாகும்.

இனி,

"சுரன்முத லிருந்த சில்வளை விறலி
செல்வை யாயிற் சேணோ னல்லன்
... ...
புரத்தல் வல்லன் வாழ்கஅவன் தானே"[16]

"சேயிழை பெறுகுவை வாணுதல் விறலி
... ...
பாரி வேள்பாற் பாடினை செலினே"[17]

எனப் புறநானூற்றிலும்,

"செல்லா மோதில் சில்வளை விறலி
... ...
தொழில்புகல் யானை நல்குவன் பலவே"[18]

எனப் பதிற்றுப் பத்திலும் உள்ள செய்யுட்களில், பரிசில் பெற்று வந்த

14. புறநானூறு, செய்யுள், 64.
15. பதிற்றுப்பத்து, செய்யுள், 57.
16. புறநானூறு, செய்யுள், 103.
17. புறநானூறு, செய்யுள், 105.
18. பதிற்றுப்பத்து, செய்யுள், 40.

செய்தி கூறப்படவில்லை. நீ செல்; சென்றால், பரிசில் பெறுவாய் என்று விறலியினை ஆற்றுப்படுத்தும் முறையில் இச் செய்யுட்கள் அமைந்துள்ளன. இவ்வாறு கூறப்பட்டிருப்பது, மற்றொரு முறையாகும்.

இனி,

"யாரி ரோவென வினவ லானாக்
காரெ ணெக்கல் கடும்பசி இரவல
வெள்வேல் அண்ணற் காணா வூங்கே
நின்னினும் புல்லியேம் மன்னே இனியே
இன்னே மாயினே மன்னே ...
... ...
மறுமை நோக்கின்றோ வன்றே பிறர்
வறுமைநோக் கின்றவன் கைவண் மையே"[19]

என்னும் புறநானூற்றுச் செய்யுள், வள்ளலிடத்திற் சென்று பரிசில் பெற்றுத் திரும்பி வந்த பாணன் ஒருவன், வறுமை நிலையில் உள்ள மற்றொரு பாணனைக் கண்டபோது கூறியதாகும். அப் பாணன், பரிசில் பெற்று வந்தவனிடத்தில் நீ யார் என வினவினான். அப்போது பரிசில் பெற்று வந்த பாணன் பரிசில் பெறுவதற்கு முன்பு தான் அடைந்திருந்த வறுமை நிலையினையும், பரிசில் பெற்ற பின், தான் அடைந்துள்ள செல்வ நிலையினையும் அவனிடத்தில் கூறினான். இவ்வாறு கூறியதன் நோக்கம், அவனும் அவ் வள்ளலிடத்தில் சென்றால், பரிசில் பெறலாம் என்பதே ஆகும். ஆயினும் இச் செய்யுளில், அச் செய்தி வெளிப்படையாகக் கூறப்படவில்லை. இவ்வாறு கூறப்பட்டிருப்பது பிறிதொரு முறையாகும்.

"நீயும் வம்மோ முதுவாய் இரவல
யாந்தன் னிரக்கும் காலைத் தானெம்
உண்ணா மருங்குல் காட்டித் தன்னூர்க்
கருங்கைக் கொல்லனை யிரக்கும்
திருந்திலை நெடுவேல் வடித்திசி னெனவே"[20]

என்னும் புறநானூற்றுச் செய்யுளில், வள்ளல் ஒருவன், தன்னிடத்தில் வந்த பாணனுக்குப் பரிசில் கொடுத்தற்காகப் படையெடுத்துச் சென்று பகைவரை வென்று பொருள் கொண்டு வருதற்கு, வேல் வடித்துக் கொடுக்குமாறு கொல்லனை வேண்டுகின்றான். இவ்வாறு கூறப்பட்டிருப்பது வேறு ஒரு முறையாகும்.

மேலும்,

"பகைப்புலத் தோனே பல்வேல் அஞ்சி"[21]

என்னும் புறநானூற்றுச் செய்யுளில், வள்ளலைப் போர்க்களத்தில் காணலாம்

19. புறநானூறு, செய்யுள், 141.
20. புறநானூறு, செய்யுள், 180.
21. புறநானூறு, செய்யுள், 103.

என்றும்,

"உறந்தை யோனே குரிசில்
பிறன்கடை மறப்ப நல்குவன் செலினே"[22]

"பிறங்குநிலை மாடத்து உறந்தை யோனே
கிள்ளி வளவற் படர்குவை யாயின்
நெடுங்கடை நிற்றலும் இலையே கடும்பகல்
தேர்வீ சிருக்கை யார நோக்கி
நீயவற் கண்ட பின்றைப் பூவின்
ஆடும்வண் டிமிராத் தாமரை
சூடா யாதல் அதனினும் இலையே"[23]

என்னும் புறநானூற்றுச் செய்யுட்களில், வள்ளல்களை, அவர்களின் தலைநக ரங்களில் காணலாம் என்றும் கூறப்பட்டுள்ளன.

இனி,

"ஆனினங் கலித்த அதர்பல கடந்து
மானினங் கலித்த மலைபின் ஒழிய
மீனினங் கலித்த துறைபல நீந்தி
உள்ளி வந்த வள்ளுயிர்ச் சீறியாழ்ச்
சிதாஅர் உடுக்கை முதாஅரிப் பாண"[24]

என்னும் புறநானூற்றுச் செய்யுளில், பாணன் ஒருவன், வள்ளல் ஒருவனைக் காண்பதற்கு எத்தகைய நிலங்களைக் கடந்து சென்றான் என்பதனைப் புலவர் கூறியுள்ளார். இச் செய்யுளில் குறிப்பிடப் பெற்ற நிலங்கள், முறையே முல்லை, குறிஞ்சி, நெய்தல் என்பதனை அறிகின்றோம். பத்துப் பாட்டில் உள்ள ஆற்றுப்படைப் பாட்டுக்களில், பாணன் முதலியோர் செல்லும் வழியில் உள்ள பலவகை நிலங்களின் இயல்புகள், விரிவாகக் காணப்படுகின்றன. இவ் வாறு தொகை நூற் செய்யுட்களில் உள்ள ஆற்றுப்படை அமைப்புக் கூறு கள் பல, பத்துப் பாட்டில் உள்ள ஆற்றுப்படைப் பாட்டுக்களில் விரிவாகப் பாடப்பட்டுள்ளன.

பொதுவாக, இவ்வாற்றுப்படைப் பாட்டுக்களில் காணப் பெறுகின்ற பொருள்களின் பிரிவுகள், பின்வருமாறு உள்ளன.

1. பொருநன் முதலியோர் விளிக்கப் பெறுதல்.
2. யாழின் அமைப்பு.
3. பாடினி அல்லது விறலியின் உருவு நலம் கூறுதல்.
4. பரிசில் பெறுமுன் பொருநன் முதலியோரின் வறுமை நிலையும், பரி சில் பெற்ற பின் அவர்களின் செல்வ நிலையும்.
5. பொருநன் முதலியோர் செல்லும் வழி, பலவகை நிலங்களின் இயல்பு, அவ்வந் நிலங்களில் அவர்கள் பெறும் உணவு வகை.
6. பாட்டுடைத் தலைவனின் ஊர்ச் சிறப்பு, அவனுடைய பண்பு நலன் கள், அவன் பரிசிலரை வரவேற்றுப் பேணும் முறை.
7. பொருநன் முதலியோர் பெறும் பரிசில் வகை.

22. புறநானூறு, செய்யுள், 68.
23. புறநானூறு, செய்யுள், 69.
24. புறநானூறு, செய்யுள், 138.

தொகை நூல்களிற் காணப் பெறுகின்ற ஆற்றுப்படைச் செய்யுட்களுள் ஒன்றிலேனும் இவ்வளவு பிரிவுகளும் அடங்கியுள்ளன என்று சொல்வதற் கில்லை. ஆனால், ஒவ்வொரு செய்யுளிலும் இவைகளில் ஒன்று இரண்டு அல் லது பல கூறுகள் அடங்கியிருக்கின்றன. அவற்றைப் பார்ப்போம்.

புறநானூற்றில் உள்ள ஆற்றுப்படைச் செய்யுட்களுள் சிலவற்றில்,[25] பரிசில் பெறுவதற்கு முன் விறலியரும் பாணரும் அடைந்திருந்த வறுமை நிலைகளும், சில செய்யுட்களில்,[26] பரிசில் பெற விரும்பிய பாணன் ஒருவன், மற்றொருவனைப் பார்த்துத் தன்னுடைய வறுமையைத் தீர்ப்பவர் யார் என்று வினவுகின்ற முறைகளும் கூறப்பட்டுள்ளன. வேறு ஒரு செய்யுளில்,[27] பரிசில் பெற்றமையால் பாணன் அடைந்த செல்வ நிலையும், பரிசில் பெறுவதற்கு முன் அவனது வறுமை நிலையும் ஒரு சேரக் கூறப்பெற்றுள்ளன. புறநானூற் றிலும், பதிற்றுப் பத்திலும் உள்ள பல செய்யுட்களில்,[28] பாணர் முதலியோர் எடுத்துச் செல்லும் யாழ் முதலிய இசைக் கருவிகளின் இயல்புகளும், அவை களில் அவர்கள் பண் இசைத்துச் செல்லும் முறையும் எடுத்துரைக்கப்பட் டுள்ளன. மேலும், வள்ளல்கள் வழங்கும் பரிசில் வகைகளும், அவற்றை அவர் கள் வழங்கும் முறைகளும் பல செய்யுட்களில் பாராட்டியுரைக்கப்பட்டுள் ளன. பாணாற்றுப்படையாய் அமைந்த செய்யுட்களுள் சிலவற்றில்[29] பாணன் மாத்திரம் குறிப்பிடப் பெறுகின்றான். சுற்றத்தினையும் விறலியரையும் பற்றிய குறிப்பு இல்லை. வேறு சில செய்யுட்களில்,[30] பாணனுடன், அவனுடைய சுற் றத்தினரும் கூறப் பெற்றுள்ளனர். இச் சுற்றத்தினருள் விறலியரும் அடங்கு வர். பாணருடன் விறலியரும் பரிசில் பெறச் செல்லுதலும்,[31] பரிசில் பெற்று வந்த பாணர் கூட்டத்தில் விறலியர் இருத்தலும்[32] சில செய்யுட்களில், வெளிப்படையாகக் கூறப் பெற்றுள்ளன.

இவ்வாறு பல் வேறு செய்யுட்களில் காணப் பெறுகின்ற பல கூறுகள், ஒன்று திரட்டி வகைப்படுத்தப்பட்டு, ஒரு தொடர் நிகழ்ச்சியாகவும், விரி வாகவும் பாடப் பெற்றிருத்தலைப் பத்துப் பாட்டில் உள்ள ஆற்றுப்படைப் பாட்டுக்களில் காணலாம். எனவே, தொகை நூற் செய்யுட்களில் தொடக்க நிலையில் இருந்த ஆற்றுப்படை அமைப்பு, பத்துப் பாட்டில் ஓரளவு விரி வடைந்துள்ளது என்பது புலப்படுகின்றது. இவ்வாறு கருத்தளவில் வளர்ந் திருத்தல் போல, அடிகளின் அளவிலும் பத்துப் பாட்டில் உள்ள ஆற்றுப் படைப் பாட்டுக்கள், வளர்ச்சி அடைந்துள்ளன. எட்டுத்தொகை நூல்களில் உள்ள ஆற்றுப்படைச் செய்யுட்களின் அடி அளவுகள், இக் கட்டுரையின் இறுதியில் சேர்க்கப்பெற்றுள்ளன. எட்டுத் தொகை நூல்களில் உள்ள ஆற் றுப்படைச் செய்யுட்களுள் அடி அளவால் சிறியது, பதிற்றுப்பத்தில் உள்ள 87-ஆம் பாட்டு ஆகும். அது, ஐந்து அடிகளைக் கொண்டது. அடி அளவால் பெரியது. அந் நூலில் உள்ள 40-ஆம் பாட்டு ஆகும். அது, முப்பத்தொரு அடிகளைக் கொண்டது.

25. புறநானூறு, செய்யுள், 64, 103, 68, 69. 138.
26. புறநானூறு, செய்யுள், 69, 70, 141, 155.
27. புறநானூறு, செய்யுள், 141.
28. புறநானூறு, செய்யுள், 64, 70, 103, 138, 155.
    பதிற்றுப்பத்து, செய்யுள், 49, 57.
29. புறநானூறு, செய்யுள், 138, 155.
30. புறநானூறு, செய்யுள், 68, 69.
31. புறநானூறு, செய்யுள், 70.
32. புறநானூறு, செய்யுள், 141.

பத்துப் பாட்டில் உள்ள ஆற்றுப்படைப் பாட்டுக்களின் அடியளவுகள், பின்வருமாறு உள்ளன.

திருமுருகாற்றுப்படை	...	...	317
பொருநராற்றுப்படை	...	...	248
சிறுபாணாற்றுப்படை	...	...	269
பெரும்பாணாற்றுப்படை	...	...	500
கூத்தராற்றுப்படை (மலைபடுகடாம்)		...	583

இதிலிருந்து, தொகை நூல்களில், முப்பத்தொரு அடிகளுக்கு மேற்படாத நிலையில் இருந்த ஆற்றுப்படைச் செய்யுள், பத்துப் பாட்டில், ஐந்நூற்று எண்பத்து மூன்று அடிகள் வரை வளர்ந்திருத்தலைக் காணலாம்.

இவ்வாற்றுப்படை இலக்கியத்திற்கு உயிராய் அமைந்த பொருள், தமிழ்ப் பெருமக்களின் வள்ளன்மைப் பண்பேயாகும். ஆற்றுப்படை இலக்கியத்தின் வளர்ச்சியினை நினைக்கும்போது, தமிழ்ப் பெருமக்களது வண்மைப் பண்பின் விரிவான நிலையும் நம் நினைவிற்கு வந்து, நம்மை இன்புறுத்து கின்றது.

கலைஞன் ஒருவன், தான் பெற்ற செல்வத்தினைப் பிறரும் பெறுதல் வேண்டும் என எண்ணுதல், அத்துணை எளிதன்று. ஆனால் தமிழகக் கலை ஞர்கள், தம் அளவில் அன்றித் தம்மைப் போன்ற கலைஞர்களும் பெரு வாழ்வு வாழ்தல் வேண்டும் என எண்ணினார்கள். இத்தகைய கலைஞர்களின், "யாம் பெற்ற இன்பம் பெறுக இவ்வையகம்" என எண்ணும் பரந்த மனப் பான்மையினையும் இவ்வாற்றுப்படைப் பாட்டுக்கள் காட்டுகின்றன. மேலும், இவ்வாற்றுப்படைப் பாட்டுக்களின் போக்கினை முழுமையாக நோக்கும்போது, இப் பாட்டுக்களில், இக் காலத்து எழுதப் பெறும் பிர யாண நூல்களது அமைப்பின் கூறு காணப்படுதலும் கருதத் தக்கது.

பிற்காலத்திலும் ஆற்றுப்படை நூல்கள் சில தோன்றியுள்ளன. பிற் கால இலக்கண நூலார், ஆற்றுப்படையினைச் சிற்றிலக்கியங்களுள் ஒன்றாகக் கொண்டுள்ளனர்.

சங்க காலத்தில் உள்ள ஆற்றுப்படைச் செய்யுட்களின் தோற்றத்தினை யும், வளர்ச்சிப் போக்கினையும் இக் கட்டுரையினால் ஓரளவு அறியலாம்.

எட்டுத் தொகை நூல்களில் உள்ள ஆற்றுப்படைச் செய்யுட்களின் அடி அளவுகள்

விறலியாற்றுப்படை	புறநானூறு	64	7
		103	12
		105	8
		133	7
	பதிற்றுப்பத்து	40	31
		49	17
		57	15
		60	12
		78	14
		87	5

பாணாற்றுப்படை	புறநானூறு	68	19
		69	21
		70	19
		138	11
		141	15
		155	8
		180	13
,,	பதிற்றுப்பத்து	67	23
புலவராற்றுப்படை.	புறநானூறு	48	9
		49	9
		141	15

புறநானூற்றில், 141-ஆம் செய்யுளின் கீழ், "துறை – பாணாற்றுப் படை, புலவராற்றுப்படையும் ஆம்" என எழுதப் பெற்றிருத்தலால், அந்த எண், அவ்விருதுறைகளிலும் மேலே குறிப்பிடப் பெற்றது. எனவே, புற நானூற்றிலும் பதிற்றுப்பத்திலும் உள்ள ஆற்றுப்படைச் செய்யுட்களின் தொகை, இருபதே என்பது, அறிதற்கு உரியதாகும்.

வாரப் பாடலின் தோற்றமும் வளர்ச்சியும்

க. வெள்ளை வாரணன்

வாரம் என்பது இசையின் இயக்கத்தைக் குறித்து வழக்கும் தமிழ்சொல். முதல்நடை, வாரம், கூடை, திரள் என இசையின் இயக்கம் நான்காகும். இவற்றுள், முதல் நடை என்பது, மந்த நடையுடையதாய்த் தாழ்ந்து செல்லும் இசையமைப்பு. திரள் என்பது விரைந்த நடையினையுடையதாய் முடுகிச் செல்லும் இசையமைப்பு. இவ்விரண்டிற்கும் இடைப்பட்டதாய்ச் சொல்லொழுக்கமும் இசையொழுக்கமும் பொருந்திய இசைப்பாடல் வாரம் எனப்படும். சொற்செறிவும் இசைச்செறிவும் உடைய பாடல் கூடை எனப்படும். இவற்றுள் இழுமென ஒழுகிய இன்னோசையும் செம்பாகப் பொருளுணர்த்தும் தெளிவும் ஒருங்கமைந்தது வாரப்பாடலேயாகும். இந்நுட்பம்,

> "வாரம் என்பது வகுக்குங் காலை
> நடையினும் ஒலியினும் எழுத்தினும் நோக்கித்
> தொடையமைந் தொழுகுந் தொன்மைத் தென்ப"
>
> (கானல்வரி உரைமேற்கோள்)

என அரும்பதவுரையாசிரியர் காட்டிய மேற்கோட் சூத்திரத்தால் இனிது புலனாகும். இயலும் இசையும் ஒப்பப் பொருந்தியமையுமாறு வாரப் பாடலைப் பாடுவதென்பது இயலிசைத் திறத்தில் வல்லோர்க்கே இயல்வதாகும். இயலிசைத் திறத்தில் வன்மையில்லாதவனால் புணர்க்கப் பெறும் வார இசை சிதைந்தொழியும் இயல்பினது. இந்நுட்பம்,

> "முதல் வழி யாயினும் யாப்பினுட் சிதையும்
> வல்லோன் புணரா வாரம் போன்றே"
>
> (தொல்—மரபு—107)

என வரும் மரபியற் சூத்திரத்தால் அறியப்படும். இயற்பாடலுடன் இசைக் கூறுபாட்டினைப் புணர்க்க வல்ல இயலிசை யாசிரியனை வல்லோன் எனவும் அவனால் புணர்க்கப்பெறும் இசைக்கூறுபாட்டினை வாரம் எனவும் இந் நூற்பா குறிப்பிடுதலால் ஆசிரியர் தொல்காப்பியனார் காலந்தொட்டு நிலை பெற்று வரும் வாரப்பாடலின் தொன்மையும் சிறப்பும் இனிது புலனாகும்.

இயற்கை வனப்பும் தெய்வ வனப்பும் ஆகிய இருவகை வனப்புகளே இசைப்பாடல்களுக்குரிய சிறப்புடைப் பொருள்களாகும். தமிழ் மொழியிலுள்ள இசைப்பாடல்களிற் பெரும்பாலன உலகியற் பொருள்களின் இயற்கை யழகினையும் அவற்றின் உடனாய்ப் பிரிவின்றி விளங்குந் தெய்வ அழகினையும் பொருளாகக் கொண்டு பாடப் பெற்றனவாகும். பண்டைய நாளில் இசைக் கலையினை வளர்த்த பாணர், விறலியர் முதலிய கலைச் செல்வர்கள்

அரசவையிலும் இசையரங்குகளிலும் நாடக அரங்குகளிலும் இசைப்பாட லுக்குச் சிறப்புடைப் பொருளாய்த் திகழும் முழுமுதற் பொருளைப் போற் றும் தெய்வப் பாடலையே முதன்மையாகப் பாடுதலைத் தமது இசை மரபாகக் கொண்டனர். இச்செய்தியினை,

> "மருதம் பண்ணிய கருங்கோட்டுச் சீறியாழ்
> நரம்புமீ திறவா துடன்புணர்ந் தொன்றிக்
> கடவ தறிந்த இன்குரல் விறலியர்
> தொன்றுமுதிர் மரபிற் றம்மியல் வழாஅது
> அருந்திறற் கடவுட் பழிச்சிய பின்றை
> விருந்திற் பாணி கழிப்பி"
>
> (மலைபடுகடாம்—534—539)

எனவரும் அடிகளிற் பெருங்குன்றூர்ப் பெருங்கௌசிகனார் தெளிவாகக் குறித்துள்ளார்.

இசையறிஞர்கள் பலரும் தம்முடைய இசைக்கலை வளர்ச்சியில் தெய்வ இசைப்பாடலை முதன்மையாகப் பாடும் வழக்கத்தினைத் தமது கடமையாகக் கொண்டமையால், "வாரம் பாடுதல்" என்பது, இசைப்பாடலாற் கடவுளைப் போற்றி வழிபடுதல் என்ற பொருளில் இளங்கோவடிகள் காலத்தே வழங் கியதாகத் தெரிகிறது. சிலப்பதிகார அரங்கேற்று காதையிலே,

> "தொன்னெறி யியற்கைத் தோரிய மகளிரும்
> சீரியல் பொலிய நீரல நீங்க
> வாரம் இரண்டும் வரிசையிற் பாட"

எனவரும் தொடருக்கு "ஆடி முதிர்ந்தாராகிய மகளிர் நன்மையுண்டாகவும் தீமை நீங்கவும் வேண்டித் தெய்வப் பாடல் பாட" என அரும்பதவுரை யாசிரியரும் அடியார்க்கு நல்லாரும் பொருள் கூறியுள்ளார்கள். எனவே இத்தொடரில் "வாரம்" என்ற சொல் "தெய்வப் பாடல்" என்ற பொருளில் இளங்கோவடிகளால் ஆளப்பெற்றமை நன்கு பெறப்படும்.

சிலப்பதிகாரம் கடலாடு காதையில் திருமாலைப்பாடும் தேவபாணியும், வருணப்பூதர் நால்வரையும் பரவும் நால்வகைத் தேவபாணியும், ஞாயிறு, திங்கள் என்னும் ஒளிப் பொருளைப் பரவிய தேவபாணியும் கூத்தின்கண் பாடுதற்குரிய இசைப்பாடல்களாகக் கொள்ளப்பட்டன என அடிகள் குறித் துள்ளார். பாணி என்பது பண்ணோடு கூடிய இசைப்பாட்டு. தெய்வத்தினைப் பண் பொருந்தப் பாடிப்போற்றிய இசைப்பாடல் தேவபாணி எனப் பெயர் பெறுவதாயிற்று. தெய்வத்தை முன்னிலையில் வைத்துப் பரவிய பாடலே தேவபாணி என வழங்குஞ் சிறப்புடையதாகும். இதனை,

> "ஏனையொன்றே
> தேவர்ப் பராஅய முன்னிலைக் கண்ணே
>
> (தொல்—செய்—138)

எனவரும் நூற்பாவில் ஒத்தாழிசைக்கலியின் வகையாகத் தொல்காப்பியனார் குறித்துள்ளார். "ஒத்தாழிசைக் கலி முன்னிலையிடமாகத் தேவரைப் பரா வும் பொருண்மைத்து" என்பது இதன் பொருளாகும். எனவே, தெய்வத் தினை முன்னிலையாகச் சொல்லப்பட்டனவே தேவபாணியாம், அல்லன தேவ பாணியெனத் தகா எனவும், தெய்வம் படர்க்கையாய வழிப் புறநிலை வாழ்த்

தாம் எனவும், தெய்வம் தன்மையில் சொல்லிற்றாகச் செய்யுள் செய்தல் கூடாது எனவும் பேராசிரியர் கூறுவர். தேவபாணி முத்தமிழ்க்கும் பொது என்றும், அஃது இயற்றமிழில் வருங்கால் கொச்சகவொருபோகாய்ப் பெருந் தேவபாணி சிறுதேவபாணி யென இருவகைத்தாய் வரும் என்றும், அவ்வாறு வரும் தரவினை நிலையென அடக்கி, முதலிலுள்ள தரவினை முகநிலையெனவும் இடை நிற்பனவற்றை இடை நிலையெனவும் இறுதியில் நிற்பனவற்றை முரி நிலையெனவும் பரவுதற் பொருண்மையாற் செய்யுளியலில் ஆசிரியர் பெயர் கொடுத்தார் என்றும் அடியார்க்கு நல்லார் விளக்கியுள்ளார்.

> "கூறிய வுறுப்பிற் குறைபா டின்றித்
> தேறிய விரண்டு தேவபாணியும்"

என்பது அடியார்க்கு நல்லார் தரும் உரைமேற்கோளாகும்.

தேவபாணி என்னும் இப்பெயரையொட்டியே தேவாரம் என்ற பெயரும் தோன்றி வழங்கியதெனத் தெரிகிறது. கி.பி. ஏழு, எட்டாம் நூற்றாண்டுகளில் வாழ்ந்த சைவ சமய அருளாசிரியர்களாகிய திருஞானசம்பந்தர், திருநாவுக்கரசர், சுந்தரர் ஆகிய மூவரும் பாடிய இயலிசைத் திருப்பதிகங்கள் தேவாரம் என்ற பெயரால் வழங்கப்பெறுவனவாகும். தேவபாணி என்பது முன்னிலையிடமாகத் தெய்வத்தைப் பரவிய பாடல் என்பது பேராசிரியர் கருத்தாகும். வாரம் என்பது, முன்னிலை படர்க்கை என்னும் ஈரிடத்திற்கும் பொதுவாகிய தெய்வப்பாடலைக் குறித்த பெயராகும். வாரம் என்னும் சொல்லுக்கு "இசையியக்கம் நான்கினுள் ஒன்று" என்னும் பொதுப்பொருளும் "தெய்வப்பாடல்" என்னும் சிறப்புப் பொருளும் உரியன ஆதலால், அப் பொதுப்பொருளை நீக்கித் தெய்வப்பாடல் என்ற சிறப்புப் பொருளையே அச் சொல் தருதல் வேண்டிப் பிற்காலத்தார் தெய்வம் என்னும் பொருளுடைய "தே" என்னும் சிறப்புடை யடைமொழியினைச் சேர்த்துத் தேவாரம் என வழங்குவாராயினர். இறைவனது பொருள்சேர் புகழை இன்னிசையாற் பரவிப் போற்றுதலே சிறப்புடைய கடவுள் வழிபாடாதலால் தெய்வ இசைப் பாடலைக் குறித்த தேவாரம் என்னும் இச்சொல் இறைவனை உளமுருகிப் போற்றும் வழிபாட்டினைக் குறிக்கும் சொல்லாகவும் பிற்காலத்தில் வழங்கப் பெறுவதாயிற்று.

ஆசிரியர் தொல்காப்பியனார், செய்யுளியலிலே இயற்றமிழ்ச் செய்யுட்களுக்கு இலக்கணங் கூறுங்கால் ஆசிரியம், வஞ்சி, வெண்பா, கலிப்பா எனப் பாக்கள் நான்கென்றும், அந்நால்வகைச் செய்யுட்களும் அறம், பொருள், இன்பம் என்னும் மும்முதற்பொருள்களையுங் கருவாகக் கொண்டு பாடப் பெறுவன என்றும் குறித்துள்ளார். நால்வகைப் பாக்களுள் ஒன்றாகிய கலிப் பாவினை, ஒத்தாழிசைக்கலி, கலிவெண்பாட்டு, கொச்சகக்கலி என நான்காகப் பகுத்து அந்நால்வகையுள் ஒன்றாகிய ஒத்தாழிசைக்கலியை அம்போதரங்கம் எனவும் தேவர்ப் பராஅயது எனவும் இருவகையாக்கி, தேவர்ப் பராஅயதனை வண்ணகம் எனவும் ஒருபோகு எனவும் இரண்டாக்கி, அவ் விரண்டனுள் ஒன்றாகிய ஒருபோகினைக் கொச்சக ஒருபோகு, அம்போத

ரங்க ஒருபோகு என இருவகையாகப் பகுத்து விளக்கியுள்ளார்.

"தரவின் ருகித் தாழிசை பெற்றுந்
தாழிசை யின்றித் தரவுடைத் தாகியும்
எண்ணிடை யிட்டுச் சின்னம் குன்றியும்
அடக்கிய லின்றி அடிநிமிர்ந் தொழுகியும்
யாப்பினும் பொருளினும் வேற்றுமை யுடையது
கொச்சக வொருபோ காகு மென்ப"

(தொல்—செய்—149)

எனவரும் நூற்பா கொச்சகவொருபோகின் இலக்கணத்தினை விரித்துரைப் பதாகும். "ஒத்தாழிசைக் கலிப்பாவிற்குரிய தரவு முதலாய உறுப்புக் களுள் தரவு இன்றித் தாழிசை மட்டும், தாழிசையின்றித் தரவு முதலாயின உடையதாகியும், எண்ணுகிய உறுப்புக்களை இடையிட்டுச் சின்னம் என்ற தோர் உறுப்புக் குறைந்தும், அடக்கியலாகிய சுரிதகம் இன்றித் தரவு தானே அடி நிமிர்ந்து சென்றும், இவ்வாறு ஒத்தாழிசைக்குரிய யாப்பினும் பொரு ளினும் வேறுபாடுடையதாகிவருவது கொச்சக வொருபோகு ஆகும்" என் பது இதன் பொருள்.

பல மடிப்புக்களையுடையதாக அடுக்கி யுடுக்கப்பெறும் ஒருவகை உடை யினைக் கொய்சகம் எனவும் கொச்சகம் எனவும் வழங்குதல் உலக வழக்கு. கொய்சகம் எனப்படும் அவ்வுடை வகையினைப்போன்று சிறியனவும் பெரியன வும் ஆக விரவி அடுக்கியும், தம்முள் ஒப்ப அடுக்கியும் வரும் செய்யுள் வகை யினையே தொல்காப்பியனுர் கொச்சகம் என்ற பெயராற் குறித்தார் என்பது பேராசிரியர், நச்சினுர்க்கினியர் ஆகிய உரையாசிரியர்களின் கருத்தாகும். கொச்சகவொருபோகு என்னும் இச்செய்யுளமைப்பினைக் குறித்துப் பேரா சிரியர் கருத்தினை அடியொற்றி நச்சினுர்க்கினியர் தரும் விளக்கங்கள் இங்கு நோக்கத்தக்கனவாகும்.

"தரவின்ருகித் தாழிசை பெற்றும், என்பது, தனக்கு இனமாகிய வண்ணகத்திற்கு ஓதிய தரவின்றித் தாழிசையே பெற்றும்" என்பதாம். அவை பரணிப்பாட்டாகிய தேவபாணி முதலியன. இது, தரவொடுபட்ட தாழிசை யிலக்கணமின்றி வேருய் வரும் என்றற்குத் தரவை விலக்கினுர்...... இனி, பத்தும் பதிஞென்றும் பன்னிரண்டுமாகி ஒரு பொருள்மேல் வரும் பதிகப்பாட்டு நான்கடியின் ஏருது வருதலும், அங்ஙனம் வருங்கால் அவை தாழ்ந்த ஓசை பெற்றும் பெருதும் வருதலும், அவை இருசீர் முதல் எண் சீரளவும் வருதலும் என்று இன்னேரன்னபல பகுதியெல்லாம் வரையறை யின்றித் தழுவப்பட்டன. இவ்வேறுபாடெல்லாம் உளவேனும் தாழம்பட்ட ஓசை பெரும்பான்மைய வாதலின் தாழிசையென்ருர். இங்ஙனம் தாழிசைப் பேறு விதந்து ஓதவே ஒழிந்த உறுப்பெல்லாம் விலக்குண்டமைபெற்ரும்"[1] எனவும்;

"யாப்பினும் பொருளினும் வேற்றுமையுடையது"

என்பதற்கு, "தேவபாணியும் காமமுமேயன்றி வீடும் பொருளாம்"[2] எனவும், "பதிகப்பாட்டிற்கு ஈண்டுக்கூறிய வேறுபாடுகள் திருவாய்மொழி, திருப் பாட்டு, திருவாசகம் என்கின்ற கொச்சக வொருபோகுகளிற் காண்க. அவை

1. தொல்—செய்யுளியல் 149ம் சூத்திரம் நச்சினுர்க்கினியர் உரை
2. சீவகசிந்தாமணி, கடவுள் வாழ்த்து. "

உலக வழக்கன்மையிற் காட்டாமாயினும்"[3] எனவும் நச்சினர்க்கினியர் விளக்கியுள்ளார்.

நச்சினர்க்கினியரால் "திருப்பாட்டு" எனக்குறிக்கப்பெற்றவை மூவர் பாடியருளிய தேவாரத் திருப்பதிகங்களே என்பது, அதன் முன்னும் பின்னும் திருவாய்மொழியும், திருவாசகமும் ஆகிய தெய்வ இசைப்பாடல்கள் ஒருங்கு வைத்து எண்ணப்பெற்றமையால் உய்த்துணரப்படும். இறைவனருள்பெற்ற பெரியோர்கள் அருளிய இயலிசைப் பாடல்களாகிய இவை, தொல்காப்பிய இணக்கணத்தின்படி கொச்சகவொருபோகு என்னும் யாப்பின்பாற்படுவன என்பதும், ஒரு பொருள்மேல் மூன்றடுக்கி வரும் ஒத்தாழிசைகளைப் போன்று பொருளமைப்பில் ஒரு நிகரனவாய்ப் பத்தும் பதினென்றும் பன்னிரண்டு மாகி வருவன என்பதும், தொல்காப்பியனர் "அறமுதலாகிய மும்முதற் பொருள்" எனக்குறித்த உறுதிப்பொருள் மூன்றனுள் மூன்ருவதாகிய இன்பத் தினைப் பின் வந்தோர் காதற் காமமாகிய உலக இன்பமும், வீடு பேருகிய பேரின்பமும் என இரண்டாக்கி, உறுதிப்பொருள் நான்கு எனக் கொண்ட னர். அவ்வகையால் நோக்குங்கால் தேவர்ப்பராவிய இத்திருப்பாடல்கள் உலக இன்பம் என்ற அளவின்றிப் பேரின்பமாகிய வீடு பேற்றினைப் பொரு ளாகக் கொண்டு பாடப்பெற்றனவாகும். அறிவனூற் பொருளும் உலக நூல் வழக்கும் என இருதிறப் பொருள்களையும் ஒருங்கு உணர்த்தும் முறை யில் அமைந்த இத்திருப்பாடல்களை உலகநூல் வழக்கு ஒன்றையே பொரு ளாகக் கொண்டு தோன்றிய ஏனைச் செய்யுட்களைப்போன்று, யாப்பியலமை திக்குரிய வெறும் உதாரணமாக எடுத்துக் காட்டுதல் மரபு அன்று என்ப தும், இத்திருப்பாடல்களை இயலிசைச் சந்தப் பாடல்களுக்குரிய மூல இலக் கியங்களாகவே கொண்டு போற்றுதல் வேண்டும் என்பதும் மேற்குறித்த நச் சினர்க்கினியர் உரையால் இனிது விளங்கும்.

யாப்பினும் பொருளினும் வேறுபடவந்த கொச்சகங்களையெல்லாம் ஒருவரையறைப் படுத்தித் தாழிசை, துறை, விருத்தம் என மூவகை இன மாக்கி, ஆசிரியம், வெண்பா, வஞ்சி, கலிப்பா என்னும் நால்வகைப் பாவினே டும் இணைத்துப் பெருக்கிக் காட்டுவர் பின் வந்த யாப்பிலக்கண நூலாசிரியர் கள். ஆசிரியர் தொல்காப்பியனர் வகுத்துரைத்த செய்யுளிலக்கணத்தினையும் அதன் வழியமைந்த பழந்தமிழ்ச் செய்யுட்களாகிய இலக்கியங்களையும் ஒப்பு நோக்கியுணர்ந்த பேராசிரியர் நச்சினர்க்கினியர் முதலிய பழைய உரையாசி ரியர்கள் நால்வகைப் பாக்களுக்கும் தாழிசை, துறை, விருத்தம் எனப் பிற் காலத்தார் பகுத்துரைத்த இப்பகுப்பு முறை பொருந்தாது என்பதனைத் தக்க காரணங்காட்டி விளக்கியுள்ளார்கள்.

தேவாரத் திருப்பதிகங்களின் ஓசை வேற்றுமையும், சீர்கள் மிக்கும் குறைந்தும் வருதலும் ஆகிய இவ்வியல்புகள் கலிப்பாவுக்கே ஏற்புடையன வாதலின் இத்திருப்பாடல்களைக் கலிப்பாவின் வகையுளடக்குதலே இவற்றை அருளிய தேவார ஆசிரியர்களின் கருத்தாகும். திருஞானசம்பந்தர் தாம் பாடியருளிய சந்தப் பாடல்களையெல்லாம் இக்கலிப்பா வகையுள் அடக்கிக்

3. தொல்—செய்யுளியல் 149. நச்சினர்க்கினியர் உரை

கூறியுள்ளமை இங்கு நோக்கத்தக்கதாகும்.

> "அந்தண்பூங் கச்சியே கம்பனை யம்மானைக்
> கந்தண்பூங் காழியூ ரன்கலிக் கோவையால்
> சந்தமே பாடவல் லதமிழ் ஞானசம்
> பந்தன்சொற் பாடியா டக்கெடும் பாவமே"

(2—12—11)

என வரும் திருக்கடைக்காப்புப் பாடல், "கலிக்கோவையால் சந்தமே பாட வல்ல தமிழ் ஞானசம்பந்தன்" என அவரைச் சிறப்பித்ததால், ஞானசம்பந்தர் அருளிய சந்தமலி செந்தமிழ்ப் பதிகங்கள் யாவும் இயற்றமிழில் கலிப்பாவின் வகையைச் சார்ந்தன என்பது நன்கு தெளியப்படும்.

இசைப்பாட்டிற்குரிய இலக்கணம், பிற்காலத்தில் பலவகையாக விரித்துரைக்கப்பட்டது. பஞ்ச மரபுடைய அறிவனர் என்னும் ஆசிரியர் சிந்து, திரிபதை, சவலை, சமபாத விருத்தம், செந்துறை, வெண்டுறை, தேவபாணி, வண்ணம் என ஒன்பது வகையாகவும், இசை நுணுக்கமுடைய சிகண்டியார் என்னும் ஆசிரியர் செந்துறை, வெண்டுறை, சிறுதேவபாணி, பெருந்தேவபாணி, முத்தகம், பெருவண்ணம், ஆற்றுவரி, கானல்வரி, விரிமுரண், தலைபோகுமண்டிலம் எனப் பத்து வகையாகவும் இசைப்பாடலைப் பகுத்துரைப்பர். அவற்றுள் செந்துறையாவது, உலகியல் வழக்குப்பற்றி மக்களை இயல்பு வகையாற் புகழ்ந்துரைக்கும் இசைப்பாட்டு. வெண்டுறை என்பது உள்ளதனை உயர்த்துக் கூறும் நோக்கத்துடன் இல்லதனையும் விரவிக்கூறும் நாடக வழக்கினை அடியொற்றி மக்களை உயர்த்துப் புகழும் நிலையில் அமைந்த இசைப்பாட்டு. பெருந்தேவபாணி என்பது, நாற்சீரின் மேற்பட்டு எண்சீரளவும் வரும் அடிகளால் இயன்ற தெய்வ இசைப்பாட்டு. நாற்சீரளவுட்பட்டு வரும் தெய்வப்பாடல் சிறுதேவபாணி எனப்படும். முத்தகம் என்பது ஒரே பாடலாய்ப் பொருள் முற்றி நிற்பது. அருட் செயல்களைப் பல அடிகளால் இன்னிசை பொருத்த வனப்புற வண்ணித்துப் புகழும் நிலையில் அமைந்த இசைப்பாடல் வண்ணம் எனப்படும். வரிப்பாடலாவது, "பண்ணும் திறமும் செயலும் பாணியும் ஒரு நெறியன்றி மயங்கச் சொல்லப்பட்ட எட்டனியல்பும் ஆறனியல்பும் பெற்றுத் தன் முதலும் இறுதியும் கெட்டு, இயல்பும் முடமுமாக முடிந்து கருதப்பட்ட சந்தியும் சார்த்தும் பெற்றும் பெறாதும் வரும்; அதுதான் தெய்வஞ்சுட்டியும் மக்களைப் பழிச்சியும் வரும்" என்பர் அரும்பதவுரையாசிரியர். இவ்வாறு வரும் வரிப்பாடல்களுள் ஆற்றுவரி என்பது, உலகு புரந்தூட்டும் நன்னீர்மை வாய்ந்த காவிரி முதலிய ஆறுகளை நோக்கியெழுந்த இசைப்பாட்டாகும். கானல்வரி என்பது கடற்கரைச் சோலையை நிலைக்களமாகக் கொண்டு பாடப்பெற்ற இசைப்பாட்டு. விரிமுரண் என்றது, முரிவரியாதல் கூடும். முரிவரி என்பது, முன்னே தொடங்கப்பெற்ற இயலிசையமைதியாகிய யாப்பும் பண்ணீர்மையும் முரிந்து மாறும் வண்ணம் இயற்றப்பெறும் இசைப்பாட்டாகும்.

> "எடுத்த இயலும் இசையுந் தம்மில்
> முரித்துப் பாடுதல் முரியெனப் படுமே"

என்பது, அரும்பதவுரையாசிரியர் காட்டிய மேற்கோட் சூத்திரம். தேவாரத்தில் வரும் திருஞானசம்பந்தர் திருப்பதிகமாகிய யாழ்முரிப்பண், மேலே குறித்த முரிவரிக்குரிய இலக்கியமாகும்.

சிலப்பதிகாரத்துள் வரும் கானல்வரி, வேட்டுவவரி, ஆய்ச்சியர் குரவை, குன்றக் குரவை, வாழ்த்துக்காதை ஆகிய பகுதிகளில் உள்ள இசைப்பாடல் களிற் பல மேலே அரும்பதவுரையாசிரியர் கூறிய வரிப்பாடல்களுக்குரிய சிறந்த இலக்கியங்களாக அமைந்துள்ளன. தேவாரத் திருப்பதிகங்களில் காவிரி, பொன்முகளி முதலிய ஆறுகளின் வளங்களைப் போற்றிப் பரவிய திருப்பாடல்கள் ஆற்றுவரிக்குரிய அமைப்பினையும், கடற்கரைத் தலங்களைப் பற்றிய திருப்பதிகங்கள் கடற்கானலின் கருப்பொருள்களையும் உரிப்பொருள் களையும் விரித்துரைக்கும் முறையிலமைந்தவை, கானல்வரிக்குரிய அமைப்பினை யும் பெற்றுள்ளமை காணலாம்.

இனி, மண்டிலம் என்பது, முதலும் முடிவும் இயைத்து நோக்கும் முறை யில் ஒரே பொருட்டொடர்புடையதாய் நான்கடிகளும் அளவு ஒத்து வரும் இசைப்பாட்டாகும். திருநாவுக்கரசர் அருளிய திருவிருத்தப்பாடல்கள் யாவும் மண்டிலம் என்னும் இவ்விசைப்பாவகையில் அடங்குவன.

இனி, சிந்து என்பது, அடியிரண்டாய்த் தம்முள் அளவொத்து வரும் செய்யுள். மூன்றடியாய்த் தம்முள் அளவொத்து வருவது திரிபதை எனப் படும். இதனைத் திரிபாதி எனவும் வழங்குவர் வீரசோழிய ஆசிரியர். முத லடி, கடையடி, இடையடிகள் குறைந்தும் மிக்கும் வரும் செய்யுள் சவலை எனப்படும். நான்கடிகளும் அளவொத்து வரும் செய்யுள் சமபாதம் எனப் படும். சிந்து, திரிபதை, சவலை, சமபாதவிருத்தம் என்னும் இவை, பிற்காலத் தார் வகுத்துரைத்த இயல் பற்றிய யாப்பு விகற்பங்களாகும். இங்குக் கூறப் பட்ட எல்லாச் செய்யுள் விகற்பங்களும் தொல்காப்பியச் செய்யுளியலின்படி, "யாப்பினும் பொருளினும் வேறுபட்ட" கொச்சகக் கலியுள்ளும், பண்ணைத் தோற்றுவிக்குஞ் செய்யுள் வகையாகிய பண்ணத்தி என்பதன் கண்ணும் அடங்குவனவாகும்.

இயற்றமிழில் சீர்வகை பற்றிச் செய்யுட்களைப் பகுத்துணர்தல் எளிது. இசைத்தமிழில் எழுத்தும் அசையும் மிகினும் குறையினும் விட்டிசைத்துப் பிரியினும் ஒன்றுய்க்கூடினும் இசையமைப்புக்குரிய தாளம் முதலியன மாறு படும். ஆகவே நெடில், குறில் ஆகிய மாத்திரையளவு பற்றியும், வலி மெலி இடை ஆகிய ஓசை பற்றியும் இசைப்பாக்களின் அமைப்பினைப் பகுத்துணர் தல் வேண்டும். மாத்திரையளவும் எழுத்தியல் நிலையும் பற்றி இசைப்பாடல் களில் அமைந்த ஓசைக்கூறுபாட்டினைக் கட்டளை என வழங்குதல் இசை நூல் மரபாகும். "கட்டளைய கீதக் குறிப்பும்" எனவரும் சிலப்பதிகார உரை மேற்கோட் செய்யுளில் கட்டளை என்னும் ஓசைக்கூறுபாடு குறிக்கப்பட் டுள்ளமை அறியத்தக்கதாகும். இம்மரபினை அடியொற்றியே மூவர் தேவாரப் பதிகங்களிலும் இன்ன இன்ன பண்ணில் அமைந்த பதிகங்கள் இத்தனை இத் தனை கட்டளையுடையன எனத் திருமுறை கண்ட புராண ஆசிரியர் நூற்றுக்கு மேற்பட்ட கட்டளைகளை வகுத்துக் கூறியுள்ளார்.

ஆசிரியர் தொல்காப்பியனர், இயற்றமிழ்ச் செய்யுட்களுக்கு இலக்கணங் கூறுங்கால் அச்செய்யுட்களில் இயல்பாக அமைந்துள்ள இசைக்கூறுபாடு களையும் ஆங்காங்கே குறிப்பிட்டுள்ளார்.

> "அசையுஞ் சீரும் இசையொடு சேர்த்தி
> வகுத்தன ருணர்த்தலும் வல்லோ ராறே"
>
> (தொல்—செய்—11)

என வரும் நூற்பா, "செய்யுட்களில் உறுப்புக்களாகிய அசையினையும் சீரினை

யும் இசையமைதியொடு சேர்த்து நோக்கி யாப்பமைதிக்குப் பொருந்த அவ் வசையினையும் சீரினையும் பகுத்துணர்த்தலும் இயலிசைத் திறத்தில் நல்லிசைப் புலவர் கண்ட செய்யுள் நெறியாகும்" என்னும் நுட்பத்தினை அறிவுறுத்து கின்றது. ஒரு சீரின் முன்னும் பின்னும் அசையினை இசைத்துத் தனியசையாக நிறுத்தியும், நின்றசீரின் ஈற்றசையினைப் பின் வருஞ் சீரின் முதலிலும், வருஞ் சீரின் முதலசையினை நின்ற சீரின் ஈற்றிலும் இயைத்து, இவ்வாறு எழுத்துப் பிரிந்திசைத்தலாகிய இசை முறை நோக்கி, இயற்றமிழ் யாப்பு ஒன்றிலேயே வேறு வேறு இசைப்பாட்டுருவங்கள் தோன்றுதல் உண்டு. இதற்கு எடுத் துக் காட்டாக இயற்றமிழ் யாப்பு விகற்பமாகிய கட்டளைக் கலித்துறையினை இங்குக் குறிப்பிடுதல் பொருந்தும்.

தேவாரத்துள் முதல் திருமுறையில் 116, 117-ஆம் எண் பெற்ற திருப் பதிகங்கள் வியாழக் குறிஞ்சிப் பண்ணிலும், மூன்றுந் திருமுறையில் 56, 57 -ஆம் பதிகங்கள் பஞ்சமப் பண்ணிலும், நான்காந்திருமுறையில் 80 முதல் 112 வரையுள்ள பதிகங்கள் திருவிருத்தம் என்ற இசைமுறையிலும், ஏழாந் திருமுறையில் 17 முதல் 18 வரையுள்ள பதிகங்கள் நட்டராகப் பண்ணிலும் அமைந்தன. இயற்றமிழ் யாப்பின்படி இவையனைத்தும் கட்டளைக் கலித் துறை யாப்பில் அடங்குவனவே. ஆயினும் இவற்றுள் திருவிருத்தப்பதிகங் கள் மட்டும் கட்டளைக் கலித்துறை யாப்பிலும், ஏனையவை எழுத்துப் பிரிந் திசைத்தலாகிய இசைமுறை பற்றி வெவ்வேறு இசையுருவங்களாகவும் பாடப்பெற்று வருகின்றன.

எண்ணுயிரத்து இருநூற்றைம்பது பாடல்களைக் கொண்டுள்ள தேவா ரத் திருமுறைகளில் வாரப் பாடலின் யாப்பியல் இசை விகற்பங்களாக நூற் றுக்கு மேற்பட்ட சந்த விகற்பங்கள் காணப்படுகின்றன. இவற்றுக்கு அடிப் படையா யமைந்துள்ள இயலிசைப் பாடல்களின் உருவங்கள் சில, முத் தமிழ்க் காப்பியமாகிய சிலப்பதிகாரத்திற் காணப்படுகின்றன.

மதுரையில் ஆளுடைய பிள்ளையார் பாண்டியன் அவையில் எழுந்தருளிய போது, கூன் பாண்டியன் சம்பந்தரை நோக்கி, "நும் ஊர் யாது" என வினவியபோது, "பரமனூராகிய கழுமலமே எமது பதியாகும்" எனப் பிள்ளையார் மறுமொழி கூறும் முறையில்,

> "பிரமனூர் வேணுபுரம் புகலிவெங்குருப் பெருநீர்த் தோணி
> புரமன்னு பூந்தராய் பொன்னஞ் சிரபுரம் புறவஞ்சண்பை
> அரன்மன்னு தண்காழி கொச்சைவய முள்ளிட்டங் காதியாய
> பரமனூர் பன்னிரண்டாய் நின்றதிருக் கழுமலநாம் பரவுமூரே"
> (2—70—1)

எனத் தொடங்கும் திருப்பதிகத்தினைப் பாடியருளினர் என்பது வரலாறு. இப்பதிகம் சிலப்பதிகாரம் கானவல்வரியிலுள்ள,

> "தீங்கதிர் வாண்முகத்தாள் செவ்வாய் மணிமுறுவ லொவ்வா
> வேனும்
> வாங்குநீர் முத்தென்று வைகலும் மால்மகன்போல் வருதி ரைய
> வீங்கோதந் தந்து விளங்கொளிய வெண்முத்தம் விரைசூழ் கானற்
> பூங்கோதை கொண்டு விலைஞர்போல்மீளும் புகாரே யெம்மூர்"

என வரும் சார்த்து வரியினை அடியொற்றி யமைந்ததாகும். சார்த்துவரி என்பது, பாட்டுடைத் தலைவன் ஊரொடும் பெயரொடும் சார்த்திப் பாடப்

பெறும் இசைப்பாட்டு.

"பாட்டுடைத் தலைவன் பதியொடும் பெயரொடும்
சார்த்திப் பாடிற் சார்த்தெனப் படுமே"

என்பது அரும்பதவுரையாசிரியர் காட்டிய மேற்கோட் சூத்திரம். இக்கானல் வரிப்பாடலில் பாட்டுடைத் தலைவன் சோழன். அவன் பதி புகார். அப்பதி யின் வனப்புரைப்பதாக அமைந்தது இவ்விசைப்பாட்டு. இவ்வாறே "பிர மனூர்" என்னும் முதற்குறிப்புடைய தேவாரமும் பாட்டுடைத் தலைவனு கிய சிவபெருமான் கோயில் கொண்டருளிய கழுமலம் என்னும் சீகாழிப் பதியினைச் சார்த்திப் பாடிய சார்த்து வரிப்பாடலாக, யாப்பினும் பொருளி னும் ஒத்தமைந்திருத்தல் காணலாம். ஆளுடைய பிள்ளையார் பாடிய,

"சடையா யெனுமால் சரணீ யெனுமால்
விடையா யெனுமால் வெருவா விழுமால்
மடையார் குவளை மலரும் மருகல்
உடையாய் தகுமோ வீவளுண் மெலிவே"

(2—18—1)

என வரும் திருப்பதிகம்,

"இறுமென் சாயல் நுடங்க நுடங்கி
அறுவை யொளித்தான் வடிவென் கோயாம்
அறுவை யொளித்தான் அயர அயரும்
நறுமென் சாயல் முகமென் கோயாம்"

என வரும் ஆய்ச்சியர் குரவைப் பாடலமைப்பினை ஒத்தமைந்திருத்தல் காண லாம்.

திருநாவுக்கரசர் அருளிய நாலாந் திருமுறையில்,

"சூலப் படையானைச் சூழாக வீழருவிக்
கோலத்தோட் குங்குமஞ்சேர் குன்றெட் டுடையானைப்
பாலொத்த மென்மொழியாள் பங்கனைப் பாங்காய
ஆலத்தின் கீழானை நான்கண்ட தாரூரே"

(4—19—1)

என வரும் சீகாமரத் திருப்பதிகம், வெண்பாக்களிற் பயிலுதற்குரிய மாச்சீர் விளச்சீர் காய்ச்சீர்களைப் பெற்று வெண்டளை தழுவி நடக்கும் கொச்சகக் கலிப்பா என்னும் யாப்பில் அமைந்ததாகும். இவ்வியலிசையமைப்பு,

"ஆனைத்தோல் போர்த்துப் புலியி னுரியுடுத்துக்
கானத் தெருமைக் கருந்தலைமேல் நின்றாயால்
வானோர் வணங்க மறைமேன் மறையாகி
ஞானக் கொழுந்தாய் நடுக்கின்றி யேநிற்பாய்"

எனச் சிலப்பதிகார வேட்டுவ வரியில் வரும் இசைப்பாடலை அடி யொற்றியமைந்ததாகும்.

ஐந்தாந்திருமுறையில் திருநாவுக்கரசர் அருளிய திருக்குறுந்தொகை என்பது, நாற்சீர் நாலடியாய், அடிதோறும் மாச்சீர்களுள் ஒன்று முதற் சீராகவும், விளச்சீர்களுள் ஒன்று நான்காஞ்சீராகவும், இடையிலுள்ள

இரண்டு மூன்றுஞ்சீர்கள் பெரும்பாலும் விளச்சீர்களாகவும் சிறுபான்மை மாச்சீர் காய்ச்சீர்களாகவும் அமைய வரும் செய்யுள் விகற்பமாகும்.

"அன்னம் பாலிக்குந் தில்லைச்சிற் றம்பலம்
பொன்னம் பாலிக்கு மேலுமிப் பூமிசை
யென்னன் பாலிக்கு மாறுகண் டின்புற
இன்னம் பாலிக்கு மோவிப் பிறவியே"

(5—1—1)

என வரும் இத்திருக்குறுந்தொகை யாப்பு,

"செம்பொன் வேங்கை சொரிந்தன சேயிதழ்
கொம்பர் நல்லில வங்கள் குவிந்தன
பொங்கர் வெண்பொரி சிந்தின புன்கிளந்
திங்கள் வாழ்சடை யாள்திரு முன்றிலே"

எனச் சிலப்பதிகார வேட்டுவ வரியிற் பயின்ற இசையமைப்பின் வழியமைந்த தாகும்.

தேவாரத்திருப்பதிகங்களுக்குத் திருமுறைகண்ட புராணம் கூறும் கட்டளையமைப்பினை அருள்மிகு விபுலாநந்த அடிகளார் தாம் இயற்றிய யாழ் நூலில் தேவார இயல் என்னும் பகுதியில் விரிவாகப் பகுத்துக் காட்டியுள்ளார்கள். தேவாரத் திருமுறைகளில் அமைந்த கட்டளைகளாகிய இயலிசையமைப்புக்கள் பலவற்றைப் பெரிய புராண ஆசிரியராகிய சேக்கிழாரடிகள் அவ்வாறே தம் நூலில் தெளிவாக எடுத்தாண்டுள்ளார்கள். சீவக சிந்தாமணி ஆசிரியர் திருத்தக்க தேவரும், சூளாமணியாசிரியர் தோலாமொழித்தேவரும், கவிச்சக்கரவர்த்தி கம்பர் என்னும் புலவர் பெருமானும் தேவாரப் பாடல்களின் சந்தங்களையும் திவ்யப் பிரபந்தப் பாடல்களையும் அடியொற்றித் தாம் இயற்றிய காப்பியங்களை யாப்பியல் நெறியிற் புதுமையமைந்த விருந்து நூல்களாகத் திருத்தமுற அமைத்துள்ளார்கள். சுருங்கக் கூறின், இக்காலத்தில் நமக்குக் கிடைத்துள்ள இயலிசைப்பாக்கள் எல்லாவற்றுக்கும் மூலமாக அமைந்த செய்யுளுருவங்களாகத் திகழ்வன தெய்வ இசைப்பாடல்களாகிய இவ்வாரப் பாடல்களே எனக் கூறுதல் பொருந்தும்.

இலக்கியத் திறனாய்வில் தமிழ் இலக்கணத்தின் பங்கு

K. ஆறுமுகம்

1. திறனாய்வு நூல்கள் தோன்றாமையின் காரணம்

அ. ஆசிரியர்தம் பேரறிவு

தமிழில் சில ஆண்டுகளுக்கும் முன் வரையில் தனிப்பட்ட திறனாய்வு நூல்கள் தோன்றவில்லை என்பது அறிஞர் கருத்து. அங்ஙனம் தோன்றாமைக்குரிய காரணங்கள் மூன்று. தமிழில் முதல் நூல் இயற்றும் ஆசிரியர்களின் பேரறிவு, குற்றம் சிறிதும் காண்டற்கியலாதது என்பது பழந்தமிழர் கொள்கை. தொல்காப்பியர், திருவள்ளுவர் போன்றவர் பேரறிவு சான்றவர் எனப் போற்றப்பட்டனர். எடுத்துக்காட்டாக—தொல்காப்பியர் "நண்டும் தும்பியும் நாலறிவுயிர்" எனக் கூறுகிறார். நண்டுக்கு மூக்கறிவும் உண்டு என்பதைப் பேராசிரியரால் நிறுவ முடியவில்லை. ஆசிரியர் தொல்காப்பியர் கூறுவதால் உண்டு என நிறுவுகிறார். பேரறிவு நிறைந்த ஆசிரியர் கூறுவதில் தவறு இருக்க முடியாது என்ற நம்பிக்கையே இங்ஙனம் நிறுவுதற்குக் காரணம் எனலாம்.

ஆ. நூல் அரங்கேற்றம்

மற்றொரு காரணம் மதுரையில் நிலவிய தமிழ்ச் சங்கமாகும். சங்கப் புலவர்கள் அக்காலத்து இயற்றப்பெறும் நூல்களின் குணங்குற்றங்களை ஆய்ந்து மதிப்பிட்டனர். தொல்காப்பியம், திறக்குறள் முதலிய நூல்கள் இங்ஙனம் மதிப்பிடப் பெற்றமை அறிகிறோம். அறிவு சான்ற பெரும்புலவர்களால் மதிக்கப்பெறும் நூல்களை ஏனையோர் குற்றமற்ற நூல்களாக ஏற்றுக் கொண்டனர். ஆதலின் அவற்றை மீண்டும் திறனாய்வு புரியும் நிலை ஏற்படவில்லை. பழந்தமிழ்ச் சங்கம் நூல்களைத் திறனாய்வு புரியும் ஒரு கழகமாகவே திகழ்ந்தது. இதன் அடிப்படையில் எழுந்த பாயிரங்களும், பதிகங்களும் ஆராய்ச்சிகளாகவும் சிறிய அளவிலுள்ள விமரிசனங்களாகவும் கொள்ளத்தக்கன என்று கருதுவாரும் உளர்.

இ. இயற்கைப் பண்பு

இவ்விரு காரணங்களுடன் மற்றொரு காரணமும் உண்டு. பிறரால் நன்கு மதிக்கப்பெற வேண்டுமானால் ஒருவன் பிறனது குற்றங்களை மறைத்துக் குணங்களையே பாராட்ட வேண்டும் என்பது தமிழறிஞர் இயல்பு. குணமே பாராட்டும் அறிஞர் நிறைந்த அவை "நல்லவை" என அக்காலத்து வழங்கப் பெற்றது. இவற்றால் திறனாய்வுக்கலையில் முழுப்பகுதியும் வளர்ச்சிபெறாமல்,

அதன் ஒரு பகுதியாகிய பாராட்டு முறையே தமிழில் வளர்ச்சியுற்றது என லாம்.

2. தமிழ் நூல்களில் திறனாய்வுக் கருத்துக்கள்

அ. தொல்காப்பியம் கூறும் திறனாய்வு முறைகள்

ஆயின் திறனாய்வுக்குரிய முறைகளைத் தமிழர் அறியவேயில்லை என்று கூற இயலாது. ஒரு நூலை எவ்வெவ்வகையில் ஆயவேண்டும் என்பதற்குரிய பல கருத்துக்களைத் தொல்காப்பியம் முதலிய நூல்கள் கூறும். ஒரு நூலை நன்கு உணர்ந்து இன்புறுதற்குரிய பத்து அழகுகள், நூலில் வரத்தகாத பத்துக் குற்றங்கள், ஆசிரியர் திறம்படச் செறித்துக் கூறிய நுட்பங்களை உணர்தற்குத் துணைபுரியும் முப்பத்திருவகை உத்திகள் இவையனைத்தும் திற னாய்வு முறைகளேயாகும். தொல்காப்பியம் கூறும் அகம் புறம் என்ற இரு வகைகளும், அவற்றின் பகுதிகளும், உவமை மெய்ப்பாடு இவற்றின் பகுதி களும் பிறவும் தமிழ் இலக்கியங்களை ஆராய்வோர் கொள்ளத்தக்க திறனாய்வு முறைகளே.

ஆ. பாராட்டுத்திறன்

முதல் நூலாசிரியர் குற்றமற்ற பேரறிவுடையவர் என்னும் உறுதியால், அந்நூலில் ஒரு பகுதி குற்றமுடையது போன்று தோன்றினும், அதனை நன்கு ஆய்ந்து இன்னகாரணத்தால் இது குற்றமற்றது என நிறுவுவர் தமி ழறிஞர். னகரம் தமிழ் எழுத்துக்களின் இறுதி எழுத்து என்பதைத் தொல் காப்பியர் ஈரிடத்துக் கூறுகிறார். மேலாகப் பார்க்கையில் இது கூறியது கூறல் என்னும் குற்றமாகும். நச்சினார்க்கினியர் இதனை ஆய்ந்து முதலில் னகரம் முப்பதெழுத்துக்களின் இறுதியாகக் கூறப்பெற்றது; பிறிதோரிடத்தில் கூறி னது மெய் பதினெட்டிற்கும் இறுதியாவது பற்றிக் கூறியதாகும். இவ்விரு சூத்திரங்களும் ஒரே கருத்துடையனவல்லவாதலின் இப்பகுதி கூறியது கூற லாகாது என்பர் அவர்.

"கூறியது கூறினும் குற்ற மில்லை
வேறொரு பொருளை விளக்கு மாயின்"

என்பது தமிழறிஞர் கருத்து. இங்ஙனம் வெளித்தோற்றத்தில் கூறியது கூறல் போல் தோன்றி, உண்மையில் அவ்வாறல்லாத பகுதியை அனுவாதம் என்பர் அவர்.

இ. நடுநிலைத்திறன்

முதல் நூலைப் பொறுத்தவரையில் பாராட்டு முறைத்திறனே மேற் கொள்ளப்பெற்றதாயினும், அம்முதனூலுக்கு எழுந்த உரைகளை ஆய்வதில் குணம் குற்றம் இரண்டையும் ஆயும் நடுநிலைத்திறன் மேற்கொள்ளப் பெற் றது. இரண்டிலும் குணத்தை ஆய்வதினும் குற்றத்தையே மிகுதியாக ஆய்ந்து நீக்கமுற்பட்டனர் உரையாசிரியர்கள். தொல்காப்பியத்துள் "கண்" என்னும் சொல் ஈரிடத்துவருகிறது. இரண்டையும் உரையாசிரியர் ஏழாம் உருபெ னவே கொண்டார். அங்ஙனம் ஒரு பொருளை ஈரிடத்துக் கூறுதல் கூறியது கூறல் என்னும் குற்றமாதலின் உரையாசிரியர் கருதுவது பொருந்தாதென ஆய்கின்றார் சேனாவரையர். மேலும், ஏனைய வேற்றுமைகளிற்போலவே ஏழாம் வேற்றுமைக்கு முதல் சூத்திரத்திற்குரிய "கண்" உருபாகும்.

அடுத்த சூத்திரத்திற்குரிய "கண்" ஏழாம் வேற்றுமைக்குரிய பொருள்கள் பல வற்றுள் ஒன்றாகும் எனவும் கொள்கின்றார் சேனாவரையர். எனவே முன்னர் ஒருவர் எழுதிய உரையை ஆய்வதில் அவருக்குப் பின்னர் வரும் பிறிதோருரை யாசிரியர் சிறந்த திறனாய்வாளராகவே விளங்குதல் காணலாம்.

ஈ. இலக்கிய மரபுகள்

"மனிதன் படைக்கும் இலக்கியம் காலத்திற்கு ஏற்பப் புதிய வடிவங் களைப் பெற்றபோதிலும் பழைய இலக்கியங்களின் தொடர்பையும் அடிப் படையையும் விடுவதில்லை. அவற்றையே இலக்கிய மரபு என்று கூறுதல் வழக்கம்". இம்மரபுகள் இலக்கணம் எனவும் பெறும். "இலக்கணம் என்பது இலக்கியத்தை வரையறுத்துக் கட்டுப்படுத்துவது அன்று; இலக்கியம் இவ் வாறு அமைந்துள்ளது என்பதைக் கூறுவதே இலக்கணமாகும். இவ்விலக் கண விதிகள், சிறப்புடையனவாகப் போற்றப்பட்ட இலக்கிய நூல்களைக் கண்டு எழுதப்பட்டவையாதலின் அவை சிறந்த இலக்கிய மரபுகளாகக் கொள்ளப்பெறுகின்றன. தொல்காப்பியம் கூறும் இலக்கிய மரபுகள் அதற் குப் பிற்பட்ட காலத்தில் தோன்றிய இலக்கியங்களில் அமைந்திருக்கும் சிறப் பினை ஆராய்ந்து எடுத்துக் காட்டினர் திறனாய்வு வன்மை வாய்ந்த உரையா சிரியர்கள்.

உ. உணர்ச்சி

இலக்கியம் உணர்ச்சி, கற்பனை, கருத்து, வடிவம் என்னும் நான்கு அம் சங்களையுடையதென்பர் மேனாட்டுத் திறனாய்வாளர். தமிழ் இலக்கியங்களில் இன்றியமையாது அமையப்பெறும் உணர்ச்சிகளைத் தொல்காப்பியம் வரை யறுத்து மொழிகின்றது. புணர்தல், பிரிதல், இருத்தல், இரங்கல், ஊடல் என்னும் ஐந்தும் அகப்பொருளிலக்கியங்களில் அமையும் உணர்ச்சிகளாகும். இவற்றைத் தொல்காப்பியர் உரிப்பொருள் என்று சுட்டுவர். நிலமும் கால மும் முதலான முதற்பொருள்களும், மரம் விலங்கு புள் முதலான கருப் பொருள்களும் அகத்திணை இலக்கியங்களில் பயிலும் பொருள்களாயினும் அவற்றைத் திணைக்கு உரிய பொருள் எனச் சுட்டாமல், புணர்தல் முதலான உணர்ச்சிகளையே திணைக்கு உரிய பொருளாகத் தொல்காப்பியர் கூறுவது உணரத் தக்கது. எனவே இலக்கியத்துள் சிறந்து நிற்பது "உணர்ச்சி"யே யாகும் என்பது நன்கு விளங்கும். இவ்வுணர்ச்சிகளின் அடிப்படையிலேயே அகப்பொருட்பாடல் அறிஞர்களால் ஆய்ந்து வகை செய்யப்பெற்றமையும் அறிவோம். இவையன்றி அகம்—புறம் என்னும் இருவகை இலக்கியத்திற்கும் பொதுவான நகை முதலான எண்வகை உணர்ச்சிகளையும் அவற்றின் பாகு பாட்டையும் தொல்காப்பியம் விரித்துக்கூறும்.

3. பட்டினப்பாலை

அ. உணர்ச்சி

தொல்காப்பியம் கூறும் உணர்ச்சி என்னும் இலக்கிய மரபினைப் பின் பற்றி நச்சினார்க்கினியர் அகப்பொருட் பாட்டுக்களைத் திறனாய்வு புரிகின்றார். 301 அடிகளாலான பட்டினப்பாலையில் 6 அடிகளே அகப்பொருள்பற்றிக் கூறு வன. ஏனைய 295 அடிகளும் புறப்பொருள் பற்றியன. இவ்வடிகளனைத்தும் அகப்பொருளைச் சிறப்பிக்கும் அடைமொழிகளாகவே, பின்னணியாகவே

அமைந்துள்ளன. பாடலில் பெருமிதம் முதலான பிற உணர்ச்சிகள் வரினும் அவையனைத்தும் அப்பாட்டில் தலைமையாகவே நிற்கும் பாலை அல்லது பிரிவுணர்ச்சியையே சிறப்பித்து நிற்பன. இப்பாடலில் மலை, காடு, வயல், கடல் முதலான முதற்பொருள்களும், மரம் முதலான கருப்பொருள்களும் வருகின்றன. ஆயினும் அவற்றால் இப்பாட்டுப் பெயர்பெறாமல் பிரிவு அல்லது பாலை என்னும் உணர்ச்சியாகிய உரிப்பொருள்பற்றியே பட்டினப்பாலை என்னும் பெயர் பெறுகின்றது. தலைவன் தலைவியை விட்டுப்பிரிந்து வேற்று நாட்டுக்குச் செல்லத்தொடங்கி அவளைப்பிரிவதால் உண்டாகும் துன்ப நிலையை நினைந்து தனது பிரயாணத்தை நிறுத்திக்கொண்ட நிலையாகிய பிரிவுணர்ச்சி பற்றியது. ஆதலின் இது முதலும் கருவும் கூறாமல் உரிப்பொருளே சிறக்கும்படி கூறியது என்று நச்சினார்க்கினியர் எடுத்துக் காட்டுகிறார். பிரியக்கருதும் தன்னெஞ்சை நோக்கி "நான் வாரேன்" என்று கூறிப் பிரிவை நிறுத்தித் தங்கி விடுகின்றான் தலைவன். பிரியாமல் தங்குதல் எவ்வாறு பிரிவொழுக்கமாகும் என்னும் ஐயம் இங்கு எழுகிறது. வாரேன் என்று நெஞ்சிற்குக் கூறி நின்றான்; காரணம் அவளை ஆற்றுவித்துப் பின்பு பிரிதல் கருதி, மீண்டும் பிரிய வேண்டும் என்னும் உணர்ச்சியே தலைவன் மனத்தில் இருத்தலால் இது பிரிவின் பாற்படுவதேயாகும். இங்ஙனம் இப்பாட்டிற்கு உயிராக விளங்கும் பிரிவுணர்ச்சியைத் தொல்காப்பிய மரபினைச் சான்று காட்டி ஆய்ந்து நிறுவுகிறார் நச்சினார்க்கினியர். இங்ஙனமே உடன்போக்குணர்த்தும் செய்யுட்களையும் பிரிவுணர்ச்சி பற்றியே பாலையில் சேர்த்தனர் என்பதையும் ஆய்ந்து கூறுவார் அவர்.

ஆ. மரபுப்போராட்டம்

இலக்கியத் திறனாய்வில், தொல்காப்பியம் கூறும் மரபுகள் ஒன்றோடொன்று மோதுதலையும் நச்சினார்க்கினியர் உரையில் காணலாம். அகப்பாடல்களில் தலைவன் தலைவியர் பெயர் வருதல் கூடாது என்பது தொல்காப்பியம் கூறும் அகவிலக்கிய மரபு. இம்மரபினைப் பின்பற்றி நெடுநல்வாடை என்னும் அகப்பாட்டின் உயிராய் விளங்கும் முல்லை அல்லது ஆற்றியிருத்தல் என்னும் உணர்ச்சி மரபைப் பொருட்படுத்தாது விடுகிறார் நச்சினார்க்கினியர். செய்யுளில் வரும் வேம்பு என்னும் சொல் பாண்டியனைக் குறிப்பதாகக் கொண்டு, பெயர் சுட்டப்பெற்றது எனத் துணிந்து, அப்பாட்டைப் புறப்பாட்டாக்கி விடுகிறார் அவர். படைத்தலைவன் கையிலுள்ள வேலில் சூட்டியிருக்கும் வேம்பு பாண்டியத் தலைவனைத்தான் குறிக்கும் என்பது பொருந்தாமையை திரு. வேங்கடராமச் செட்டியார் ஆய்ந்து கூறும் பகுதி சிறந்த திறனாய்வாகும். தலைவனைப் பிரிந்து தலைவி ஆற்றியிருக்கும் அகவுணர்வே அப்பாட்டில் உயர்ந்து நிற்றலை நெடுநல்வாடையை மேலாகப் படிப்பாரும் உணரலாம்.

இ. உரிப்பொருள் மயக்கம்

பிற்கால இலக்கியங்களில் உணர்வு என்னும் இவ்விலக்கிய மரபு போற்றப்படவில்லை. கனகமாலை சீவகனைப்பிரிந்து ஆற்றியிருக்கும் துன்பவுணர்ச்சியை இன்ப உணர்ச்சி ததும்பத் திருத்தக்க தேவர் பாடுகிறார். கனகமாலை

யைச் சீவகன் தம்பி நந்தட்டன் சந்திக்கும் காட்சி,

> "திங்கள் வாள்முகமும் நோக்கான் திருமுலைத் தடமும் நோக்கான்
> அங்கதிர்க் கலாபம் மின்னும் அணியல்குற் பரப்பும் நோக்கான்
> செங்கயற் கண்ணி னுள்தன் சீறடிச் சிலம்பு நோக்கி
> எங்குளா ரடிகள் என்று இன்னணம் இயம்பி னானே"

நந்தட்டன் கனகமாலையின் சிற்றடியிலுள்ள சிலம்பை நோக்கிப் பேசுகிறான் என்று கூறும் இப்பாட்டின் ஈற்றடிக்கருத்து மிகுந்த பண்பாட்டை விளக்கி நிற்கிறது. ஆயினும் முதல் மூன்றடிகளில் கூறும் கவிஞர் கற்பனை இறுதி யடியில் காணும் இப்பண்பாட்டைக் குலைத்து விடுகிறது. நந்தட்டன் கனக மாலையை நிமிர்ந்து பார்க்கவில்லை என்றால் போதும். கவிஞர் அத்துடன் நில்லாமல், கனகமாலையின் திங்களையொக்கும் முகத்தையும் அவன் பார்க்க வில்லை, அழகிய முலைகளையும் பார்க்கவில்லை, மேகலையணிந்த இடையையும் பார்க்கவில்லை என்று கற்பனை புரிகிறார். அவன் பார்க்காத, பார்க்க வேண் டாத, பார்க்கக் கூடாத உறுப்புக்களையும் அவற்றின் அழகையும் வருணித்து இவற்றைப் பார்க்கவில்லையென்று கவிஞர் கூறுகிறார். பிரிவால் வருந்தும் தலைவியின் உறுப்புக்களை அழகுணர்ச்சி நிரம்பப் பாடுகிறார். நோக்கான் என்ற சொல்லை நீக்கிவிட்டு, நோக்கும் என்ற சொல்லைப்பெய்து இப்பாட் டைப் படித்தால் இது காதலன் காதலி சந்திப்போ எனக் கருதும் உவகை யுணர்ச்சியை ஊட்டுவதாகும். "ஆழ்ந்த உணர்ச்சியின்போது அழகிய புனைந் துரை எழ இயலாது" என்பர் லயன் என்னும் ஆராய்ச்சியாளர். உணர்ச்சி மேலோங்கி நிற்கும்போது பிறக்கும் இன்பம் தர வேண்டும் என்ற எண் ணமோ, தனக்குப் புகழ் தேடும் எண்ணமோ தாழ்வுடையதாகும் என்பர் ஷார்ப் என்னும் பேரறிஞர். "தொடர்ந்து ஒரு நிலையாக அமையும் உணர்ச்சி, பொருந்தாததும், வேண்டாததும் இடையில் புகாதவாறு அமை வது; வலிந்து கொண்டு வரப்படாமல் இயல்பாக அமைவது" ஆகிய இப் பண்பினையுடைய இலக்கியமே நெடிது வாழும் என்பர் வின்செஸ்டர். ஆகவே ஓர் உணர்ச்சியுடன் அதற்கு மாறான மற்றோர் உணர்ச்சி கலத்தல் இலக்கி யத்தின் சிறப்பைக் கெடுத்துவிடும். முதற்பொருள், கருப்பொருள் ஒன்றோ டொன்று மயங்குமாயினும், உரிப்பொருளாகிய உணர்ச்சி மற்றோர் உணர்ச்சி யுடன் மயங்குதல் பொருந்தாது என வலியுறுத்துகிறார் தொல்காப்பியர். தொல்காப்பியம் கூறும் இவ்விலக்கிய மரபினை நன்குணர்ந்தவர் நச்சினார்க் கினியர். பிரிவுணர்ச்சியைப் படம் பிடிக்க வேண்டிய இப்பாட்டில் உவகை யுணர்ச்சியைக் கவிஞர் கற்பனை செய்து பாடுவது பொருந்தாதெனக் கருது கிறார். இலக்கிய மரபிற்கேற்ப அப்பாடலுக்குப் பின் வருமாறு விளக்கம் கூறுகிறார்:

> "கனகமாலையினது முன்பு திங்களை ஒக்கும் முகத்தில் இப் பொழுது நிகழ்கின்ற வாட்டத்தையும் நோக்கான். முன்பு நன்றாகிய முலை இப்பொழுது பசந்த பசப்பையும் நோக்கான். முன்பு கலாப மின்னும் அல்குலில் ஆடை மாசுண்ட தன்மையையும் நோக்கான். தான் இறைஞ்சி நிற்றலின் அடியிற் சிலம்பு ஒன்றையும் நோக்கி வினவுகின்றான்" என்பது.

தேவர் வருணித்த உறுப்பழகுகளை அவளது பழைய நிலையாகக் கொள் கிறார் நச்சினார்க்கினியர். அவ்வுறுப்புக்களின் இப்பொழுதைய நிலையை வாட்ட

மும், பசப்பும், ஆடை மாசுண்டமையும் ஆகும் என வருவிக்கிறார். இவ் வுறுப்புக்களின் வாட்டமும் பசப்பும் மாசும் கூட நோக்காமல் நந்தட்டன் தலை குனிந்த வண்ணம் அவளது சிற்றடிச் சிலம்பொன்றையுமே நோக்கிப் பேசுகிறான் என்று விளக்கம் கூறி, துன்ப உணர்ச்சிக்கு இடையே இன்ப வுணர்ச்சி விரவி இலக்கிய மரபும் படிப்போர் நெஞ்சமும் சிதைந்து காவிய அழகு குன்றாதவாறு பொருத்துகின்றார்.

கணவனைப் பிரிந்து வருந்தும் கனகமாலையின் நிலைக்கு உருகி, அவளது பழைய அழகுகளையும் இப்பொழுதைய துயர் நிலையையும் சிந்தித்து, அவ் வழகுகளை வாய்விட்டுச் சொல்லி, அவ்வழகு வீற்றிருந்த இடங்களில் இப் பொழுதுள்ள துயர் நிலைகளைச் சொல்லவும் நாவெழாமல் நிற்கும் ஆழ்ந்த துயரவுணர்ச்சியில் தேவர் பாடிய பாட்டாக இதனை எடுத்துக் காட்டி இலக் கிய மரபும், அதனைப் பாடிய புலவர் பண்பும் தாழ்வுறாது மலையென ஓங்கித் திகழுமாறு இப்பாடலில் பொருளை அமைத்துக் காட்டும் நச்சினார்க்கினியர் தம் உரைத் திறன் வியத்தற்குரியது.

"இலக்கியம் இயற்றிய புலவரின் உணர்ச்சி, அதில் வரும் கற்பனை மாந் தரின் உணர்ச்சி, அதைக் கற்பவர் பெறும் உணர்ச்சி ஆகிய மூவர் உணர்ச்சி யும் ஒன்றும்பொழுதுதான் இலக்கியம் இன்பம் தருவதாகும்." இப்பாடலில் இம்மூவகை உணர்ச்சியும் ஒன்றுபடுவது நச்சினார்க்கினியர்தம் உரைத்திற னாலேயே என்பதையும், அவர்தம் உரைத்திறனுக்குக் காரணம் தொல்காப் பியம் கூறும் இலக்கிய மரபில் தோய்ந்து பழகிய அவர்தம் பேரறிவே என் பதையும் நன்கு உணரலாம்.

4. கற்பனை

இலக்கியப் படைப்பில் மிக இன்றியமையாத உறுப்பு கற்பனையாகும். இலக்கியம் வாழ்க்கையைக் கூறுவது. ஆயினும் உலகியல் வாழ்க்கையை உள்ளவாறே கூறுவதன்று. கவிஞன் தன் உள்ளத்தில் வாழ்க்கையைப் பற்றிக் கருதியதையும் கலந்து கூறுவதேயாகும். வாழ்க்கை இவ்வாறு உள்ளது எனக்கூறாமல் இவ்வாறு அமையவேண்டும் எனக் கருதிக் கூறும் கற்பனையே இலக்கியத்தின் உயிர்நாடியாகும். உள்ளதை உள்ளவாறு கூறுதல் உலகியல் வழக்கு. உள்ளதைக் கவிஞன் கருதியவாறு கூறுவது நாடக வழக்கு. இவ் விரு வழக்கும் கலந்து அமைவதே இலக்கிய வழக்கு. "புலனெறி வழக்கம்" என்பர் தொல்காப்பியர். இலக்கியத்துள், இலக்கியப்பாத்திரங்கள், அப்பாத் திரங்களின் நிகழ்ச்சிகள் என இரு பகுதிகள் உள்ளன. இவ்விரு பகுதிகளையும் மேலே கூறிய இரு வழக்குகளுடன் உறழின் நால்வகை இலக்கிய அமைப்புக் கள் தோன்றும்:

1. உண்மைத் தலைவனை அமைத்து உள்ள நிகழ்ச்சிகளைச் சேர்த்துக் கூறுதல்.
2. உண்மைத் தலைவனை அமைத்து இல்லாத நிகழ்ச்சிகளைப் புனைந்து கூறுதல்.
3. இல்லாத தலைவனைக் கற்பித்து உள்ள நிகழ்ச்சிகளை அமைத்துக் கூறுதல்.
4. இல்லாத தலைவனைக் கற்பித்து இல்லாத நிகழ்ச்சிகளைப் படைத்து மொழிதல்.

இவற்றுள் முதலாவதாகிய உண்மைத் தலைவனுக்கு உள்ள நிகழ்ச்சி

களைக் கூறுதல் கற்பனை இல்லாது அமைதலின் அஃது இலக்கியமாகாது வரலாறுகி இயல்வதாகும். நான்காம் வகையாகிய இல்லாத தலைவனுக்கு இல்லாத நிகழ்ச்சிகளைப் படைத்து மொழிதல் முழுதும் பொய்யாய் வெறுங் கற்பனையாய் உலகியல் சிறிதும் அமையாது முடிதலின் அதுவும் இலக்கிய வழக்காகாது. "பாட்டு என்பது உண்மையின் படி அன்று, ஆயினும் அது வெறும் பொய்யாய் இருத்தலும் கூடாது, உண்மையைக் குறிப்பதாய் அதற்கு விளக்கம் தருவதாய் இருத்தல் வேண்டும்," என்பர் மேனுட்டறி ஞர். "புலவர்......... உலகத்தோர்க்கு நன்மை பயத்தற்கு நல்லோர்க்கு உள் ளனவற்றை ஒழிந்தோர் அறிந்தொழுகுதல் அறமெனக் கருதி அந்நல்லோர்க் குள்ளனவற்றிற் சிறிது இல்லனவுங் கூறுதலின்றி யாண்டும் எஞ்ஞான்றும் இல்லன கூருர்......" என்பது நச்சினர்க்கினியர் காட்டும் தொல்காப்பிய மரபாகும். இவற்ருல் தமிழ் நூலார் கூறும் இலக்கிய வழக்கு இருவகையா கும் எனலாம்:

1. உண்மைத் தலைவனை அமைத்து, இல்லாத சில நிகழ்ச்சிகளைக் கற் பித்தல்.
2. இல்லாத தலைவனைக் கற்பித்து உள்ள நிகழ்ச்சிகளை அமைத்தல்.

ஆ. தொல்காப்பியம் கூறும் கற்பனை வகை

இலக்கியத்தை உருவாக்கும் கவிஞன் படைக்கும் கற்பனைகள் பலவாகும். அவற்றுள் பெரும்பாலானவற்றைத் தொல்காப்பியம் எடுத்துக் காட்டுதல் காணலாம். அவற்றுள் சில:—

1. பொருள்களை அல்லது நிகழ்ச்சிகளை ஒப்புமைப் படுத்தும் உவமை, உருவகம் முதலியன.
2. உறுப்புடையதுபோல் உணர்வுடையதுபோல் மறுத்துரைப்பது போல் நெஞ்சொடு புணர்த்துக் கூறுவன.
3. பேசாதனவற்றைப் பேசுவனபோலவும், செய்யாதனவற்றைச் செய் வனபோலவும் கருதி அவைகளிடம் கூறுவன.
4. கடலும் அன்றிலும் குழலும் பிறவும் இவைபோல்வனவற்றை உயர் திணைபோல் கருதி, தான் உற்ற பிணியையே அவையும் உற்றன வாகப் புனைவன.
5. உண்ணுதல் உண்ணப்படுதல் முதலியவற்றிற்குரியவல்லாத பொருட் களை அவைகட்கு உரியபோலக் கற்பித்தல்.

கவிஞர் இலக்கியத்துள் குறிப்பாகக் கூறும் இக்கற்பனைகளை எடுத்துக் காட்டுதல் சிறந்த திறனுய்வுப் பயனுகும்.

இ. உவமை உணர்த்தும் ஒப்புமை விரிவு

தொழில், பயன், வடிவு, நிறம் இவற்றுள் ஏதேனும் ஒன்ருல் ஒத்திருக் கும் இருபொருள்களையே கவிஞர் ஒன்றை மற்றென்றிற்கு உவமையாகக் காட்டுவர். சில இடங்களில் ஓர் உவமை இரண்டு மூன்று இயல்புகளால் பொருளுடன் ஒத்திருக்கும். இவ்வொப்புமைக் கலப்பை "விரவி வருதல்" எனக்குறிப்பர் தொல்காப்பியர். இங்ஙனம் கலந்தமைந்து மறைந்திருக்கும் ஒப்புமைப் பகுதிகளை உணர்ந்து எடுத்துக் காட்டுதல் திறனுய்வோர் பணி யாகும். கடல்மேலெழும் ஞாயிற்றை முருகப்பெருமானுக்கு உவமையாகக்

கற்பனை செய்கின்றார் நக்கீரர். இவ்வுவமையுள் அடங்கியிருக்கும் கற்பனைத் திறமனைத்தையும் நச்சினார்க்கினியர் ஆய்ந்து விரித்துக் கூறுகின்றார். ஞாயிறு உலகை மூடிய இருளைக் கெடுக்கின்றான். முருகன் அறிவை மறைத்துள்ள மாயையைப் போக்குகின்றான். ஆதலின் இருவரும் தொழிலால் ஒத்திருத்தல் காண்போம். கடலின் பசுமையும் ஞாயிற்றின் செம்மையும் மயிலின் பசுமை யையும் முருகனது திருமேனிச் செம்மையையும் நினைவூட்டும். ஆதலின் இரு வரும் வண்ணத்தாலும் ஒத்துள்ளனர். எனவே ஞாயிறு, முருகன் இருவர்தம் வண்ணம், தொழில் இரண்டையும் புறக்கண்ணாலும் அகக்கண்ணாலும் கண்டு ஒப்புமையாக்கப்பெற்ற இவ்வுவமையைத் தொல்காப்பியங்கூறும் உவமையிலக்கணத்திற்கேற்ப ஆய்ந்துணர்த்துகின்றார் நச்சினார்க்கினியர்.

ஈ. இலக்கண விடாப்பிடி

உவம இலக்கணத்தைப் பற்றிக்கொண்டு சில இடங்களில் சிறந்த உவமை களின் அழகைச் சிதைத்துவிடுகின்றார் நச்சினார்க்கினியர். சில இடங்களில் அவர் இலக்கணத்தைத் தமக்கு அடிமையாக்குகின்றார். இதற்கு மாறாக மற் றும் சில இடங்களில் இலக்கணத்திற்குத் தாம் அடிமையாகிவிடுகின்றார். கவிஞர், ஒரு பொருளுக்கு உவமை கூறுங்கால் அதனுடன் ஒப்புமையுடைய பிறிதொரு உயர்ந்த பொருளையே உவமையாகக் கூறவேண்டும் என்பர் அறி ஞர். பொருளினும் உவமை உயர்ந்ததாதல் வேண்டும் என்பதே இதன் கருத்து. பாய்வதில் வல்ல ஒருவனைப் புலிபோலப் பாய்ந்தான் என்று பாய் வதில் மிகச் சிறந்த புலியை உவமை கூறலே தக்கது. அவ்வாறன்றிப் பாய் தல் ஒப்புமை பற்றிப் பூனைபோலப் பாய்ந்தான் எனின் பொருளினும் உவமை மிகத் தாழ்வுடையதாய்த் தகுதியற்றதாகிறது.

எனவே ஒரு பொருளின் இயல்பை மிகுத்துக் காட்டவே உவமை கூறப் பெறுகிறது. அப்பொருளின் இயல்பை மேலும் மிகுப்பதற்குப் பொருளை உவமையாக்கியும் உவமையைப் பொருளாக்கியும் உரைப்பர் அறிஞர். பொரு ளுக்கு மற்றொரு பொருளை உவமை கூறும்போது உவமானம் உயர்ந்த தாகிறது. பொருளை உவமையாக்கியும் உவமையைப் பொருளாக்கியும் கூறும் பொழுது உவமேயம் உயர்ந்ததாகிறது. புலவர் தாம் எடுத்துக் கொண்ட பொருளை உவமையால் சிறப்பிக்கவும் வேண்டும்; உவமையும் பொருளும் இரண்டும் உயர்வு தாழ்வு இன்றி விளங்கவும் வேண்டும்—என்று கருது தலும் உண்டு. இவ் வழகுணர்ச்சி விளங்க ஒரு புலவர் உவமிக்கின்றார். பாணன் மனைவி பாடினியை அவர் வருணிக்கின்றார்:

> "ஈர்ந்து நிலந்தோயும் இரும்பிடித் தடக்கையின்
> சேர்ந்துடன் செறிந்த குறங்கின் குறங்கென
> மால்வரை ஒழுகிய வாழை வாழைப்
> பூவெனப் பொலிந்த ஓதி"

இங்ஙனம் செல்கின்றது புலவர் வருணனை. பாடினியின் உறுப்பழகும் இயற் கைப் பொருள்களின் எழிலும் ஒன்றோடொன்று மாறி மாறி உவமையும் பொருளுமாகின்றன இங்கு. பெண்யானையின் துதிக்கை போன்று செறிந்துள் ளது பாடினியின் தொடை. பாடினியின் தொடைபோன்று நீள வளர்ந்துள் ளன மலைவாழை. வாழையின் பூப்போன்று பொலிந்துள்ளது அவளது கூந் தல். இங்ஙனம் இயற்கைப் பொருளில் பாடினியின் உறுப்பழகையும், பாடினி யின் உறுப்புக்களில் இயற்கைப் பொருள்களின் எழிலையும் மாறி மாறிக் காண்

கின்றது கவியுள்ளம். இரண்டும் (பாடினியின் உறுப்புக்களும் இயற்கைப் பொருள்களும்) அழகில் ஒத்து விளங்குகின்றன, உயர்வு தாழ்வின்றிப் பொலிகின்றன. எது உயர்ந்தது என்று தெரிந்தால் அதனை ஏனையதற்கு உவமை கூறலாம். கவிஞர்க்கு இரண்டும் உயர்ந்தனவாய்ப் பேரழகுடன் பொலிகின்றன. எதை உவமேயமாகக் கொள்வது? எதை உவமானமாகக் கொள்வது? ஒன்று மற்றொன்றிற்கு உவமையாகின்றது. உவமையான அதுவே பொருள் அல்லது உவமேயமாகின்றது. இங்ஙனம் இருவகைப் பொருள்களிலும் காணும் அழகு மயக்கத்தில் புலவர் உணர்ச்சி மிகுந்து பாடும் உவமை மயக்கம் இது. பேராசிரியரும் இங்ஙனம் தலைவியின் உறுப்புக்களும் இயற்கைப் பொருள்களும் உவமையும் பொருளுமாக மாறி மாறி அமையும் பேரழகையே அனுபவிக்கின்றார் இவ்விலக்கியப் பகுதியில். பிற்கால அறிஞர் இவ்வழகைச் சந்தான உவமை என்பர்.

நச்சினார்க்கினியர் விளக்கம் இவ்வுவமையின் பேரழகைச் சிதைப்பதாக உள்ளது. பிடித்தடக்கைபோன்று பருத்து, வாழைபோன்று திரண்டு ஒரு தொடையுடன் மற்றொரு தொடை நெருங்கியுள்ளது என உரைக்கின்றார். இங்கு அவர் தொடையை உவமேயமாகவும், பிடித்தடக்கை, வாழை இரண்டையுமே தொடைக்கு உவமானமாகவும் கருதிக் கூறுகிறார். இங்ஙனமே ஏனையவற்றையும் அவர் சிதைத்துக் கவிஞர் கருதிய கற்பனையழகைச் சிதைக்கின்றார்.

இங்ஙனம் அவர் இவ்வுவமையின் அழகைச் சிதைப்பதன் காரணம் என்ன? விறலியின் உறுப்புக்களே பொருள். ஏனைய இயற்கைப்பொருள்கள் அவ்வுறுப்புக்களுக்குக் கூறும் உவமை என்று கொள்ளுதலே உவமை இலக்கணத்திற்கு ஏற்பதாகும், அவ்வாறன்றி உவமை பொருளாயும், பொருள் உவமையும் ஒரேயிடத்தில் மாறி மாறி வந்தால் எது உவமை, எது பொருள் என்னும் வரையறையின்றிச் செல்லும், ஆதலின் அங்ஙனம் செல்லுதல் உவமவிலக்கணத்திற்கு ஏலாது என்று அவர் கொள்கின்றார். அங்ஙனம் கொண்டு பாட்டின் சொல்லையும் பொருளையும் சிதைத்து, கவிஞர்தம் புதிய கற்பனையாகிய இவ்வுவமையின் பேரழகைச் சிதைத்து விடுகின்றார். காரணம், பழைய இலக்கணத்தை விடாப்பிடியாகப் பற்றியமையே எனலாம். "தமிழ்ப் புலவர்கள் கண்மூடிகளாய்ப் பழம் வழக்கிலே சிறைப்பட்டுக் கிடந்தவர்கள் அல்லர்" என்பது பேராசிரியர் தெ. பொ. மீ. அவர்கள் கூறும் உண்மை. இவ்வுண்மையை அறிவுறுத்தவே தொல்காப்பியர் பழைய இலக்கண விதிகள் நாளாவட்டத்தில் மாறியமைதற்கும் இடம் தந்து புறனடைச் சூத்திரங்கள் இயற்றியுள்ளார்.

5. கருத்து

இலக்கியத்தின் இன்றியமையாத மற்றோர் உறுப்பு. இலக்கிய உறுப்புக்களாகிய உணர்ச்சியும் கருத்தும் ஒன்றோடொன்று நெருங்கிய தொடர்புடையன. இவை ஒருவரை விட்டு ஒருவர் பிரிந்து நில்லாக் காதலர் போன்றவை. "நியாயமான தக்க உணர்ச்சி, நல்ல காரணத்திற்காக நல்ல வகையில் அமைவதுதான் நெடிது வாழும் இலக்கியம்" என்று கருதுகிறார் வின்செஸ்டர் என்னும் திறனாய்வாளர். நல்லொழுக்கமும், உயரிய குறிக்கோளும் உடையதாக இலக்கியம் திகழ வேண்டும். அங்ஙனமின்றி இவற்றிற்கு மாறான கருத்தைக் கொண்டு எழும் இலக்கியம் வாழ்க்கைக்கு வழி காட்டுவதாகாது. செய்யுள் விழுமிய பொருளுடையதாய் இருக்க வேண்டும்

என்று தொல்காப்பியம் வற்புறுத்துவது இதனையேயாகும். இவ்விலக்கிய மரபில் நன்கு தோய்ந்த உரையாசிரியர்கள் தாம் ஆயும் பாட்டுக்களில் இலை மறைகாய்போல் மறைந்துகிடக்கும் விழுமிய கருத்துக்களை ஆய்ந்து கூறும் திறன் பாராட்டுதற்குரியது.

அ. விழுமிய பொருள்

தலைவி ஒருத்தி ஒரு சிறந்த தலைவனைக் காதலித்து அவனையே மணந்து கொள்ள விரும்புகிறாள். அஃதறியாத பெற்றோர் அவளைப் பிறன் ஒருவனுக்கு மணம் பேசுகின்றனர். இதனை அறிந்தாள் தலைவியின் தோழி. பெற்றோர் முயலும் அப்பொருந்தா மணத்தைத் தடுக்க முற்படுகின்றாள். அப்பெற்றோரையும் பிறரையும் நோக்கி அவள் கூறுகின்றாள்:

> "சிறுகுடியீரே சிறுகுடியீரே
> வள்ளி கீழ்விழா வரைமிசைத் தேன்தொடா
> கொல்லை குரல்வாங்கி யீனா மலைவாழ்நர்
> அல்ல புரிந்தொழுக லான்"

என்பது தோழி கூறுவது. மலைவாழும் குறவர்கள் தகாத செயல்களை விரும்புகிறார்கள் என்கிறாள் அவள். ஈண்டுத் தகாத செயல்கள் என்பதைக் குறிக்கும் சொல் "அல்ல" என்பது. இச்சொல்லுக்கு நச்சினார்க்கினியர் தரும் விளக்கம் பண்பாட்டின் அடிப்படையில் எழுந்த விளக்கமாகும். அல்ல என்பது அறம் அல்லாத செயல்கள். அறத்தொடு நிற்கும் தோழி இங்கு எதனை அறம் அல்லாதன என்கிறாள்? சுனையில் விழுந்து வருந்திய தலைவியைக் காத்தவன் தலைவன். தன்னை மெய்தொட்டு எடுத்து உயிர் காத்த தலைவனையே மணந்து கொள்ள வேண்டும் என்பது தலைவியின் விருப்பம். குறவர்கள் அவளை அயலார்க்குக் கொடுக்க விரும்புகின்றனர். உயிரை உதவிய தலைவனுக்குக் கொடுக்க விரும்பாமையையும் பிறர்க்குக் கொடுக்க விரும்புதலையும் அறம் அல்லாதன என்கிறாள் தோழி. "அறம் அல்லாத இச்செயல்களை விரும்புவதால் வள்ளிக்கிழங்கு இனி இடா, மலைமேல் தேன் தொடா, கொல்லை கதிர் ஈனா" என்று எச்சரிக்கிறாள் அவள்.

இங்கு மற்றொரு கருத்தும் ஊன்றி நோக்குதற்குரியது. அல்ல புரிந்தொழுகுதல் என்னும் பகுதிக்கு அறமல்லாதவனவற்றை விரும்பி ஒழுகுதல் என்று உரை கூறுகின்றார் நச்சினார்க்கினியர். புரிதல் என்னும் சொல் விரும்புதல், செய்தல் என்னும் இரு பொருள்களும் தரும். ஆயினும் ஈண்டு "விரும்புதல்" என்னும் பொருளையே அவர் கொள்கின்றார். அறமல்லாத செயல்களைச் செய்தல் மட்டும் அன்று, அதற்கு அடிப்படையாகிய மனத்தால் விரும்புதலும் தீமையே பயக்கும் என்னும் அறநெறியை ஈண்டு வற்புறுத்துகின்றார். நினைத்தலும் செய்தலோடொக்கும் என்னும் பரிமேலழகரின் கருத்து ஈண்டு ஒப்பு நோக்கி மகிழ்தற்குரியது.

ஆ. விழுப்பொருள் விளக்கம்

பிற்கால இலக்கியங்களில் சில இடங்களில் விழுப்பொருளுணர்த்தும் இலக்கியப் பண்பை மேற்கொள்ளாது விடுதலும் காண்கிறோம். அத்தகைய இடங்களில் உரையாசிரியர் அவ்விலக்கியப் பகுதியை விழுமிய பொருள் உடையதாக்க மேற்கொள்ளும் முயற்சி பாராட்டுதற்குரியது. அம்முயற்சியில் பிற இலக்கண மரபுகளைப் புறக்கணிக்கவும் அவர் தயங்கவில்லை. சீவ

கனது நற்றுயாகிய விசயையும் அவனது வளர்ப்புத் தாயாகிய சுநந்தையும் தவம் மேற்கொள்கின்றனர். தவமகளிர் இவ்விரு முதுமகளிர்க்கும் தவக் கோலம் அணிகின்றனர். அவர்தம் முலைமேல் வெள்ளிய நூலாடையைக் கட்டினர். அவர் அங்ஙனம் முலையை மறைத்தமைக்குப் புலவர் ஓர் உவமை கூறுகின்றுர். காலனைக் கண்ணை மறைத்தாற்போன்று அவர்தம் முலைமேல் வெள்ளாடையைக் கட்டினுர்—என்பது புலவர் கூறுவது

> பாலினுற் சீறடி கழுவிப் பைந்துகில்
> நூலினுல் இயன்றன நுனித்த வெண்மைய
> காலனைக் கண்புதைத் தாங்கு வெம்முலை
> மேல்வளாய் வீக்கினுர் விதியின் என்பவே

என்பது புலவர் கவி. இங்கு தவக்கோலந்தாங்கும் அன்னையர்க்குக் காலன் உவமை. அவர்தம் கொங்கைகட்குக் காலனது கண்கள் உவமை. காலனது கண்ணை மறைத்து அவன் உயிர்களுக்குச் செய்யும் கொடுமையைப் போக்கு வது போன்று, இம்மகளிரது மார்புகளை மறைத்து அவை ஆடவர்க்குச் செய்யும் கொடுமையைப் போக்கினுர் தவமகளிர். பாடலில் உவமை அமைந் துள்ள முறை இப்பொருளையே தரக்கூடியதாக உள்ளது. ஆயின் இப்பொருள் மிகவும் பண்பாடற்றதாக உள்ளது. விசயை கணவனை இழந்த முதுமகள். சுநந்தை விசயையோடொத்த முதியவள். இதுமட்டுமின்றி இவர்கள் தவக் கோலம் தாங்கும் விழுமிய சூழ்நிலை இது. இம்மகளிரை, இச்சூழ்நிலையில் இவ்வாறு வருணிப்பது பண்பாட்டிற்கு மறுதலையாகவுள்ளது. வருணிக்கும் திருத்தக்கதேவரின் பெருமைக்கும் இழுக்கு நேர்கின்றது. திருத்தக்க தேவர் ஒரு துறவி. துறவு, தவம் இவற்றின் விழுப்பத்தை நன்குணர்ந்தவர். அங் ஙனமிருந்தும் தவக்கோலம் தாங்கும் விழுமிய செயலை உரியமுறையில் புலப் படுத்த முடியாமல் தோல்வியுறுகிறுர். காரணம் மணநூல் எனப்படும் சிந் தாமணியில் எங்கும் அழகுணர்ச்சியையே படைக்க வேண்டும் என்று கருதி னுர் போலும். அழகுணர்ச்சிக்கு அப்பாற்பட்ட விழுமிய உணர்ச்சியை மறந்து அழகுணர்ச்சியையே நாடி முயல்வதால் இத்தோல்வியுறுகிறுர். அழ கும் இன்பமும் தருதல் இங்கு அவர்தம் நோக்கங்களாதல் கூடாது. தவத் தின் விழுப்பத்தை எடுத்துரைக்கும் நோக்கமே ஈண்டு வேண்டுவது. அந் நோக்கம் வெற்றி பெற்றிருப்பின் இதுவே படிப்போர்க்கும் ஆராய்ச்சி யாளர்க்கும் இலக்கிய அழகை மிகுவிப்பதாகும்.

பாட்டு விழுமிய பொருளுடையதாய் விளங்க வேண்டும் என்று தொல் காப்பியம் கூறும் இலக்கியப் பண்பில் தோய்ந்த நச்சினுர்க்கினியர் இப் பாட்டின் தகாத பொருளைத் தம் திறமையால் விழுப்பமுடையதாக மாற்று கின்றுர். திருத்தக்கதேவர் கூறும் அழகு வருணனை அம்மகளிரது பழைய நிலையைக் குறிக்கும் என மாற்றுகின்றுர். முன்பு (அம்மகளிர்தம் இளமை யில்) காலனைக் கண்ணை மறைத்தாற்போன்று விளங்கின அவர்தம் மார்பு கள். காலனைக் கண்புதைத்தல்—காலனது கொலைத்தொழிலை மறைப்பித் தல். காலனது கொலைத்தொழிலும் அவர்தம் மார்புகள் ஆடவரைச் செய் யும் கொடுமைக்கு நிகராகாது என்பது கருத்து. இது அவரது விளக்கம்.

இப்பாட்டில் வரும் "ஆங்கு" என்னும் சொல் வினை உவமைக்குரிய உருபு. தவமகளிர் வெள்ளாடையணிந்த வினைக்குக் காலனைக் கண்புதைக்கும் வினை உவமையே பொருந்துவதாகும். தொல்காப்பியர்தாம் உவம விதிக்கு மாறுபட்டாலும், அவர் கூறும் விழுப்பொருளுணர்த்தும் இலக்கியப் பண்

பாட்டிற்கு மாறுபடுதலாகாது என்னும் பண்பு நோக்குடையவர் நச்சினார்க்கினியர். ஆதலின் அவ்வுவமையை இப்பொழுது நிகழ்ந்த வினைக்கு உவமையாக்காமல், முன்பு நிகழ்ந்த அவர்தம் மார்புகட்கு அடையாக்கினார். தொல்காப்பியர் கூறும் உவமவிலக்கணம், அவர் கூறும் இலக்கியப் பண்பிற்கு முன் நிற்கவியலவில்லை. முன்னோர் கூறிய இலக்கண விதிகள் நச்சினார்க்கினியர் போன்ற சிறந்த திறனாய்வாளர்க்கு ஏவல் புரியும் போலும். இங்ஙனம் உவமையை மாற்றிக் கவிதைப் பண்பும் கெடாதவாறு செய்ய முயல்கிறார் அவர். ஆனால் அவர் அம்முயற்சியில் முழுவெற்றிபெற்றார் என்பதற்கில்லை. முதுமகளிர்தம் அப்பழைய நிலையையும் அவர்கள் ஈண்டுத் தவநிலை மேற்கொள்ளும் சூழ்நிலையில் கவிஞர் வருணித்தல் பொருத்தம் எனத் தோன்றவில்லை. எனவே அவர்தம் முயற்சியில் ஓரளவு வெற்றியே பெற்றார் எனலாம்.

6. செய்யுட் சொற்கள்

கவிதையில் கவிஞர் பயன்படுத்தும் சொற்களையும் அவை உணர்த்தும் பொருள்களையும் இலக்கிய ஆராய்ச்சியாளர் நன்கு உணர்ந்திருத்தல் வேண்டும். உரைநடையில் பயிலும் சொற்களும் கவிதையில் இடம்பெறும்; ஆயினும் கவிதைக்கேயுரிய பொருட்செறிவுடைய சொற்களும் உள்ளன. இத்தகைய சொற்களை "உரிச்சொல்" என வழங்குவர் தமிழறிஞர். பெரும்பான்மையும் செய்யுட்குரியவாய் வருதலின் உரிச்சொல் அப்பெயர் பெற்றது என்பது சேனாவரையர்க்கும் உடன்பாடேயாம். செய்யுட்குரிய சொற்கள் பலவற்றையும் அவை உணர்த்தும் பொருட்செறிவையும் தொல்காப்பியர் விரித்து விளக்குகின்றார்.

அ. செய்யுட் சொற்களின் செய்யுட் பொருள்

செய்யுட் சொற்களில் பெரும்பாலானவை இருவகைப்பொருள் உணர்த்துதல் காண்போம். ஒன்று, சாதாரண மக்கள் நாள்தோறும் பேசி வரும் பொருள். மற்றொன்று செய்யுளில் அமையும்பொழுது அறிவிக்கும் உணர்ச்சியைத் தூண்டும் உயர்ந்த கருத்து. ஆய் என்னும் சொல் சாதாரணப் பேச்சு வழக்கில் ஆராய்தல் என்னும் பொருள் தரும். இச்சொல் செய்யுளில் சில இடங்களில் உணர்த்தும் பொருள் வேறானதாகும்.

"இருவேம் ஆய்ந்த மன்றல் இது"

என்பது தலைவியின் மொழி. தானும் தலைவனும் செய்து கொண்ட மணத்தை இவ்வடியால் தலைவி புலப்படுத்த எண்ணுகிறாள். இங்கு "ஆய்ந்த" எனவொருசொல் வருகிறது. பெரும்பாலோர் "ஆராய்ந்த" என்றே இதற்குப் பொருள் காண நேரும். "நாங்கள் இருவருமாக (தலைவனும் தலைவியும்) ஆராய்ந்து செய்து கொண்ட மணம் இதுவாகும்" என இத்தொடர் பொருள் தருவதாகத் தோன்றும். நச்சினார்க்கினியர் அவ்வாறு பொருள் கொள்ளவில்லை. அவ்வாறு பொருள் கொண்டால் ஒரு மாறுபாடு எழுகிறது. தலைவனும் தலைவியும் செய்து கொண்ட காந்தருவ மணம் ஆராய்ந்து கொண்டதன்று. ஆராய வேண்டிய எதனையும் ஆராயாமல் தாங்களே துணிந்து செய்துகொண்ட மணம் இது என்பதைப் பின்னரும் தோழி கூறுகின்றாள். எனவே முன்னும் பின்னும் வரும் இவ்விரு கருத்துக்களும் முரணாமல் உரை கூற வேண்டும். மேலும் "ஆய்" என்னும் இச்சொல்லை "ஆராய்

தல்'' என்னும் சாதாரணப் பொருளில் கவிஞர் பயன்படுத்தியிரார், செய்யுட் குரிய செறிந்த கருத்தில் இதனைப் பயன்படுத்தியிருப்பார் எனவும் நச்சினார்க் கினியர் கருதுகிறார். கருதி அவர் கூறும் விளக்கம் அறியத்தக்கது.

தலைவன், பெருமை உரன் என்னும் பண்புகளை உடையவன். தலைவி அச்சம், நாணம் என்னும் பண்புகளை உடையவள். இவ்விருவர்தம் உயரிய பண்புகளும் நுணுகிய பின்னரே அவர்கள் இருவரும் ஒன்றுபடுவதாக அகப் பொருள் இலக்கணம் கூறும். தலைவனும் தலைவியும் சந்திக்கும் ஒவ்வொரு நாளும் அவர்களது காதல் சிறிது சிறிதாகப் பெருகிக் கொண்டேவரும்; அவர்களது உயரிய பண்புகள் சிறிது சிறிதாகத் தேய்ந்து கொண்டே வரும். இதற்குமேல் காதல் பெருகுதல் இயலாது, இதற்குமேல் அவர்தம் பண்பு கள் தேய்தல் இயலாது என்பதற்குரிய எல்லை வந்ததும் அவர்களிடையே காந்தருவ மணம் நிகழும். ஆய்தல் என்பது உள்ள ஒன்று வரவரச் சிறிது சிறிதாகக் குறைதல் என்னும் பொருள்தருமாற்றைத் தொல்காப்பியம் கூறும். இச்சொற்பொருளிலக்கணம் நன்கு உணர்ந்த நச்சினார்க்கினியர் "இந்த மணம், தலைவனும் யானும் பெருமையும் உரனும், அச்சமும் நாணும் நுணுகிய நிலையாற் பிறந்த காந்தருவ மணம்'' என்று அகப்பொருள் உணர்ச்சிக் கேற்பப் பொருள் கூறுகின்றார். "ஆய்ந்த'' என்னும் இச்செய் யுட் சொல் கவிஞர் கூறும் தலைவியின் அனுபவத்தை விளக்கவில்லை, அவ் வனுபவத்தை நம் மனக்கண்முன் அப்படியே கொண்டு வருகிறது. செய்யுட் சொற்களின் ஆற்றல் இது என்பர் அறிஞர்.

ஆ. இலக்கண வழுச் சொற்களில் இலக்கிய உணர்ச்சி

செய்யுட் சொற்களும் அவற்றின் பொருளும் திரிந்து உணர்ச்சி மிகுதி யைப் புலப்படுத்தலும் உண்டு. பாட்டில் சொற்களும் சொற்பொருளும் திரிந்து அமைவதற்குக் காரணம், புலவர் வேண்டுமென்றே செய்தல் அன்று. புலவர் உணர்ச்சி வயப்பட்டு நிற்றலே அதற்குக் காரணம் ஆகும். இலக்கி யத்தில் இங்ஙனம் சொல்லும் அதன் பொருளும் திரிந்து வரும் இயல்பு களனைத்தையும் ஒருவாறு தமிழ் இலக்கணம் எடுத்துக் காட்டுகிறது. இத் தமிழிலக்கண அறிவு நிரம்ப இருந்தாலன்றி இலக்கியத்தில் பயிலும் அத் தகைய சொற்றிரிபுகளையும், அவையுணர்த்தும் உணர்ச்சிகளையும் ஆய்ந்து அனுபவிக்க இயலாது.

"மலர்மிசை ஏகினான்''

என்பது திருவள்ளுவர் கடவுளுக்கு வழங்கும் ஒரு பெயர். "நினைவார்தம் நெஞ்சக் கமலத்தில் சென்றவன்'' என்பது இதன் பொருள். நினைவார் நெஞ் சில் செல்லுபவன் என எதிர்காலச் சொல்லால் எதிர்காலப் பொருளில் கூறியிருக்க வேண்டும். இலக்கண முறைப்படி, ஏகினான் என்பது சென்றான் என்னும் இறந்த காலப் பொருள் தரும் சொல். நினைப்பதற்கு முன் செல்லு தல் இயல்பன்று. தமிழிலக்கணப்படி இது வழு. ஆயினும் இவ்வழுச்சொல் உணர்த்தும் உணர்ச்சியை வழுவற்ற சொல் உணர்த்த இயலாது.

இறைவன் அன்பர்களது மனத்தில் சென்று தங்குதற்குத் துடித்துக் கொண்டிருக்கிறான். மக்கள் அவனை நினைக்க வேண்டியதுதான் தாமதம்; நினைத்தவுடனேயே மனத்தில் சென்று தங்குவான். தன்னை நினைக்குமாறு செய்தும் அவர் மனத்தில் சென்று தங்கும் இயல்புடையவன் இறைவன். ஆயின் தாமே அன்பால் நினைவாரது மனத்தில் எத்துணை விரைவாக அவன்

சென்று தங்குவான் என்பது உணர்தற்குரியது. அவ்விரைவுணர்ச்சியை "ஏகினான்" என்ற இறந்தகாலச் சொல்லால்தான் உணர்த்த இயலும். "அன்பால் நினைவாரது உள்ளக்கமலத்தின்கண் அவர் நினைந்த வடிவோடு விரைந்து சேறலின், "ஏகினான்" என இறந்த காலத்தாற் கூறினார்" என்பது பரிமேலழகர் உணர்ந்து உணர்த்தும் இறையனுபவம். இதற்கு அவர் தொல்காப்பிய இலக்கணமும் காட்டுகிறார். எதிர்காலத்திலோ, நிகழ்காலத்திலோ கூற வேண்டிய ஒன்றை இறந்த காலத்தால் கவிஞர் குறிப்பிட்டிருப்பின் அதனைப் பிழையென்று கருதற்க, விரைவு உணர்ச்சியைத் தருதற்பொருட்டென உணர்க என்பது தொல்காப்பியம். இத்தொல்காப்பிய இலக்கண அறிவு கொண்டு பாட்டில் உள்ள "ஏகினான்" என்னும் இலக்கண வழுவுள்ளது போன்ற சொல் உணர்த்தும் இலக்கிய உணர்ச்சியை நமக்கு எடுத்துக் காட்டுகின்றார் பரிமேலழகர்.

இ. சொற்களின் எண்ணவூட்டுச் சக்தி

"பலவகைப்பட்ட செயல்களுக்கும் ஒரே சொல் பயன்படுவதால் அச் சொல்லுக்குப் பல எண்ணங்களைத் தோற்றுவிக்கும் ஒரு தன்மை ஏற்பட்டு விடுகிறது. இத்தன்மையை மேல்நாட்டார் எண்ணவூட்டுச் சக்தி (Suggestive power of the word) என்று கூறுவர். இங்ஙனம் எண்ணங்களைத் தோற்றுவிக்கும் சொற்கள் எவையோ அவற்றையே கவிஞன் ஆய்ந்து கவிதையில் பயன்படுத்த வேண்டும்; இத்தகைய எண்ணவூட்டுச் சக்தியை உடைய சொற்களில் ஒன்று "சாதியொருமை" என இலக்கண நூலார் கூறும் சொல் வகையாகும். ஒருமை வடிவத்தில் நின்றே இச்சொல் பன்மைப் பொருளை உணர்த்தி நம் மனதிற்குப் பல பொருள்களை அல்லது பல நிகழ்ச்சிகளைக் கொண்டு வரும் ஆற்றல் பெற்றதாகும். இச்சொல்லிலக்கணத்தை அறிந்தாலன்றி அச்சொல் உணர்த்தும் பலவற்றையும் உணர்ந்து இலக்கியத்தை அனுபவிக்க இயலாது.

> "இன்பம் ஒருவற்கு இரத்தல் இரந்தவை
> துன்பம் உறாஅ வரின்"

என்பது திருவள்ளுவர் காணும் இரப்பின்பம். தானிரந்த பொருள் துன்பமின்றி வருமானால் அத்தகைய இரத்தல் ஒருவனுக்கு இன்பமேயாகும் என்பது இதன் கருத்து. இதில் "துன்பம்" என்று ஒரு சொல் வருகிறது. அது ஒருமைச்சொல். ஆயினும் பலவகைத் துன்பங்களைக் குறிக்கும் ஒருமைச் சொல் அது. இதனைச் சாதியொருமை என்பர் இலக்கண நூலார். இவ்விலக்கண அறிவுடைய பரிமேலழகர் நெஞ்சில் இரப்போன் எய்தும் "பலவகைத் துன்பங்களும்" அவ்வொருமைச் சொல்லின் வழியே தோன்றுகின்றன.

1. ஈவாரிடம் காலமும் இடனும் அறிந்து செல்லும் துன்பம்.
2. ஈவார்தம் குறிப்பறியும் துன்பம்.
3. அவரைத் தம் வயத்தராக்கும் துன்பம்.
4. அவர்தம் மனநெகிழுதற்குரிய சொற்களை நாடிச் சொல்லும் துன்பம்.
5. அங்ஙனம் சொல்லியும், அவர் எதுவும் கொடுக்க மறுத்துழி வரும் துன்பம்.

இத்தனை துன்பங்களையும் பரிமேலழகர் நெஞ்சிற்குக் கொணர்கிறது "துன் பம்" என்னும் சாதியொருமைப்பெயர்.

ஈ. அறிஞர்தம் தொண்டு

இங்ஙனம் தொல்காப்பியமும் பிற இலக்கண நூல்களும் கூறும் சொல் லிலக்கண மரபுகளும், பொருளிலக்கண மரபுகளும் பலப்பலவாகும். அவ் விலக்கண மரபுகள் யாவும் பழைய இலக்கியங்களில் உள்ளவற்றை ஆய்ந்து கூறப்பெற்றவையே. அவற்றுள் காலப்போக்கில் மாறியவையும் உண்டு. தம்காலம் வரையில் ஆய்ந்துகண்ட மரபுத்திரிபுகளையும் இலக்கண நூல்கள் எடுத்துக்காட்டுகின்றன. தமிழ் இலக்கியத் திறனாய்வு புரியும் அறிஞர்க்கு இவ்விலக்கண நூல்கள் கூறும் மரபுகளும், மரபுத் திரிபுகளும் பற்றிய அறிவு இன்றியமையாததாகும். இவ் வறிவின் துணைகொண்டு இலக்கியங்களில் அமைந்துகிடக்கும் உணர்ச்சி, கருத்து, கற்பனை, சொற்பொருட்செறிவு இவையனைத்தையும் சிறந்த முறையில் ஆய்ந்து அவற்றின் மதிப்பினை எடுத் துக்காட்ட இயலும். இலக்கியத் திறனாய்வுக்கு உதவும் இலக்கண மரபுகள் பலவாகும். அவற்றுள் சிலவே இங்கு எடுத்துக்காட்டப்பெற்றன. அவை அனைத்தையும் ஆய்ந்து எடுத்துக் காட்டுவது தமிழ் இலக்கியத் திறனாய் வுக்கு அறிஞர் செய்யும் சிறந்த தொண்டாகும்.

வள்ளுவரின் சமயம்

மெ. திரு. அரசு

அறநூலாசிரியர்கள், தம் சமயம் இதுவெனத் தாமே விதந்து கூருத நிலையில், அவர் சமயம் இதுவென ஆராய்ந்து முடிவு காண அறிஞர் பலர் இன்று தயங்குவதற்குக் காரணம் காலச் சூழ்நிலையே எனக் கூறலாம். ஓராசிரியர் இன்ன சமயத்தினர் எனக் கூறுதல் அவர்க்கு இழுக்கு என்று சில ஆராய்ச்சியாளர்கள் தவருகக் கருதி வருகின்றனர். நூலாசிரியர், தம் மதம் கூருது பொது மதம் கூறிச் சென்ருர் என்றே, எந்த ஓர் இறை நெறியினையும் பின்பற்ருது பொது நெறியைப் பின்பற்றினுர் என்றே கூறுதலே அவர்க்குச் சிறப்பு என்பர் ஆராய்ச்சியாளர் சிலர். நூலாசிரியர் எந்த மதத்தினர் என ஆராய்ந்து துணிந்து அவர் இந்த மதத்தினர் என்று கூறுதல் அவர்தம் பொது நெறிக்கும் புகழுக்கும் ஒவ்வாது என்பது இவர்கள் கருத்து.

2. நூலாசிரியர் ஒருவர் இன்ன மொழியினர், இந்த நாட்டினர் எனக் கூறத் தயங்காதகாலை, அவர் இன்ன சமயத்தினராய் இருந்திருத்தல் கூடும் என ஆராய்ந்து கூறவும் தயங்க வேண்டுவதில்லை. பொது அறம் கூறிய புலவர் பெருந்தகை தாம் எந்த ஓர் இறைநெறியினையும் பின் பற்ருமல் இருந்திருத்தல் வேண்டும் எனக் கருத வேண்டுவதில்லை. தாம் குறிப்பிட்ட ஒரு நெறியினைப் பின்பற்றுபவராக இருந்தும், பொது நோக்கோடு நடு நிலை பிறழாது, எல்லா நெறிகளையும் ஒரே நிலையில் ஏற்றத்தாழ்வின்றிப் பிற நெறிகளிடத்துக் காழ்ப்புச் சிறிதுமின்றிக் கூறுதலே அவர்க்குச் சிறப்பாகும், இத்தகைய சிறப்புக் குரியவர் இளங்கோ அடிகள் என்பதில் ஐயமில்லை. இளங்கோ அடிகள் சமணத்துறவியராய் இருந்தும் ஏனைய நெறிகளைப் பழிக்காததோடு மட்டுமல்லாமல், அவற்றைத் தக்கவாறு பலவிடத்தும் புகழ்ந்து கூறியுள்ளார். எனினும் அவர்தம் சமயத்தை அறிந்து கொள்ள அவர் இயற்றியுள்ள சிலப்பதிகாரத்திலேயே அகச் சான்றுகள் பல காணப் படுகின்றன.

3. தொல்காப்பியர்தம் சமயத்தை ஆராய முற்பட்ட அறிஞர் ஒருவர்[1] தொல்காப்பியர் காலத்தே சமண, பௌத்த சமயங்கள் தோன்றவில்லை யென்பதைத் தெளிவாகக் குறிப்பிட்டுவிட்டுப் பின்னர் அக்காலத்து நிலவிய சமயங்கள் யாவை என்பதையும், அவற்றுள் எதனைத் தொல்காப்பியர் பின் பற்றி இருந்திருத்தல் கூடும் என்பதையும் ஆராயாமல், அவர் பொது நோக்கினர் என எழுதியுள்ளார். இஃது ஆராய்ச்சியின் நெகிழ்ச்சியைக் காட்டுமே யன்றி வன்மையைக் காட்டாது.

4. திருக்குறளில் காணப்படும் அகச் சான்றுகள் சிலவற்றைக்கொண்டு,

1. தமிழ் இலக்கிய வரலாறு; தொல்காப்பியம்: க. வெள்ளைவாரணன். அண்ணுமலைப் பல்கலைக்கழகம்; 1957: பக்கம் 170—171

வள்ளுவர் ஏதாவது ஒரு சமயத்தைச் சார்ந்து ஒழுகியவராக இருந்திருந் தால் அச்சமயம் எச்சமயமாக இருந்திருத்தல் கூடும் என்பதை ஓரளவு ஆராய்வதே இக்கட்டுரையின் நோக்கமாகும். இவ்வுரையில் அவர் எந்த எந்தச் சமயத்தினராய் இருந்திருத்தல் இயலாது என ஒவ்வொரு சமயமாக நீக்கி இறுதியில் எந்தச் சமயத்தினராய் இருந்திருத்தல் கூடும் என்ற முடி வுக்கு வருவோம்.

5. திருவள்ளுவர் வாழ்ந்த காலம் ஏசு கிறிஸ்துவுக்கு முற்பட்டது என்பது பொதுவாகப் பெரும்பாலான அறிஞர்களும் ஏற்றுக்கொண்ட ஒரு முடி வாகும். அக்காலத்தில் தமிழகத்தில் சைவம், வைணவம், பௌத்தம், சம ணம், வேத ஆகமங்களின் பிரிவுகள் ஆகிய சமயங்களே நிலவின. வள்ளுவர் இவை அனைத்தையும் பொது நோக்காக ஏற்றுக் கொண்டு தமக்கென ஒரு நெறியினை வகுத்துக் கொண்டிருத்தல் வேண்டும். அல்லது இவற்றுள் ஏதே னும் ஒன்றைப் பின்பற்றி ஒழுகியவராக இருந்திருத்தல் வேண்டும்.

6. சமண சமயம் கொல்லாமையையும் புலால் உண்ணாமையையும் ஒருங்கே உடன்படும். பௌத்த சமயமோ பிறர் கொன்று தருவதை உண்ண லாம் என்னும் கருத்துடையது. வள்ளுவர் கொல்லாமை, புலால் உண்ணாமை ஆகிய இரண்டையும் உடன்பட்டவர். இவை இரண்டிற்கும் கொல்லாமை (33) புலால் மறுத்தல் (26) என ஈரதிகாரங்கள் தனித்தனியே வகுத்துள் ளார். அந்த அந்த அதிகாரங்களில் அந்த அந்த அறத்தைப் பற்றி மட் டுமே பெரும்பாலும் கூறியுள்ளார். ஆனால் புலால் மறுத்தல் அதிகாரத்தில்,

> "கொல்லான் புலாலை மறுத்தானைக் கைகூப்பி
> யெல்லா உயிரும் தொழும்" (குறள்—260)

எனக் கூறியுள்ளார். புலால் உண்ணாமையை மட்டுமே கூற வேண்டிய இவ் வதிகாரத்தில் "கொல்லான்" என விதந்து சுட்டிக்கூற வேண்டிய நிலை வள்ளுவர்க்கு ஏன் வந்தது? "கொன்றதைத் தின்னலாம்" எனும் பௌத்த மதக் கொள்கை அக்காலத்தில் பரவி இருந்தமையாலேயே அதனை மறுக்கும் கருத்தில் "கொல்லான்" என விதந்து வள்ளுவர் கூறியிருக்கின்றார் எனக் கருதுவதில் தவறில்லை. மேலும்

> தினற்பொருட்டால் கொல்லாது உலகெனில் யாரும்
> விலைப்பொருட்டால் ஊன்தருவா ரில் (256)

என்னும் குறளால் திட்டவட்டமாகப் பௌத்த மதக் கொள்கையை மறுக் கின்றார் என்பது புலனாகிறது. பௌத்த மதக் கோட்பாடுகளில் வள்ளுவர்க்கு ஆழ்ந்த ஈடுபாடு இருந்திருக்குமாகில் இங்ஙனம் மறைமுகமாகவும் நேராக வும் கண்டித்துக் கூறியிருக்கமாட்டார். ஆனால் பௌத்த மதக் கொள்கை களில் இந்த ஒன்று மட்டும் அவர்க்கு உடன்பாடு இல்லாமல் இருந்திருக்க லாம். ஏனைக் கொள்கைகள் அவர்க்கு உடன்பாடாக ஏன் இருந்திருத்தல் கூடாது எனும் ஐயம் எழலாம்.

7. பௌத்த மதத்தின் தலையாய கொள்கை வினைப்பயனைப் பற்றியதே யாகும். சமணர்கள் கொள்கையும் வினைப்பயனை அடிப்படையாகக் கொண் டதே. இவ்விரு கொள்கையினருமே "தெய்வம் வினைப்பயனை ஊட்டும்" என்னும் கருத்தை வன்மையுடன் மறுப்பவர்கள். "வினைப்பயன் தானே வந்து சேரும், ஊழ்வினை தானே வந்தூட்டும்" என்பது சமண, பௌத்தக்

கொள்கையாகும்.

"பல்லாவுள் உய்த்து விடினும் குழக்கன்று
வல்லதாந் தாய்நாடிக் கோடலைத்—தொல்லைப்
பழவினையும் அன்ன தகைத்தேதற் செய்த
கிழவனை நாடிக் கொளற்கு" (11:பழவினை:1)

என்று நாலடியார் கூறியிருத்தல் இதனைத் தெளிவாக்கும். மேலும் "தெய்வம்" என்ற ஒன்றில்லை என்பதும் பௌத்த, சமணக் கோட்பாடு ஆகும். ஆனால் ஊழ்வினை தானாக வந்து ஊட்டும் வலியற்றது. அதனை ஊட்டுவிக்க, ஆட்டுவிக்க ஒருவன் வேண்டும் என்பதும், தெய்வம் என்ற ஒன்று உண்டு என்பதும் சைவ, வைணவ, வேத ஆகமகக் கொள்கை ஆகும். வள்ளுவரும் இக்கோட்பாடுகளைப் பின்பற்றியே,

"வகுத்தான் வகுத்த வகையல்லால் கோடி
தொகுத்தார்க்கும் துய்த்தல் அரிது" (377)

"தெய்வத்தான் ஆகாது எனினும் முயற்சிதன்
மெய்வருத்தக் கூலி தரும்" (619)

எனும் குறள்களில் ஊழ்வினை தானே வந்து ஊட்டாது அதனை வகுத்தற்கு ஒருவன் "உண்டு" என்றும், "தெய்வம்" என்ற ஒன்று உண்டு என்றும் உடன்படுகிறார். சமண, பௌத்த சமயங்களின் தலையாய கொள்கையை வள்ளுவர் இங்ஙனம் மறுப்பதால், இச்சமயங்களில் இவர்க்கு ஈடுபாடில்லை என்பது போதரும்.

8. வேதாந்திகள் "பிரமம் ஒன்றே உள் பொருள்; உயிரும் உலகமும் பொய்த்தோற்றம்" எனும் கொள்கை உடையவர் ஆவர். மேலும், "ஆன்மா ஒன்றே, அஃதே எல்லா உடல்களிலும் பிரதிபலிக்கிறது" என்பதும் அவர்கள் கொள்கை.

"மன்னுயிர் ஓம்பி அருள்ஆள்வாற்கு இல்லென்ப
தன்னுயிர் அஞ்சும் வினை" (244)

"மன்னுயிர் எல்லாம் துயிற்றி அளித்திரா
என்அல்லது இல்லை துணை" (1168)

எனும் குறள்களில், உயிரை "மன்னுயிர்"[2] அதாவது "அழியாதது" என்றும் "நிலை பேறுடையது" என்றும் குறிப்பிடுதலால், "உயிர், பொய்த் தோற்றம்" எனும் கோட்பாடும், "மன்னுயிர் எல்லாம்" எனப் பன்மையில் கூறுவதால் ஏகான்ம வாதக் கோட்பாடும் வள்ளுவர்க்கு உடன்பாடு அல்ல என்பது தெளிவு.

9. "பிரமம் நானே" என்பது வேதாந்தக் கொள்கை. ஆனால் வள்ளுவரோ,

"யான்எனது என்னும் செருக்குஅறுப்பான் வானோர்க்கு
உயர்ந்த உலகம் புகும்" (346)

எனும் குறளில் "உயர்ந்த உலகம் புகும்" என்பதால் "பிரமம் நானே"

2. உயிர்கள் எல்லாம் நித்தியமாகலின், மன்னுயிர் என்றார். பரிமேலழர் உரை: குறள் 244.

எனும் வேதாந்தக் கொள்கையை மறுத்தலைக் காணலாம்.

10. "பிரமம் நானே" என்று வேதாந்தம் கூறுவதால், இறைவனடி சேர்தல் வேதாந்தத்திற்கு உடன்பாடில்லை. ஆனால் வள்ளுவரோ,

> "பிறவிப் பெருங்கடல் நீந்துவர்; நீந்தார்
> இறைவன் அடிசேரா தார்" (10)

என இறைவன் அடி சேர்தலை உடன்படுகிறார். இதனால் வள்ளுவர் வேதாந்தக் கொள்கை உடையவர் அல்லர் எனத் தெளியலாம்.

11. வேதாகமப் பிரிவுகளில் வேதாந்தம் நீங்கலாக ஏனைக் கொள்கைகள் வள்ளுவர்க்கு உடன்பாடா என்பதைச் சிறிது ஆராய்வோம்.

12. "நல்வினை, சுவர்க்க பலன்களைத் தரும்" என்றும், எனவே இறைவனை வழிபடாமல் நல்வினைகளை மட்டும் இயற்றினால் போதும் என்றும் மீமாஞ்சகம் கூறுகிறது. ஆனால்,

> "இருள்சேர் இருவினையும் சேரா இறைவன்
> பொருள்சேர் புகழ்புரிந்தார் மாட்டு" (5)

எனக் கூறுதலால் வினையினும் பார்க்க இறைவழிபாடு இன்றியமையாதது என்பதும், நல்வினையும் மயக்கத்தைத் தரும் என்பதும் வள்ளுவர் கருத்து என அறியலாம். இது மீமாஞ்சகத்தின் தலையாய கொள்கைக்கு முரண் என்பது தெளிவு.

13. வைதீகச் சடங்குகளை வன்மையாகக் கண்டிக்கும் இயல்பினர் வள்ளுவர் என்பதை,

> "அவிசொரிந்து ஆயிரம் வேட்டலின் ஒன்றன்
> உயிர் செகுத்து உண்ணாமை நன்று" (259)

என்னும் குறள் நமக்கு எளிதில் விளக்கும்.

14. வள்ளுவர் வருணாசிரம முறைகளை உடன்படாது கண்டித்திருத்தலை,

> "அந்தணர் என்போர் அறவோர்மற் றெவ்வுயிர்க்கும்
> செந்தண்மை பூண்டொழுக லான்." (30)

எனும் குறளில், பிறப்பால் வருவோர் அல்லர் அந்தணர்; தம் செந்தண்மையால் சிறப்புறுவோரே அந்தணர் எனக் குறிப்பிடுதலால் அறியலாம். இதனையே,

> "பிறப்பொக்கும் எல்லா உயிர்க்கும்; சிறப்பொவ்வா
> செய்தொழில் வேற்றுமை யான்" (970)

எனும் குறளும் வலியுறுத்தும்.

15. எனவே வேதாமகப் பிரிவுகளில் வள்ளுவர்க்கு ஈடுபாடில்லை என்பது தெளிவாகும்.

16. இனி எஞ்சி நிற்பன சைவமும் வைணவமுமே.

17. வள்ளுவர் கடவுள் வாழ்த்தில்,

> "கற்றதனால் ஆய பயனென்கொல் வாலறிவன்
> நற்றாள் தொழாஅர் எனின்" (2)

எனக் கூறியுள்ளார். இறைவனை "வாலறிவன்" என்பதால் அவன் மாசற்ற

தூய அறிவினை உடையவன் என்பது தெளிவாகிறது. அவனை வணங்காவிட்டால் என்ன பயன் என்று கேட்பதால் அந்த வணக்கத்தின் மூலம் தூய அறிவினை, வணங்குவோர் பெறுவர் என்பது பெறப்படும். அப்படியானால் வணங்குவோர்தம் அறிவு மாசுடையது; அம்மாசு நீக்கத்திற்கே வழிபாடு துணை புரிகிறது எனக் கொள்ள வேண்டியிருக்கிறது. உயிர்களின் அறிவை ஆணவ மலமாகிய மாசு மறைத்திருக்கிறது என்பது சைவ சித்தாந்தக் கொள்கையாகும். இதனை வள்ளுவர் உடன்படுவதுபோல இக்குறள் அமைந்திருக்கிறது.

"கோளில் பொறியில் குணமிலவே எண்குணத்தான்
தாளை வணங்காத் தலை" (9)

என்னும் குறளில் இறைவனை "எண் குணத்தான்" எனக் குறிப்பிடுகிறார். தன் வயத்தனாதல் முதலிய எட்டுக் குணங்களை உடையவன் இறைவன் என்பது சித்தாந்தக் கொள்கை ஆகும். கடையிலா அறிவு முதலிய எட்டினைச் சமண சமயத்தார் தம் இறைவனுக்குக் கூறுவர். ஆனால் அவற்றுள் சில, குணங்களாகவும், சில, அவன் செயல்களாகவும் காணப்படுவதால், அவற்றை "எண்குணம்" எனல் பொருந்தாது. சைவ சிந்தாந்தம் கூறும் எட்டுத் தன்மையும் குணங்களே. இதனால் எண் குணத்தான் எனும் சொல்லாட்சி, வள்ளுவர், சைவ சமயச் சார்புடையவரே எனக் கருத இடம் தருகிறது.

18. துக்கமின்மையே உயிர்கள் இறுதியாக அடையும் பேறு எனச் சமணரும் பௌத்தரும் கூறுவர். இறுதிப்பேற்றில் இன்பம் உண்டு என இவர்கள் கூறுவதில்லை. நிர்வாணம் எனும் சொல்லே ஒரு வெறுமை நிலையைக் குறிக்கும். சைவம், வைணவம், வேதாந்தம் ஆகியவை முத்திநிலை பேரின்பம் அளிக்கவல்லது எனக் கூறுகின்றன. வள்ளுவரும்,

"இருள்நீங்கி இன்பம் பயக்கும், மருள்நீங்கி
மாசறு காட்சி யவர்க்கு" (352)

"இன்பம் இடையறாது ஈண்டும், அவாஎன்னும்
துன்பத்துள் துன்பம் கெடின்" (369)

எனக் கூறுவதால், முத்தி நிலையைப் பேரின்ப நிலையாகவே இவர் கருதுதல் தெளிவு. இதனால் சைவ, வைணவ, வேதாந்த முத்தியே வள்ளுவர் கருத்தில் இடம் பெற்றிருக்கிறது என அறியலாம். ஆனால்,

"சார்புணர்ந்து சார்பு கெடஒழுகின் மற்றழித்துச்
சார்தரா சார்தரு நோய்" (359)

என வள்ளுவர் கூறுவதால், உயிர்கள் அறியாமையைச் சார்ந்து துன்பம் அடைகின்றன என்றும், தூய அறிவினாகிய இறைவனைச் சார்ந்ததும் அவ்வறியாமையால் ஏற்படும் துன்பம் நீங்கும் என்றும் பேரின்பம் கிடைக்கும் என்றும் அவர் கருதுகிறார் என்பது பெறப்படும். உயிர், அறியாமையைச் சார்ந்தது என்பதும், அறியாமை நீங்குதற்கு இறைவனைப் பற்ற வேண்டும் என்பதும் சைவ சித்தாந்தக் கொள்கையாகும். வேதாந்தம், உயிர் என ஒரு பொருள் இருப்பதாகக் கொள்ளாததால் அதற்கு இக்கருத்து உடன்பாடன்று. எனவே சைவம், வைணவம் ஆகிய இரு சமயங்களுக்கே இக்கருத்துப் பொருந்தியதாகும். வள்ளுவர் காலத்தில் நிலவிய சமயங்களின் தலையாய கொள்கைகளை எல்லாம் அங்கும் இங்கும் அவர் மறுத்திருப்பதைக் காண்

கிறோம். ஆனால் சைவ, வைணவ சமயங்களின் தலையாய கொள்கைகளை அவர் யாண்டும் மறுக்கவில்லை. இதனுடன் அமையாது அச்சமயங்களின் முடிந்த முடிபாகிய முத்தி நிலையையும் அவர் உடன்பட்டிருக்கிறார். எனவே நடு நின்று நோக்கினால் வள்ளுவர் சைவ சமயத்தைச் சார்ந்தவராகவோ வைணவ சமயத்தைச் சார்ந்தவராகவோதான் இருந்திருத்தல் வேண்டும் என்பது தெளிவாகும். மற்ற சமயங்களைச் சார்ந்தவர் அவர் எனக் கருது தற்கு அவர் இயற்றிய குறள் இடம் தரவில்லை.

19. சிற்றின்பத்தைப் பேரின்பமாகக் கூறவந்த வள்ளுவர்,

"தாம்வீழ்வார் மென்தோள் துயிலின் இனிதுகொல்
தாமரைக் கண்ணான் உலகு" (1103)

எனச் செங்கண்மாலுலக இன்பத்தினும் சிறந்தது தாம் விரும்பும் தலைவி தரும் இன்பம் எனக் கூறியிருக்கிறார். வள்ளுவர் வைணவ சமயத்தைச் சார்ந் திருப்பின், தன் சமயம் தனக்கு அளிக்கும் பெருநிலையை, மாதொருத்தி தரும் இன்பத்திற்கு உவமையாகவோ அதனினும் மங்கை நல்லாள் அளிக்கும் இன் பத்திற்குக் குறைவாகவோ கூற அவர் உள்ளம் இடம் தந்திருக்குமா என் பது சிந்தனைக்குரியது. ஆழ்ந்த பக்தியுடையோர் தம் சமயத்தின் முத்தி நிலையை மறைமுகமாகவேனும் குறைத்துக் கூற முற்படமாட்டார். இதனால் வள்ளுவர் வைணவ சமயத்தைச் சார்ந்திருப்பார் எனத் துணிந்து கூற இடனில்லை.

20. சிவன் எனும் சொல் செம்மை, சிவப்பு ஆகிய சொற்களை அடிப்படை யாகக் கொண்டது. செம்பொருள் காண்பார் சிவனை அடைதல் உறுதி.

"சிவன் எனும் நாமம் தனக்கே உடைய செம்மேனி எம்மான்"
(4: 12: 9)

என்பர் நாவுக்கரசர். வள்ளுவரும் அறிவுக்கு இலக்கணம் வகுக்கும்பொழுது மெய்யுணர்தல் அதிகாரத்தில்,

"பிறப்பென்னும் பேதைமை நீங்கச் சிறப்பென்னும்
செம்பொருள் காண்பது அறிவு" (358)

எனச் செம்பொருள் காணும் நிலையையே மெய்யுணர்தல் நிலையாகக் குறிப் பிடுகிறார்.

21. திருக்குறட் கருத்துக்களையும் சொல் நடைகளையும் வள்ளுவர்க்குப் பின் வந்த எல்லாப் புலவர் பெருமக்களும் கையாண்டிருந்தாலும் அவர்தம் கருத்துக்களையும் சொல் நடைகளையும் சைவ சமய ஆசிரியர்கள் மட்டுமே இறைவனைக் குறிப்பிடுதற்குக் கையாண்டிருக்கின்றனர் என்பது நுனித்து ஆராயத்தக்கது. திவ்வியப் பிரபந்தம், திருக்குறட் சொல் நடைகளைக் கை யாண்டிருப்பினும், இறைவனைக் குறித்துப் பேசும்பொழுது அவற்றைக் கை யாளவில்லை என்பது நோக்கத் தக்கது.

"பொறிவாயில் ஐந்தவித்தான் பொய்தீர் ஒழுக்க
நெறிநின்றார் நீடுவாழ் வார்" (6)

எனும் குறளில் வள்ளுவர் இறைவனைப் "பொறிவாயில் ஐந்தவித்தான்" எனக்

குறிப்பிடுகிறார். இதனையே அப்பரும்,

"நேரிழையைக் கலந்திருக்கும் புலன் ஐந்தும் வென்றானை"

எனக் குறிப்பிடுகிறார்.

22. சைவ சமய ஆசிரியர்கள் திருக்குறளைத் தமக்கு ஆதார நூலாகக் கொண்டிருக்கின்ற அளவு வைணவ ஆசிரியர்கள் கொள்ளவில்லை. எடுத்துக் காட்டாகச் சைவ சித்தாந்த சாத்திரங்கள் பதினான்கில் ஒன்றான "நெஞ்சு விடுதூதில்" உமாபதிசிவம்

"தலைப்பட்டார் தீரத் துறந்தார் மயங்கி
வலைப்பட்டார் மற்றையவர் என்று — நிலைத்தமிழின்
தெய்வப் புலமைத் திருவள்ளுவர் உரைத்த
மெய்வைத்த சொல்லை விரும்பாமல் — ஐவர்க்கும்
ஆவதுவே செய்தங்கு அவர்வழியைத் தப்பாமல்
பாவம்எனும் பௌவப் பரப்பழுந்தி" (23—28)

என அருளிச் செய்திருக்கின்றார். தெய்வப் புலமைத் திருவள்ளுவர் என்று சித்தாந்த சாத்திரத்தில் குறிப்பிடப்படுமானால், அவர் அந்தச் சித்தாந்த சாத் திரம் கூறுகின்ற சமயத்தைச் சார்ந்தவராகவே தொன்று தொட்டுக் கருதப் பட்டு வந்திருத்தல் வேண்டும். ஒரு நாட்டில் தொன்மையாக வழங்கிவரும் ஆட்சியும் ஒருவர்தம் சமயத்தை முடிவு செய்ய உதவும் என்பதில் ஐய மில்லை. வள்ளுவர் சமணராகவோ பௌத்தராகவோ வேதாந்தியாகவோ வைணவராகவோ இருந்திருப்பாரானால் அவர்க்குப் பின்னே அந்த சமயத் தில் தோன்றிய பெரியோர்கள் இயல்பாகவே அவர்க்குத் தம் வணக்கத்தை யும் வழிபாட்டையும் புலப்படுத்தியிருப்பர். காவியங்களிலும் இலக்கியங்களி லும் வள்ளுவர் பாராட்டப்படுதல் வேறு. ஆனால் சமய நூல்களில் அவர் பாராட்டப்படுவாரானால் அது ஆராய்தற்கு உரியதாகும். அந்த வகையில் சைவ சமய சாத்திரத்திலேயே அவர் ஒளிவு மறைவின்றித் தெளிவாகப் பாராட்டப்பட்டிருக்கிறார் என்பதை மேலே குறிப்பிட்ட உமாபதிசிவத்தின் வாக்கு நமக்குப் புலப்படுத்தும்

23. இதுகாறும் ஆராய்ந்தவற்றால், வள்ளுவர் சமண, பௌத்த, வேதாந்த சமயங்களைச் சார்ந்தவர் அல்லர் என்பது தெளிவாகப் புலனா கும். ஆனால் சைவ, வைணவ சமயங்களில் எதனை அவர் சார்ந்திருத்தல் கூடும் என்பதைத் தெளிவாகத் துணிய இடமில்லை எனினும் மேலே காட் டிய காரணங்களால், அவர் வைணவ சமயத்தைச் சார்ந்திருந்தார் எனக் கருதுவதினும் சைவ சமயச் சார்புடையவராக விளங்கியிருத்தல் கூடும் எனத் துணிய இடமுண்டு.

சைவசித்தாந்தத்திற்குரிய தனிச்சிறப்புக்கள்

முரு. பழ. இரத்தினம் செட்டியார்

சைவசமய அடிப்படை உண்மைகளை விவரிக்கின்ற சாத்திரப்பகுதி "சைவ சித்தாந்தம்" என்று வழங்கப்படும்.

வடமொழியில் உள்ள சிவாகமங்கள் சைவசித்தாந்தத்திற்குரிய முத னூற்கள் என்று கூறப்படுகின்றன. ஆனால் அவ்வாகமங்களிற் பல இப் பொழுது கிடைக்கவில்லை. கிடைத்துள்ள ஆகமங்களில் சைவசித்தாந்த உண்மைகள் வரையறையுடன் காணப்படவில்லை. பிரம்ம சூத்திரத்திற்கு உரையாக எழுந்த நீல கண்டபாடியம் சைவபாடியமேயாயினும், அது சிவாத்துவித சைவத்தை உணர்த்துகின்றதே அன்றிச் சைவ சிந்தாந்தத்தை உணர்த்தவில்லை. சிவஞான போதத்திற்கு உரையாக வடமொழியில் எழுதப் பட்ட சிவாக்கிரபாடியம் கூடச் சைவ சித்தாந்தத்தை உணர்த்தவில்லை. ஆகவே வடமொழியில் சைவசித்தாந்தத்திற்கு ஆதார நூலாக எதுவும் இப்பொழுது இல்லை என்பது தெளிவு. இன்று உலகத்திற்குச் சைவ சித் தாந்தத்தை உணர்த்தும் ஆதார நூற்கள் தமிழ் மொழியில் மட்டுமே உள் ளன. இது தமிழ் ஆராய்வார் அனைவரும் சிந்திக்க வேண்டிய ஒன்றாகும்.

இறைவனைப் போலவே உயிர்களும், உயிர்களைப் பிணித்துள்ள ஆண வம், கன்மம், மாயை என்னும் மலங்களும் யாராலும் படைக்கப்படாமல் அநாதி நித்தியமாக என்றும் உள்ளவை என்பது சைவ சித்தாந்தக் கொள் கையாகும். "பதியினைப் போல் பசு, பாசம் அநாதி" என்று திருமந்திரத்தில் திருமூலர் அருளிச் செய்திருக்கிறார். திருமூலர், காலத்தால் ஞானசம்பந்தர் முதலிய சமய குரவர்க்கும், மெய் கண்டார் முதலிய சந்தான குரவர்க்கும் முற்பட்டவர். இதனால் சைவசித்தாந்தம் தமிழகத்திற்கு மிகப் பழமையான ஒன்று என்பது புலனாகும்.

இறை, உயிர், தளை ஆகிய மூன்றும் என்றும் உள்ளவை என்னும் கொள்கை இந்திய நாட்டிற்கு வெளியே தோன்றிப் பரவியுள்ள ஆத்திக சம யங்களிற் காணப்படவில்லை. அவை, இறைவனே உயிர்களையும் உண்டாக் கினன் என்னும் கொள்கையுடையனவாக இருக்கின்றன.

இறைவன் ஒருவன் உண்டு என நிலை நாட்டுவதில், சிறந்த காரணங் களை ஏனை ஆத்திக சமயங்களினும் சைவசித்தாந்தம் காட்டியுள்ளது.

"உலகை எந்த உயிரும் படைக்கக்கூடிய ஆற்றல் உள்ளதாக இல்லை; எனவே இவ்வுலகைப் படைத்த கடவுள் உண்டு" என்பதே கடவுள் உண் மையை நிலை நாட்டுவதற்கு ஆத்திக சமயங்கள் காட்டும் காரணமாகும்.

"உலகைப் படைத்தவர் கடவுள் என்றால், கடவுளைப் படைத்தவர் யார்? கடவுளை யாரும் படைக்கவில்லை என்றால், உலகையும் யாரும் படைக்கவில்லை என்று ஏன் கொள்ளக் கூடாது?" என நாத்திகக் கொள்கை

யினர் கேட்கின்றனர். இதனையே முதற்கேள்வியாகச் சைவ சித்தாந்தம் எடுத்துக் கொண்டு விடை கூறுகிறது.

"உலகத்துப் பொருட்கள் அனைத்தும் அழியும் தன்மையுடையனவாக இருக்கின்றன. அழியாத பொருட்களாக இருந்தால், அவை என்றும் உள்ளவை என்று கூறிவிடலாம். அழியக்கூடியனவாக அவை இருப்பதால் அவற்றிற்குத் தோற்றமும் இருந்தே ஆக வேண்டும். அறிவில்லாத சடப் பொருட்களாகிய அவை, தாமாகவே தோன்றியிருக்க முடியாது. அவற்றைத் தோற்றுவிக்க வேறொருபொருள் வேண்டும், அந்தப் பொருளும் அழியக்கூடியதாக இருந்தால் அதனைத் தோற்றுவிக்க மற்றொரு பொருள் வேண்டும். இங்ஙனம் ஆய்ந்து கொண்டே போனால், இறுதியாக அழியாத ஏதோ ஒரு பொருள் இருந்தே ஆக வேண்டும் என்பதும், அங்ஙனம் இல்லை என்றால் அழியக்கூடிய இப்பொருட்கள் தோன்றக் காரணம் இல்லை என்பதும் புலனாகும். அந்த அழியாத பொருளே கடவுள் என்றும், அது பேரறிவும் பேராற்றலும் அழியாத தன்மையும் உடையதாக இருக்க வேண்டுமாதலால், அதனைத் தோற்றுவிக்கவோ, இயக்குவிக்கவோ யாரும் வேண்டியதில்லை என்றும் இதனாலேயே உலகம் படைக்கப்பட்ட பொருள் என்றும், ஆனால் இறைவனே படைக்கப்படாத பொருள் என்றும் கொள்கின்றோம்," எனச் சைவசித்தாந்தம் இதற்கு விடை கூறுகின்றது. இதனை

> "அவன் அவள் அதுவெனும் அவைமூ வினைமையில்
> தோற்றிய திதியே ஒடுங்கி மலத்துளதாம்
> அந்தம் ஆதி என்மனார் புலவர்"

என்னும் சிவஞான போத முதற் சூத்திரத்தாலும் இதற்குச் சிவஞான சுவாமிகள் எழுதியுள்ள உரையாலும் நன்கறியலாம்.

"உலகத்துப் பொருட்கள் அழியக்கூடியனவேயாகும்; ஆனால் உலக மூல காரணப் பொருளாகிய இயற்கை என்றும் அழியாதது; இயற்கையினுள் ஆக்க ஆற்றலும், அழிக்கும் ஆற்றலும் இயல்பாகவே உள்ளன. இதனால் உலகம் தோன்றி ஒடுங்குகிறது. அந்த இயற்கை நிகழ்ச்சிக்கு இறைவனைக் காரணமாகக் கூறுதல் பொருந்தாது" என நாத்திகர் மேலும் வினவக் காண்கின்றோம். இதற்கும் சைவசித்தாந்தம் தக்க விடை கூறியுள்ளது.

"இயற்கையினுள் அந்த ஆற்றல் வலி கூடியதாக இருக்குமானால், அழிக்கும் ஆற்றலை அது செயல்பட விடாது; அது போலவே அழிக்கும் ஆற்றல் வலி கூடியதாக இருக்குமானால், ஆக்க ஆற்றலைச் செயல்பட விடாது. இருவகை ஆற்றலும் சமவலியுடையனவாக இருக்குமானால் இருவகைச் செயல்களுமே நடைபெறாமற்போய்விடும். ஆனால் உலகில் தோன்றுதல், அழிதல் ஆகிய இரண்டும் நிகழக்காண்கிறோம். எனவே ஒன்றுக்கொன்று முரணான இவை இரண்டும் இயற்கையினுள் அமைந்து கிடக்க இடமில்லை. அறிவுடைய ஒரு பொருளே அறிவில்லாத இயற்கையினுள், இவ்விருவகை இயக்கங்களையும் தேவைக்கேற்றவாறு தோற்றுவிக்க வேண்டும். ஒன்றுக்கொன்று முரணான இவ்விருவகைச் செயல்களும் விகாரமாகுமே அல்லாமல் இயற்கையாக மாட்டா" எனச் சைவசித்தாந்தம் விடை பகர்கின்றது. இதனை,

> "இயல்புகாண் தோற்றிமாய்கை என்றிடல் இயல்பினுக்குச்
> செயலதின்று இயல்புசெய்தி, செய்தியேல் இயல்பதின்றாம்"

எனச் சிவஞான சித்தியார் கூறுவதிலிருந்து அறியலாம். இங்ஙனம் பகுத்

தறிவுக் கொள்கையினர் ஏற்குமாறு இறை உண்மையை நிலை நாட்டுவது சைவசித்தாந்தத்திற்குரிய தனிச் சிறப்புக்களுள் ஒன்றுகும்.

இயற்கையினுள் தோன்றுதல், அழிதல் ஆகிய நிகழ்ச்சிகளைத் தோற்று விப்பவன் இறைவன் எனச் சைவசித்தாந்தம் கூறினும், இயற்கையை நாத் திகர் கூறுவது போல யாராலும் படைக்கப்படாத அநாதி நித்தியப் பொரு ளாகவே அது கொள்கிறது. மாயை என்னும் பெயரால் அதனை அது குறிப் பிடுகிறது. "உள்ளதே தோற்றும்" என்னும் "சத்காரிய" வாதத்தைச் சைவ சித்தாந்தம் உடன்படுகிறது.

இறைவன் ஒரு தேவையும் அற்றவன்; எனவே அவனுக்காக அவன் எதனையும் உண்டாக்கிக் கொள்ள வேண்டிய அவசியம் இல்லை. உலகில் அறி வுடைப் பொருட்களாகிய உயிர்களையும், அறிவற்ற சடப் பொருட்களையும் நாம் காண்கின்றோம்; சடப்பொருட்களை உயிர்கள் பயன்படுத்தவும் காண் கின்றோம்; இதனால் அவை இன்ப, துன்ப அநுபவங்களை எய்தி அறிவு விளக் கம் பெறுவதையும் காண்கின்றோம். சில சமயம் அறிவு விளங்கியும், சில சமயம் அறிவு மடங்கியும் உயிர்கள் திணறுவதை நோக்கும் போது அவற் றின் அறிவு ஏதோ ஒரு பொருளால் மறைக்கப்பட்டிருத்தல் வேண்டும் என் றும், அம்மறைப்பினின்றும் விடுபடவே அவை செயலாற்றுகின்றன என்றும் கொள்ள வேண்டியதிருக்கிறது. இம்மறைப்புப் பொருளை "ஆணவ மலம்" எனச் சைவசித்தாந்தம் குறிப்பிடுகிறது. உலக வாழ்வால் உயிர்கள் அறிவு விளக்கம் பெறுகின்றன. எனவே அவை ஆணவமலத் தொடக்கினின்றும் விடு பட்டு அறிவு விளக்கம் பெறுவதற்காகவே மாயையினின்றும் உடல்களும் உலகத்துப் பொருட்களும் தோற்றுவிக்கப்பட்டிருத்தல் வேண்டும் என்பது புலனாகிறது.

ஒரு தேவையும் அற்றவனாதலால் இறைவன் உயிர்களைப் படைத்திருக்க மாட்டான். இதனால் உயிர்களும் இறைவனைப் போலவே யாராலும் படைக் கப்படாத அநாதி நித்தியப் பொருட்களாகவே இருக்க வேண்டும். உயிர் களின் அறிவை மறைக்கும் ஆணவ மலத்தையும் கருணையாளனாகிய இறை வன் படைத்திருக்க மாட்டான். எனவே அதுவும் அநாதி நித்தியப் பொரு ளாக இருத்தல் வேண்டும்; உயிர்களும் அநாதியே அதன் மறைப்புக்குள் ளாகி இருத்தல் வேண்டும். உயிர்களின் அறிவை மறைக்கும் ஆணவ மலத்தை இறைவன் படைத்திருக்க மாட்டான் எனக் கொள்ளும் போது, அறிவு விளங் கத் துணை செய்யும் இயற்கையாகிய மாயையையும் இறைவன் படைத்திருக்க மாட்டான் என்றே கொள்ள வேண்டும். ஆனால் அறிவற்ற சடப் பொருளா கிய மாயை தானே உலகாகவும், உயிர்கள் பொருந்துகின்ற உடலாகவும் மாற இயலாது. எனவே இறைவனும், உயிர்களும், ஆணவ மலமும், மாயை யும் அநாதி நித்தியப் பொருட்களாக இருப்பினும், உயிர்கள் ஆணவமல மறைப்பினின்றும் விடுபடுவதற்காகவே இறைவன் தனக்கென எந்தத் தேவை யும் இல்லாதிருந்தும் கருணையால் மாயையினின்றும் உடலையும், உலகை யும் படைத்தளித்திருக்கிறான் என உலகத் தோற்றத்திற்குச் சைவ சித்தாந் தம் காரணம் காட்டுகிறது. ஆத்திக சமயங்கள் எதுவும் இங்ஙனம் உலகத் தோற்றத்திற்குக் காரணம் காட்டவில்லை. இஃதும் சைவசித்தாந்தத்திற் குரிய தனிச் சிறப்பாகும்.

உயிர்கள் அநாதியே ஏன் ஆணவ மறைப்புக்குள்ளாக வேண்டும்? எல் லாம் வல்ல இறைவன் ஏன் அதனைத் தடுத்திருக்கக் கூடாது? ஆணவ மலத்

தையே ஏன் இல்லாமல் செய்து விடக்கூடாது? இக்கேள்விகளுக்கும் சைவ சித்தாந்தம் விடை அளித்துள்ளது.

உயிர்கள் அறிவுப் பொருட்களாக இருப்பினும் அநுபவத்தால் உரம் பெறும் தன்மையுடையனவாகவே அவை இருக்கின்றன, அறிவுடைப் பொருட்கள் என்றால் அவற்றிற்கெனத் தனியே இச்சையும் செயலும் இருத்தல் வேண்டும். அநுபவமின்மை காரணமாக அவை ஆணவ மலத்தை அநாதியே இச்சித்துப் பற்றியுள்ளன. இவ்விச்சையை இறைவன் தன் வலிமையால் தடுத்து விடலாம், ஆனால் அஃது இறைவன் தன் வலிமையை நிலை நாட்டிய செயலாக இருக்குமே அன்றி உயிர்களின் அறிவிற்கு நலம் செய்த செயலாக இராது. அறிவுடைப் பொருட்களுக்கு அவற்றின் இயல்பறிந்து அநுபவத்தை ஊட்டினால்தான் நலம் பெறும். அநுபவத்தால் நலம் பெறும் தன்மை வாய்ந்த உயிர்களின் அறிவை அநுபவம் இல்லாமலே நலம் பெறுமாறு மாற்றி அமைத்தால் அப்புறம் அவை அந்த உயிர்களாக விளங்க மாட்டா, இது புதிய உயிர்களை உண்டாக்கியதாகவே முடியும். புதிய உயிர்களை உண்டாக்க வேண்டிய அவசியம் இறைவனுக்கு இல்லை. அநாதியே இருக்கின்ற உயிர்களுக்குக் கருணை காரணமாகவே அவன் நலம் செய்யக் கருதுகின்றான். அநாதியே யாராலும் படைக்கப்படாமல் என்றும் உள்ள உயிர்களின் தன்மைகளுக்கு இறைவன் பொறுப்பாளியாக மாட்டான். ஆகவே அவைகளின் தன்மைகளுக்கேற்ப அவை அநுபவம் பெற வேண்டும் என்பதற்காகவே அநாதியே அவை ஆணவ மலத்தைப் பற்றுவதை அவன் தடை செய்ய வில்லை. அநுபவத்தால் நலம் பெறும் தன்மையுடைய உயிர்களுக்கு ஆணவ மலத்தை இல்லாமல் அழித்து விடுவதாலும் பயனில்லை. இங்ஙனம் சைவ சித்தாந்தம் தான் கொண்ட முடிபிற்கு விடை அளிக்கின்றது. எந்தக் கேள்விக்கும் தயங்காமல் விடை அளித்துச் செல்கின்ற சிறப்பு சைவ சித்தாந்தம் ஒன்றிற்கே உரியதாகக் காணப்படுகின்றது.

அநாதியே உயிர்கள் ஆணவ மலத்தைப் பற்றியமையே "மூலகன்மம்" எனப்படும். இதுபற்றிச் சைவசித்தாந்திகளுக்கிடையே கருத்து வேறுபாடு உண்டு. "அநாதியே மலத்தைப் பற்றுதல் உயிரின் வினையாய்" எனச் சிவ ஞான சுவாமிகள் கூறுவதிலிருந்து மூல கன்மம் என்பது உயிர்கள் அநாதியே ஆணவ மலத்தைப் பற்றிய செயலே எனக்கொள்ள வேண்டியதிருக்கிறது. "பற்றுதல்" என்னும் மூல கன்மமாகிய செயலே உயிர்கள் உடல் பெற்றபின்னர் விருப்பு வெறுப்புக்களை விளைவிக்க அவற்றின் காரணமாக அவை நல்வினை, தீவினைகளைச் செய்கின்றன. இதனாலேயே கன்மத்தையும் அநாதியெனச் சைவசித்தாந்தம் கொள்கிறது "பற்றுதல்—மூலகன்மம், விருப்பு, வெறுப்புக்கள்—சூக்குமகன்மம், நல்வினை, தீவினை—தூலகன்மம்" என அறிதல் வேண்டும்.

இறை, உயிர், ஆணவம், கன்மம், மாயை ஆகியவை அநாதி என்னும் கருத்து இந்திய நாட்டிற்குள் தோன்றிப் பரவியுள்ள சமயங்களுக்கும் சித்தாந்தங்களுக்கும் புதுமையானதன்று. ஆனால் அப்பொருட்கள் அநாதி என்பதற்குச் சைவ சித்தாந்தம் கூறுகின்ற காரணங்களை ஏனை இந்திய நாட்டுச் சமயங்களும், சித்தாந்தங்களும் கூறவில்லை. அளவை நூன் முறை பிறழாது காரணம் காட்டிப் பொருட்களை அநாதியென நிறுவிய பெருமை சைவசித்தாந்தத்திற்கே உரியதாகும்.

இறைவன் முழு வியாபகமும், முற்றறிவும், அந்தமில் இன்பமும் உடையவன் என்பதைச் சங்கரர் வேதாந்தமும், இராமனுசரின் விசிட்டாத்துவித

மும், மாத்துவரின் துவிதமும், சைவசித்தாந்தமும் ஒப்புக் கொள்ளுகின்றன.

"இறைவன் முழு வியாபகம் உடையவன் என்றால் இரண்டாவது பொருளுக்கு இடமேது? எனவே இறைவன் ஒருவனே உள்பொருள்; உலகும் உயிரும் பொய்த்தோற்றமே" எனச் சங்கரர் வேதாந்தம் கூறுகிறது. இறைவன் ஒருவனே உள்பொருள் என்றால், உலகுயிராகிய பொய்த் தோற்றம் அவனுக்குத்தானே ஏற்பட வேண்டும். எனவே இறைவனை அறியாமையுடைவன் எனக்கருத வேண்டியது வரும். இஃது இறைவன் முற்றறிவுடையவன் எனச் சங்கரர் கொண்ட கொள்கைக்கு முரணாகும்.

"இறைவன் முழு வியாபகம் உடையவன்தான்; உலகும் உயிரும் அவனுக்குச் சரீரங்களாகும். அவை சரீரமாக இருப்பதால் இறைவன் வியாபகத்திற்கு இழுக்கில்லை," என இராமனுசரின் விசிட்டாத்துவிதம் கூறுகிறது. குற்றமும் குறையும் துன்பமும் உடைய உலகும் உயிரும் இறைவனுக்குச் சரீரமாக இருந்தால் அவன் அந்தமில் இன்பம் உடையவனாகவும் இருக்க மாட்டான்; குற்றமற்ற சரீரத்தை உண்டாக்கிக் கொள்ளத் தெரியாத பேதையாகவும் அவன் கொள்ளப்படுவான். இஃது இறைவன் முற்றறிவும் அந்தமில் இன்பமும் உடையவன் என இராமனுசர் கொண்ட கருத்துக்கு முரணாகும்.

"இறைவன் வேறு; உலகுயிர்கள் வேறு; இறைவன் உலகுயிர்களில் நிறைந்திருக்கிறான்" என்பது மாத்துவர் சித்தாந்தமாகும். உலகுயிர்கள் வேறு என்றால், குற்றமும் குறையும் உடைய உலகும் உயிரும் இறை வியாபகத்திற்குள் நிற்க முடியாமல் அழிந்து போகும். சூரியன் முன் இருள் நிற்க முடியாது. அது போலவே இறை வியாபகத்திற்குள் இவை நிற்க இயலாது. ஆனால் உலகுயிர்கள் நிற்பதைக் காண்கின்றோம். இதனால் இறைவன் வியாபகம் உலகுயிர்களில் இல்லை என்று கொள்ள வேண்டியது வரும். இஃது உலகுயிர்களில் இறைவன் நிறைந்திருக்கிறான் என மாத்துவர் கொண்ட கருத்துக்கு முரணாகும்.

சைவ சித்தாந்தம் என்ன சொல்கிறது? இறைவன் உலகுயிர்களோடு ஒன்றாயும், வேறாயும், உடனாயும் நின்கின்றான் என அது சொல்கிறது. இஃதே "அத்துவிதம்" என வேதத்தில் சொல்லப்பட்டிருக்கும் சொல்லுக்குப் பொருள் என்றும் அது கூறுகிறது.

இறைவன் முழு வியாபகம் உடையவனே; அவன் ஒவ்வொரு பொருளினுள்ளும் நிறைந்து நிற்பதோடு அமையாமல் அந்தந்தப் பொருளாகவும் நிற்கின்றான். இதனாலேயே அவை அவன் வியாபகத்துள் இடம் பெற முடிகிறது. உலகுயிர்கள் இடம் பெறுவதற்காக அவன் கருணை காரணமாக இங்ஙனம் ஒன்றாக நிற்பதால் விகாரம் அடையமாட்டான். உலகோடும் உயிரோடும் அவையாகவே அவன் நிற்பதால் அவனின் முழு வியாபகத்திற்கு இழுக்கில்லாமற் போகிறது. அதே சமயம் இறைவன் இவைகளின் வேறாகவும் நிற்கிறான். இதனால் உலகுயிர்க்குற்றம் அவனைச் சாராமற் போகிறது. பேராற்றலும் பேரறிவும் வாய்ந்தவனாதலால் அவன் இங்ஙனம் ஒரே சமயத்தில் இருவிதமாக நிற்க முடியும். அவன் முற்றறிவுக்கும் எல்லையில் ஆற்றலுக்கும் இதனால் சிறப்பே அன்றி இழுக்கில்லை. உலகுயிர்களோடு ஒன்றாக நிற்பதோடு அமையாமல் அவன் உடனாகவும் நிற்பதால் அவை செயல்பட முடிகிறது. இதனால் இறைவனை விடுத்து அவை தனியே இயங்க முடியாது என்பதும் பெறப்படுகிறது.

இறைவன் ஒன்றாயும் வேறாயும் உடனாயும் நிற்பான் எனச் சிந்தாந்தம் கூறும் கருத்தே இறைவனின் இலக்கணங்கள் அனைத்திற்கும் பொருந்திய

தாக இருக்கிறது. இவற்றுள் ஒவ்வொன்றே கூறும் வேதாந்த — விசிட்டாத்துவித — துவித சித்தாந்தந்தங்கள் அவன் இலக்கணங்கள் அனைத்திற்கும் பொருந்தியனவாக இல்லை.

சங்கரரின் வேதாந்தத்தையும், இராமனுசரின் விசிட்டாத்து விதத்தையும், மாத்துவரின் துவிதத்தையும் பார்த்து விட்டு மெய் கண்டார் இம்மூவர் கருத்தையும் ஒன்றாகச் சேர்த்து, இறைவன் ஒன்றாகியும் வேறாகியும் உடனாகியும் நிற்பான் எனக் கூறியிருப்பதாகச் சிலர் கருதுகின்றனர். இது முழுப் பிழையாகும்.

சங்கரர்க்குப் பின் வந்தவர்களே இராமனுசரும் மாத்துவரும் என்பதை யாரும் மறுக்க முடியாது. சங்கரர் தம் நூலில் ஞானசம்பந்தர் திருப்பாலுண்ட நிகழ்ச்சியைக் கூறியிருக்கிறார். ஆகவே சங்கரர்க்கு முற்பட்டவர் ஞான சம்பந்தர் என்பதிற் சந்தேகம் இல்லை. ஞானசம்பந்தர் தாம் பாடிய தேவாரத்தில்

"தானாய் வேறாய் உடன்ஆனான் இடம் வீழிமிழலையே"

எனத் திட்டவட்டமாகக் கூறியருளியிருக்கிறார். ஆகவே சங்கரர்க்கும் இராமனுசர்க்கும் மாத்துவர்க்கும் முந்தியே இறைவன் ஒன்றாயும் வேறாயும் உடனாகியும் நிற்பான் என்னும் கருத்தைச் சைவசித்தாந்தம் கூறியிருக்கிறது என்பது தெளிவு. இங்ஙனம் இறைவனுக்கும் உலகுயிர்களுக்கும் உள்ள தொடர்பைச் சைவசித்தாந்தம் தனக்கே உரிய தனிச்சிறப்புடன் கூறியிருப்பது அறிந்தின்புறத்தக்கது.

இறைவனை அடைவதற்குரிய நெறி பத்தி நெறியே என்று சைவ சித்தாந்தம் கூறுகிறது. சரியை, கிரியை, யோகம், ஞானம் என்னும் நான்கையும் பத்தி நெறியை அடிப்படையாக வைத்தே அது கூறியிருக்கிறது. விசிட்டாத்து விதமும் துவிதமும் பத்தி நெறி பற்றிச் சிறந்த கருத்துக்களைக் கூறியுள்ளன. வேதாந்தமும் இதில் பின் வாங்கவில்லை. வேறுபாடுகள் பல இருப்பினும் அடிப்படையில் பெரிய மாற்றம் இல்லை என்றே சொல்லி விடலாம். ஆனால் முத்தி நிலை பற்றிச் சைவ சித்தாந்தம் தனக்கே உரிய சில கருத்துக்களைக் கொண்டிருக்கிறது. முத்தியிலும் இறை, உயிர், தளை ஆகிய மூன்றும் உண்டு என்பது அதன் கருத்தாகும். மலம் வலி கெட்டு நிற்கும் என்றும், உயிர் பேரின்பத்தை நுகரும் என்றும் இறைவன் பேரின்பத்தை வழங்குவான் என்றும் அது கூறுகிறது.

முத்தியில் இறைவனும் உயிரும் ஒன்றா, வேறா? ஒன்று என்றால் பேரின்பத்தை அநுபவிப்பது யார்? வேறு என்றால் முழு இன்பமும் கிட்ட இடமில்லை. இதற்குச் சைவ சித்தாந்தம் என்ன சொல்கிறது.

"ஏகமாய் நின்றே இணையடிகள் ஒன்றுணரப்
போகமாய்த் தான்விளைந்த பொற்பினன் — ஏகமாய்
உள்ளத்தின் கண்ணுறைவன் உள்ளுவா ருள்ளத்தை
உள்ளத்தாற் காணானே உற்று."

எனச் சிவஞான போதம் பதினோராம் சூத்திரத்தில் வரும் வெண்பாவில் மெய் கண்டார் இதனைத் தெளிவு படுத்தியிருக்கிறார்.

இறைவன் பெத்தம், முத்தி இரண்டிலும் ஒன்றாகியும் வேறாகியும் உடனாகியும் நிற்கின்றான். எனவே முத்தியில் ஒன்றாகி நிற்றலால் உயிரின் அறிவோடு வேறின்றிக் கலந்து, வேறாகி நிற்றலால் சிவபோகமாய் விளங்கித் தோன்றி, உடனாகி நிற்றலால் அச்சிவபோகத்தை உயிர்கள் அநுபவிக்கும்

படி செய்கிறுன். இதனுல் உயிர்கள் முழு இன்பத்தையும் நுகர்கின்றன என்று மிக்க ஆழத்தோடு தன் கருத்தைச் சைவசித்தாந்தம் கூறியுள்ளது. விவரிக்க முடியாத முத்தி நிலே பற்றியும் அஃது அளவை நூன்முறை பிறழாமலே கூறிய திறம் ஒரு தனிச்சிறப்பென்பதைக் கூற வேண்டுவதில்லே.

சைவசித்தாந்தத்திற்குரிய தனிச்சிறப்புக்கள் பலவாகும். அவற்றுள் சிலவே ஈண்டெடுத்துக் கூறப்பட்டிருப்பினும், அவை, அதன் சிறப்புக்களே ஓரளவு உணர்த்துமெனக் கருதுகின்ருேம்.

PART IV

LANGUAGE

AND

LINGUISTICS

LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTICS

INTRODUCTION

THE LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTICS SECTION is divided into *Dravidian Comparative Linguistics, Diachronic Tamil Linguistics, Synchronic Tamil Linguistics* and *Teaching of Tamil.*

In the first section there is only one paper which deals specifically with Dravidian Comparative Linguistics. All other papers discuss the contact between Tamil and other languages. This section could very well have been called 'Tamil in contact with other languages'.

Because of the large number of papers presented in the field of Tamil Linguistics, it was thought best to have two sections, Diachronic and Synchronic.

Although Tamil is being taught as a second language in a number of countries, only three papers were submitted to one section *Teaching of Tamil.* It is to be hoped that at future IATR Conferences more papers dealing with this important problem will be presented.

TEACHING TAMIL AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

S. AGESTHIALINGOM

Teaching foreign languages has grown up as a special discipline within Linguistic Science and many institutions in the United States and in various other countries have already felt the need for having various language courses in their curriculum. The days when language teaching and language studies were relegated to the background are gone and it is very gratifying to note that many universities and other private institutions and associations in India are beginning to take an interest in teaching regional languages to foreigners and to the speakers of other Indian languages. As India is a museum of languages and its unity is very often threatened by linguistic fanaticism, the introduction of programmes of teaching and learning Indian languages other than the regional tongues will be of great help for Indian unity and solidarity.

Among Indian languages, Tamil, next only to Sanskrit, has the oldest literary tradition going back to the first century of our era. This literary tradition has placed Tamil, among the living languages of India, in a unique position and this fact is now being realized by the westerners, and many American and European institutions have ventured to offer Tamil as a foreign language. As a living tongue it is being spoken not only in India but in Malaysia, Ceylon and South Africa as well, and this fact enhances the importance of the study of Tamil.

Western scholars like Pope and Caldwell had spent their life time to master this language and now the problem confronting many of us is how to impart it to foreigners so that they can master Tamil in a short period. The present paper points out some 'hot spots' and attempts to offer some solutions to and suggestions for some of the problems that one has to encounter while teaching Tamil to foreigners, particularly the English speaking students.

One need not emphasize the important role played by modern linguistics in language teaching, especially in teaching foreign languages. Linguistic training is now considered a 'must' for a foreign language teacher and only a trained linguist will be able to expose the structure of the Target Language to the learner in such a way that he can understand the complexities of the language concerned. More and more linguists are employed for language teaching and it has been proved they

are comparatively very successful in their efforts. Old text books written by non-linguists are discarded and new teaching materials prepared by linguists using modern linguistic methodology are being used. Similarly in the place of old traditional grammars new descriptive grammars are introduced. Yet we cannot say that we have achieved very effective results. Descriptive grammars are very helpful to the students to the extent of making them familiar with the inventories of various grammatical categories that appear in the language, their markers and their contextual variants. Though it is very helpful to foreigners to be familiar with the items and thereby be able to attain receptive capacity it does not pay much attention to the expressive or generative capacity of the learner.

Though this shortcoming is very apparent at the syntactic level, which we will discuss later, many instances can be cited where the descriptive grammars (at least the existing ones) fail to achieve this adequacy at the morphological level too. But I must admit that this inadequacy can be overcome by extra caution on the part of the grammarian.

We all agree that in modern descriptive grammars verbal nouns are set up as a grammatical category and the grammars generally give the inventories of its markers [as -am in *toṭakkam* (<*toṭamku*) 'starting'] followed by some examples. They do not mention anything about the restrictions, and thereby give the impression that such verbal noun markers are very regular and hundred per cent. productive. I have seen many foreign students generating, on the basis of the example shown above, words like * *takkam* [<*tamku* 'stay'] * *nasukkam* [<*nasumku* 'crush' (Int.)], * *kasakkam* [<*kasamku* 'squeeze'], * *matakkam* [<*matamku* 'fold' (Int.)], * *mukkam* [<*mumku* 'dip' (Int.)] etc. When generating words like these, he simply follows the grammar which unfortunately does not classify the verbs according to the formation of verbal nouns. The author had an occasion to hear an American student saying * *kanavi* for *manaivi*, * *paiyaḷ* for *peṇ* following the descriptions of some grammars.

One more example to stress the point at hand. Tamil has intransitive and transitive contrast and it is very well seen in examples like *kalamkinaan* 'stirred-he' (Int.) and *kalakkinaan* 'stirred-he' (Tr.), *aḻintaan* 'perished-he' and *aḻittaan* 'perished-he' (Tr.), etc. Generally our grammars implicitly or explicitly give the impression that transitives are made from the intransitives by certain process like hardening of the homorganic nasals (mk > kk, nt > tt) etc. In the first place they fail to emphasize the point that there are transitive forms like *viḻumkinaan* 'swallowed-he', *kaṭantaan* 'crossed-he' etc. where the homorganic nasals are found and forms like *inittatu* 'was sweet-it', *puḷittatu* 'was sour-it', are intransitive though they have -tt-. In the second place we find that though the descriptions of such transitive-intransitive correlation are

found to be true in most of the cases there are at least some verbs (a quick count shows 20 to 30 per cent.) which defy such statements. Forms like **tuukku* < *tuumku* 'sleep', **viikku* < *viimku* 'swell', **takku* < *tamku* 'stay', **kasittatu* < *kasintatu* 'oozed-it' are not found in Tamil. A learner of Tamil as a foreign language who is not exposed to these kinds of restrictions is misled by general statements of this kind given in many of our grammars and produces such forms which are unacceptable.

It has already been pointed out that existing grammars of Tamil do not take into consideration the expressive capacity of the student and this inadequacy is well apparent at the syntactic level. Many grammatical categories seemingly simple at the morphological level are extremely complex at the syntactic level.

Take, for example, the infinitives, the marker of which is suffixed either to verb stem in the case of weak verbs or to -kk- in the case of strong verbs. All grammars and dictionaries without any exception give the gloss as 'to see', 'to come' etc.

1. *kaan-a* = to see
2. *var-a* = to come
3. *koṭu-kk-a* = to give.

But one can very easily find that it gives at least three meanings when it is used in sentences like:

4. *avan kaana vantaan* = he came too see (me)
5. *avan kaana (naan) vanteen* = as he saw I came
6. *avan vara kaṇṭeen* = I saw him coming.

A foreigner who has attained mastery in morphology is bewildered to see this difference in meaning denoted by the infinitive when it occurs in various sentences as shown above. This kind of meaning changes can be found in the relative participle too and unless we take into consideration the syntactic structure of Tamil in detail it will be very difficult for the foreigner to understand the complexities of the Tamil language.

To take another instance to illustrate that in many modern descriptive grammars very little or no attention is paid to syntactic analysis of Tamil and thereby foreign students go astray when they generate Tamil sentences. Though our grammars make distinction between transitive (taking or capable of taking object) and intransitive (not taking object) verbs they have not made any distinction between the verbs which take the dative case and those which do not take it. As this is based strictly on syntax this defect is very apparent at this level. Only certain verbs alone can take the dative case. Between these verbs also we find some differences and therefore they also have to be classified further accordingly. Verbs like *iramku* 'pity for', *kaaṭṭu* 'show' on the one hand and

verbs like *utavu* 'help' on the other have to be classified into two separate classes as they behave differently. Sentences like:

7. *enakku utavinaan* = he helped me

is grammatical whereas a sentence like

8. *enniṭam utavinaan*

is ungrammatical.

But on the other hand both

9. *enakku kaaṭṭinaan* = he showed (it) to me

and 10. *enniṭam kaaṭṭinaan* = he showed (it) to me

are grammatical and this entails putting these two verbs in two separate classes.

For effective results in teaching Tamil to foreigners a thorough syntactic analysis of Tamil taking into consideration such selections and restrictions is absolutely necessary. Word classes like nouns, verbs etc. and grammatical categories like transitive, intransitive etc. have to be classified into various sub-classes according to syntactic selections and restrictions. Though it needs lot of research and patience it is worth doing.

Another kind of problem that one has to encounter while teaching Tamil to English speaking students is due to the difference in the structure of English and Tamil. While learning a second language in adolescence and in adulthood it is very difficult to get rid of the influence of the structure of one's own mother tongue. We try to find out one to one correspondence between the target language and the mother tongue. A English speaking student of Tamil who has attained mastery in Tamil morphology is very much puzzled and confused at our correction when he generates sentences like:

11. **bassaal pooneen* to mean 'I went by bus'!

In generating this sentence he faithfully follows our description of instrumental case. Wherever he uses 'by' in his mother tongue he simply replaces Tamil -aal and thereby generates many such ungrammatical sentences. Similarly he is bothered when he comes across sentences like *ennooṭu peesinaan* 'he spoke with me' which is substituted by *ennitam peesinaan* without any meaning change whereas sentences like *ennooṭu vantaan* cannot be substituted by *enniṭam vantaan* where there is a clear contrast.

To take a particular case in Tamil to show how this case system is described in Tamil grammars and point out some of the difficulties encountered by the native speakers of English. The sociative and the instrumental cases are described, giving -ooṭu = -oṭu = uṭan and -aal

= -(ai) koṇṭu as the markers and 'with' (along with), and 'with' (by means of) as their glosses. Examples like:

12. *avanooṭu vanteen* = I came with him
13. *avanoṭu vanteen* = I came with him
14. *avanutan vanteen* = I came with him
15. *kattiyaal veṭṭineen* = I cut (it) with knife
16. *katti konṭu veṭṭineen* = I cut (it) with knife

are also given. But this kind of description will not do much good to English speaking students and they are under the impression that wherever they use 'with' and 'by' they can use Tamil -ooṭu or -uṭan or koṇṭu and -aal respectively. This impression results in generating many ungrammatical and wrong expressions. The following English sentences and the translation will, I hope, clarify the point at hand.

17. He came with me = *avan ennuṭan vantaan*
18. He had coffee with cream = *avan kaappiyuṭan paal kuṭittaan* (instead of) *avan paal kalanta kaappiyaik kuṭittaan*
19. I don't have money with me = *ennuṭan paṇam illai* (instead of) *enniṭam paṇam illai*
20. You leave it with me = *atai ennuṭan viṭu* (instead of) *atai enniṭam viṭu*
21. I went by train = *naan reyilaal pooneen* (instead of) *naan reyilil pooneen.*

It is said that in English the preposition 'with' is being used in more than forty different meanings. For effective results in teaching Tamil to English speakers we have to classify them using Tamil equivalents as basis. Unless this is done we may not be in a position to make definitive statements while teaching the case system of Tamil to the native speakers of English. A thorough contrastive analysis of English and Tamil will be of great help for effective results in teaching Tamil to English speaking students.

VERBAL PARTICIPLES IN TAMIL*

P. Arunachalam

Casal constructions and verbal participle constructions are reviewed here to establish a partial identity in form and function and possibly in origin This study is based on both *Tolkāppiyam* text and *Tolkāppiyam* rules.

In verbal participle construction non-finite verbs (எச்ச வினை) occur as verb[1] attributes (வினை அடை).

punarin (urittumākum.) *T.E.* VIII. 89.

In casal constitution — noun + case sign — occurs as verb attribute.[2]

vinaiyin (nīnki). *T.P.* VIII.

There are two categories of verbal participles according to Tolkāppiyar. The first category is an enumeration of nine canonical forms.[3] They are:

CANONICAL FORM	EXAMPLES FROM THE TOLKAPPIYAM TEXT	
1. ceytu	iṟantu (icaikkum)	*T.E.* II. 12.
2. ceyyū	nikaḻū (niṉṟa)	*T.C.* V. 19.
3. ceypu	(pāl) teripu (ilavē)	*T.C.* V. 18.
4. ceyteṉa	vīḻnteṉa (c-ciṉai)	*T.P.* II. 14.
5. ceyyiyar	paṭīiyar (kātta)	*T.P.* IV. 9.
6. ceyyiya	āṭiya (ceṉṟuḻi)	*T.P.* III. 25.
7. ceyin	nāṭiṉ (oṉrum)	*T.P.* IX. 55.
8. ceya	uṟaḻa (-t- tōṉṟi)	*T.P.* II. 30.
9. ceyaṟku	varutaṟku (uriya)	*T.C.* IV. 9.

* I have discussed this topic with Mr. R. Radakrishnan of the English Department, University of Malaya, and I am thankful for his suggestions for arranging the material in the present form.

[1] This verb may be tense implied or tense manifested. *T.C.* Sutra 426.

[2] It is to be noted that a noun suffixed with the sixth case sign does not function as a verb-attribute; suffixed with 4th case sign or 7th case sign, it functions both as a noun attribute and as a verb attribute; when suffixed with other case signs it functions only as a verb attribute.

[3] *Tolkappiyam,* Collatikaaram, Sutra 223.

ABBREVIATIONS:
T = Tolkappiyam; E = Eluttatikaram; C = Collatikaram; P = Porulatikaram.

These are the nine canonical forms mentioned by Tolkāppiyar. In this analysis only ceyin and ceyaṟku, are discussed.

In the second category only the final suffixes, and not the verbal participles themselves are listed. piṉ, muṉ, kāl, kaṭai, vaḻi iṭattu, which denote time are the suffixes listed by Tolkāppiyar; and according to him, these six and similar ones which denote time can be the verbal participle suffixes.[4]

Of the final suffixes, piṉ, muṉ, kāl, kaṭai are also listed as 7th case signs by Tolkāppiyar.[5] Vaḻi and iṭattu, the other two suffixes, though not explicitly stated as 7th case signs may be treated as such.[6] In the *Tolkāppiyam* text, we come across verbal participle suffixes like kaṇ,[7] uḻi,[8] piṉṉar,[9] kālai[10] which are not listed by Tolkāppiyar in his enumeration of verbal participle suffixes. But, of these, kaṇ is the 7th case sign;[11] others can also be treated as 7th case signs on the same basis as vaḻi and iṭattu mentioned above.

VERBAL PARTICIPLE CONSTRUCTION	CASAL CONSTRUCTION
SECOND CATEGORY	
mutiṉta*pin* vanta. *T.P.* IV 9.	(kātali*pin* ceṉṟatu.)
varā*mun* . . . ceyya-p-paṭum *Kuṟaḷ* 335.	nāḷ*muṉ* tōṉṟum *T.E.* VII. 45.
punarkkum*kāl* . . . tiripitaṉ *T.E.* IV. 6.	ūr*kkāl* nivanta. *Kali.* 59.
varūum — (irantu) alam*kaṭai* *T.E.* IX. 28.	aṟam*kaṭai* niṉṟār. *Kural.* 142.
varu*vaḻi* kuṟukum. *T.E.* IX. 5.	yāppu*vaḻi*-p-paṭṭaṉṟu. *T.P.* VIII. 76.
piṟitāk*iṭattu* iyaṟkai yātalum *T.E.* V. 15.	taṉṉ*iṭattu* iyalum *T.C.* VIII. 12.

The forms which occur in the text, but not listed by Tolkāppiyar:

vāṭiyak*kaṇ*ṇuum . . . cērtal *T.P.* V. 8.	tokutik*kaṇ*ṇum okkum *T.E.* IV. 30.
uṟṟ*uḻi* utavum. *T.P.* IV. 53.	uṟaipp*uḻi* (ōlai) pōla. *Puram* 290.
tōṉṟiya*piṉṉar* yāttaṉar *T.P.* IV. 4.	tāḻicai*pinnar* naṭainaviṉṟu *T.P.* VIII. 131 oḻukum.
varu*kālai* ōvākum *T.E.* IX. 73.	kacata-k-*kālai* . . . tirintu *T.E.* IV. 27.

[4] Ibid., Sutra 224.
[5] Ibid., Sutra 77.
[6] Please note the term in the above sutra.
[7] *Tolkappiyam,* Porulatikaaram, Sutra 200.
[8] Ibid., Sutra 112.
[9] Ibid., Sutra 143.
[10] Ibid., Eluttatikaaram, Sutra 451.
[11] Ibid., Collatikaaram, Sutra 81.

The following is the definition of 7th case according to *Tolkappiyam.*

> Kaṉṉeṉa-p-peyariya vēṟṟumai-k-kiḷavi
> viṉai ceyyiṭattiṉ nilattiṉ kāl attiṉ
> aṉai vakai-k-kuṟippiṟṟākumatuve *T.C.* 77

The seventh case which is called kaṇ-veṟṟumai denotes the context of the action, the place of action and the time of action. Here the time of action is not grammatical, i.e. it does not denote past, present, or future, but lexical, i.e. it denotes day, morning, evening, winter, summer etc.

The definition of the 2nd category of verbal participles according to Tolkāppiyar is as follows.

> piṉ, muṉ, kāl, kaṭai, vaḻi, iṭattu eṉṉum
> aṉṉa marapiṟ kālam kaṇṇiya
> eṉṉa kiḷaviyum avaṟṟiyalpiṉavē *T.C.* 224

Words ending in piṉ, muṉ, kāl, kaṭai, vaḻi, iṭattu, and those ending in words denoting time are of the same nature, i.e. the verbal participles. Here the time is not lexical but grammatical, i.e. past, present and future.

Both the casal construction and the verbal participles obviously signify location.

In both these constructions the grammatical forms, i.e. — the 7th case signs and the verbal participle suffixes — are the same and the function is the same, i.e. it denotes location.

Earlier it was mentioned that certain forms of verbal participles which have been enumerated in the first category, also throw some light on this hypothesis.

> *ceyiṉ* — is one of the nine canonical forms listed by Tolkāppiyar, which can be segmented as verbal root + in.
> nīṅku + iṉ = nīṅkiṉ (uruvākum) *T.E.* VI. 37
> puṇari + iṉ = puṇariṉ (urittumākum) *T.E.* VIII. 89.

'iṉ' is the fifth case sign; it can also be considered as a seventh case sign. Hence it denotes both causal and locative both 5th and 7th case significances.

Commentators of *Tolkāppiyam* text, interpret this 'ceyin' form as denoting both causal and locative significances, though they have not treated the same form as casal construction.

The following are the examples for verbal participles:

> tōṉṟiṉ mikutalvēṇṭum
> *T.E.* VII. 3. (Iḷampūraṇam) locative significance.

[12] 'alamkatai' is the only form where the suffix 'katai' is found in the *Tolkappiyam* text, and also the verb preceeds in all the occurrences.
* These examples are not from *Tolkappiyam* text.

nīṅkiṉ uruvākum
T.E. IV. 37. (Iḷampūraṇam) causal significance.

Compare the following casal construction with 'iṉ':

neñciṉ(um) tōṉṟi
T.E. III. 1. (Iḷampūraṇam) locative significance.
viṉaiyiṉ tōṉṟum
T.C. I. 11. (Iḷampūraṇam) causal significance.

Here also the form and the function of both verbal participle construction and casal construction are the same.

An examination of the ceyin forms in the *Tolkāppiyam* text further strengthens our original hypothesis. It is not possible to segment all ceyin forms into verbal root + in.

(a) kiḷappiṉ	kiḷa + iṉ[13]	kilappu + in[14]
icaippiṉ	icai + iṉ	icaippu + in
yāppiṉ	ya + iṉ	yappu + in
irappiṉ	ira + iṉ	irappu + in

These forms can be segmented either as verbal root + 'in' or as verbal noun + 'in':

(b) nīkkaliṉ
ātaliṉ

These forms are to be segmented only as verbal nouns + 'in'.

(c) vallitiṉ (kūṟi)
cevvitiṉ (kiḷantu)

Here the stem is tense implied finite verbs.

It is clear the suffixing is not restricted either to nouns or to simple verbal roots; but can be extended to verbal nouns as well as finite verbs.

Ceyarku is the other canonical form of verbal participle that belongs to the first category.

i.e. varutaṟku (uriya) *T.C.* IV. 9.

Here varutaṟku which is treated as verbal participle by Tolkāppiyar can be segmented into two units.

varutal (verbal noun) + ku (suffix).

'ku' is the 4th case sign and when it is added to a noun, it becomes a casal construction.

i.e. cāttaṟku — uṭaṉpaṭṭār
cāttaṉ (noun) + ku (case sign).

[13] The morpho-phonemic problems involved are not discussed here.
[14] We have clear morpho-phonemic rules only to segment these forms into verbal noun + in.

This proves that the casal construction and the verbal participle construction are having the same constituents. N + C sign + V.

Unlike 'ceyin', in 'ceyarku' ku is added only to the verbal noun. Hence this canonical form could be interpreted as having casal as well as verbal participle constructions. However, the commentator Cēṉāvarayar writes that even though the casal construction ceyaṟku and the verbal participle construction 'ceyaṟku' are homophonous (ஒப்புமை புடைத்து), the casal form can be segmented into two constituents — the noun + C sign but the verbal participle is not segmentable. For this reason, according to Cēṉāvarayar, the verbal participle form is different from that of casal form.[15]

But the forms, either the casal or the verbal participle have the same grammatical function. The difference in meaning is the difference in stem.

i.e. pāvaikku uriya — casal
varutaṟku uriya — VP

Certain other forms obtained from the commentary can also be cited as further evidence to establish the similarity between the casal and the verbal participle constructions.

i.e. arivāṉ (akiyatu) — casal
unpāṉ (vantan) — VP
kūṭuvāṉ (vantan) — VP

The 'ān' added form is the cause for the following action; hence 'ān' denotes the same grammatical meaning.

So far an attempt is made to prove the formal and functional similarily of the verbal participle construction and the casal construction. The 3rd case sign ān, 4th case sign 'ku', 5th case sign 'in' and several 7th case signs have been examined. The same case signs which are added to the nouns to denote the casal significance are found as suffixes in these verbal participles with the same functional-portance. Hence both the constructions can be treated as a single construction which has the following constituents:

stem + suffix + verbs.

Only on the basis of the stem class — i.e., nominal stems, verbal stems — the grammarian have set up two constructions, namely verbal participle constructions and the casal construction, and it is to be doubted whether such a classification at the constructional level is warranted.

[15] *Tolkappiyam* — Eluttatikaaram, Sutra 40.

NOTES ON F. W. ELLIS AND AN UNPUBLISHED FRAGMENT OF HIS COMMENTARY ON *TIRUKKURAḶ*

R. E. ASHER

A scholar's qualities and attainments are not always to be measured in terms of the list of his publications. Thus one of the important figures in the history of western scholarship in the Dravidian languages is Francis Whyte Ellis, the list of whose printed works is nevertheless by no means long. But for his tragically early death, his accomplishments in a form available to posterity would no doubt have equalled those of other great scholars in the Dravidian field whose lifetime of study covered a more normal span.

When Ellis went to India in 1796 he was a young man of not more than eighteen years of age. From the start he showed a real interest in the language, culture and history of the country in which he was to serve. By the time he died in 1819 at the age of forty through accidentally swallowing poison while on an archaeological tour in the south of Tamilnad[1] he had earned the love of the Indians among whom he worked and the respect of his fellow scholars among European administrators and missionaries. In common with a number of westerners who had become deeply interested in South Indian culture and history, he identified himself with local population to the extent that "he assumed the native dress, and adopted their modes".[2] The English inscription on the monument to Ellis at Ramnad, where he died, would seem to sum up his life excellently. It reads "Sacred to the memory of Francis Whyte Ellis, Esq. of the Madras Civil Service whose valuable life was suddenly terminated by a fatal accident at this place on the 9th March 1819 in the 41st year of his age. Uniting activity of mind with versatility of genius he displayed the same ardour and happy sufficiency on whatever his varied talents were employed. Conversant with the Hindoo Languages and Literature of the Peninsula, he was loved and esteemed by

[1] BURNELL, 1878*a*, p. 35, no. 1.

[2] S. GORDON, *Researches in South India* 1823-8, London, 1834, p. 54. Quoted by Burnell, 1878*a*, p. 35. To say the least, Ellis' practice seems more sensible than that of Europeans at the time of Ziegenbalg, who reports that they "go about here dressed as in Europe" — even to the extent of wearing an overcoat "as a protection against the heat". See E. Arno Lehmann, *It began in Tranquebar*, Madras (C.L.S.), 1956, p. 19.

the Natives of India with whom he associated intimately, and his kind and playful disposition endeared him to his countrymen among whom he was distinguished no less by his capacity as a public servant than by a mind fraught with intelligence and alive to every object of interest or utility. The College of Fort St. George which owes its existence to him is a lasting memorial of his reputation as an Oriental Scholar, and this stone has been erected as a tribute of the affectionate regard of his European and Native friends."[3] To A. C. Burnell he was "a truly great scholar",[4] to G. U. Pope "an Oriental Scholar of extraordinary ability".[5] Burnell indeed frequently cites Ellis as an authority in his book on *South-Indian Palaeography,*[6] and notes that he was the first to collect the South Indian inscriptions.[7]

One publication by Ellis which was highly esteemed in the nineteenth century was his account of proprietary right in land, especially in the provinces of Malabar and Canara.[8] In one of his numerous references to it, Burnell notes that the account it contains (pp. 51-59) of the division of the Pallava kingdom of Conjeevaram, தொண்டை நாடு, "is still unquestionably the most valuable contribution to South Indian Ancient Geography that has been written".[9]

Today, however, more interest is likely to attach to Ellis' linguistic and literary works. He was a scholar in Sanskrit[10] and published articles on a number of Dravidian languages, namely Tamil, Telugu and Malayalam.[11] It is not certain that he knew Kanarese well. McKerrell's acknowledgement, in the preface to his grammar of Kanarese, of his "considerable obligations to the late Francis Whyte Ellis ... for many useful hints upon the subject of Indian Grammar in General" would seem to imply that he did not, for McKerrell has already stated, "From my own countrymen, as the Carnataca language has hitherto been but very little studied, I have not been able to derive any aid".[12] This does not alter the fact that Ellis was well qualified to express an opinion on the genetic affinities of the languages of South India.

Sanskritists, after what is often called the "discovery" of Sanskrit by western scholarships, had been all too ready to assume that all the languages of India which had a Sanskritic element in their vocabulary must have the same origin. Thus William Carey in a grammar of Telugu published in 1814 had stated that "the languages of the South of India,

[3] BURNELL, 1878*a*, p. 35, no. 1.
[4] Ibid.
[5] POPE, 1886, Introduction, p. v.
[6] E.g. BURNELL, 1874, pp. 28, 38, 62, 74, 77; 1878*a*, pp. viii, 35, 36, 46, 83, 112, 116, 117, 118, 145.
[7] BURNELL, 1878*a*, p. 35.
[8] ELLIS, 1842.
[9] BURNELL, 1878*a*, p. 35.
[10] CAMPBELL, 1816, prefatory remarks to Ellis' "Note", p. 1.
[11] ELLIOT, 1875; Burnell, 1878*b*.
[12] MCKERRELL, 1820, p. iii.

i.e. the Telinga, Karnata, Tamil, Malayala, and Cingalese... have the same origin with those of the North". Campbell, whose *Grammar of the Teloogoo Language* appeared two years later and who quoted this passage, thought differently and pointed out that, even though it may be true that "modern Teloogoo abounds with Sanscrit words,... nevertheless there is reason to believe that the origin of the two languages is altogether distinct".[13] He notes that Telugu syntax, while being "entirely unconnected with the Sanscrit", is similar to that of "Tamil and Karnataca", and that words that are basic to everyday existence are not Sanskritic, but "pure Teloogoo or language of the land".[14] In support of his view Campbell included in his book Ellis' more detailed discussion of the question. Ellis clearly stated that his intention was "to show... that neither the Tamil, the Telugu, nor any of their cognate dialects are derivations from the Sanscrit; that the latter, however it may contribute to their polish, is not necessary for their existence; and that they form a distinct family of languages, with which the Sanscrit has, in latter times especially, intermixed, but with which it has no radical connection".[15] "The members, constituting the family of languages", he went on, "are the high and low Tamil; the Telugu, grammatical and vulgar; Carnataca or Cannadi, ancient and modern; Malayalma or Malayalam,... and the Tuluva. ... Besides these, there are a few other local dialects of the same derivation, such as the Codogu, variation of the Tuluva spoken in the district of that name called by us Coorg." Whilst hesitating to be too dogmatic about the language we now know as Malto, he nevertheless stated that "the language of the mountaineers of Rajmahal abounds in terms common to the Tamil and Telugu".[16] These general points are illustrated in precise detail. Several cognates in Telugu, Kanarese and Tamil are carefully compared, Sanskrit loans are shown to be loans, and a Sanskrit sentence is rendered into the three languages to demonstrate that it "differs in every point from the southern dialects".[17] With justification Burnell wrote that, "About the time that Bopp laid the foundations of the comparative philology of the Aryan languages, Ellis did the same for the Dravidian family."[18]

Though this essay was a landmark and a considerable achievement, to the late Dr. R. P Sethu Pillai the *Commentary on Tirukkuṟaḷ* "is

[13] CAMPBELL, 1816, p. xix. In his *Dictionary* (1821) Campbell clearly distinguished between "pure Teloogoo words", "Sanscrit words assuming Teloogoo terminations and forms", "Teloogoo corruptions of Sanscrit words" and "pròvincial terms".

[14] CAMPBELL, 1816, p. xxiii.

[15] ELLIS, 1816, p. 2.

[16] Ibid., p. 3.

[17] Ibid., p. 26.

[18] BURNELL, 1878*a*, p. 35. In this note on Ellis, Burnell also mentions that "he was the first to decipher and explain the grants to the Israelites of Cochin, and he did this in a way that is still a model'.

perhaps the most striking monument of F. W. Ellis".[19] Numerous translations of Vaḷḷuvar's work by Europeans have appeared in the course of the last two centuries, and almost certainly the largest number among them is in English.[20] That by Ellis remains unique. For the free metrical version of the couplets is only a small part of his work. The subject matter of each verse chosen "is then illustrated by numerous quotations from the best native writers, interspersed with valuable notes and disquisitions on the mythology, philosophical systems, and sectarial tenets of the people".[21] In any age the work would seem remarkable. As Professor Sethu Pillai pointed out, it is even more so in view of the fact that when it was written, all Tamil poems referred to were in manuscript and only available to a capable and industrious scholar.

The date of the first appearance of the *Commentary* in print is uncertain. But the fact that the book came out without title-page or date would seem to suggest that it was at the time of the author's death.[22] Though it is not known how many of the chapters of *Kuṟaḷ* Ellis intended to write a commentary on before his life was cut short, it is clear that the work is incomplete. As is well known, all the sixty-nine couplets commented on in the printed versions are selected from the first thirteen chapters (though another fifteen couplets from அறத்துப்பால் and thirty-four from பொருட்பால் appear in translation as part of the commentary and by way of illustration of various points). However, we have it on the authority of Sir Walter Elliot that before he left Madras on his journey south, "Mr. Ellis had proceeded as far as eighteen chapters of the first book."[23]

G. U. Pope noted that "Mr. Ellis' MSS. fell into the hands of the late eminent orientalist Sir Walter Elliot, who left them by will to me. They are now in the Bodleian Library. There are in them some unpublished translations."[24] Some of the manuscripts referred to are still to be seen in the Bodleian Library in Oxford, though in a very fragmentary state. They consist of parts of the commentary on *Kuṟaḷ*, on 120 foolscap pages.[25] Some parts are contained in the printed version, namely the text and translation of four couplets from the twelfth chapter,[26] and

[19] Foreword to Ellis, 1955, p. vi.

[20] POPLEY, 1931, pp. 116-118, gives a fairly complete list.

[21] R. P. SETHU PILLAI in Ellis, 1955, p. vi.

[22] The guess in the British Museum *Catalogue of Tamil Books*, London, 1909 (compiled by L. D. Barnett and G. U. Pope), is 1816.

[23] ELLIOT, 1875.

[24] POPE, 1893, p. xli. Elliot states (1875) that all of Ellis' papers were lost or destroyed. Presumably, therefore, he acquired them later than this.

[25] I came across these handwritten pages when, at the request of Professor T. P. Meenakshisundaram, I was looking (regrettably, without success) for a treatise on Tamil prosody which Ellis appears to have written. (See, for example, R. P. Sethu Pillai, in Ellis, 1955, p. vi). I am grateful to Professor Meenakshisundaram for guiding me to this manuscript and for agreeing that I might usefully prepare it for publication. The authorities of the Bodleian Library have kindly and readily given me the necessary permission, and I am indebted to them for this.

[26] Nos. 111, 112, 114 and 118. See Ellis, 1955, pp. 365-368.

parts of the commentary on the eighth.[27] Others, however, are not.

These, no doubt, are the "unpublished translations" referred to by Pope. As we saw, according to Sir Walter Elliot the commentary that Ellis had written on the *Kuṟaḷ* at the time of his death covered five chapters that did not appear in the printed version. Only two of these are to be found in the manuscript under discussion, and the other three, for the time being at least, must be deemed to have been lost. The extant manuscripts relate to the fifteenth and sixteenth chapters of *Kuṟaḷ*.[28] The pattern is the same as in the printed work. That is to say that the couplets are followed by a translation and by an extended commentary, which quotes (in text and translation) extracts from other Tamil works dealing with related themes. As one might expect, the work most frequently drawn on is நாலடியார் from which fourteen quatrains are cited. Other works from which illustrative verses are taken are சிந்தாமணி, ராமாயணம், பாரதம், நீதிநெறி விளக்கம், பழமொழி, வளையாபதி and அறநெறிச்சாரம்.

One way in which the manuscript differs from the printed *Commentary* is in the detailed vocabulary and relevant grammatical notes which follow the translation of each couplet. The neat manner in which these are set out and written suggests that they too were intended for publication. But the fact that such vocabularies occur in the manuscript for couplets 111, 114 and 118, but are not found in the corresponding parts of the printed work, would seem to lead to the opposite conclusion.

If one doubted, in spite of the external evidence, that this manuscript was Ellis', proof could be found in the fact that extensive corrections made in the translations in the manuscript give the version that appeared in print.

The Tamil text does not appear in a "modernised" version. There are usually no spaces in a line of verse. *Puḷḷi* is not used (except in the vocabularies, and then very rarely outside the word இல்). Long and short half-open vowels (எ and ஏ, ஒ and ஓ) are only infrequently distinguished.

As it is proposed to publish the whole of the unpublished part of of manuscript together, no quotations are given from the commentary or illustrative verses here. It seems useful, however, in this preliminary note on the manuscript, to present the text and translation of the *Kuṟaḷ* extracts, with Pope's version by way of comparison. Pope, it may be remembered, considered that Ellis' "texts were often incorrect, and his translations in general have not had the benefit of careful revision".[29]

[27] Ellis, 1955, pp. 289-316.
[28] Nos. 141, 143, 145, 146, 151, 152, 154, 155, 157, 158, 159.
[29] POPE, 1893, p. xli.

Kuṟaḷ 141

(a) ELLIS பிறனபொருளாட பெடடொழுகும பேதைமை ஞாலத
தறமபொருள கணடர்ரக ணில

They who regard or worldly wealth, or virtue,
Will, as the worst of follies e'er eschew
Adulterous thoughts.

(b) POPE பிறன்பொருளாட் பெட்டொழுகும் பேதைமை ஞாலத்
தறம்பொருள் கண்டார்க ணில்

Who laws of virtue and possession's rights have known
Indulge no foolish love of her by right another's own.

Kuṟaḷ 142

(a) அறனகடை நினறாருளெலலாம பிறனகடை
நினறாரிற பேதையாரில

Of all who stand aloof from virtues pale,
None are less wise than they whose lust invades
Their neighbours rights.

(b) அறன்கடை நின்றாரு ளெல்லாம்
பிறன்கடை நின்றாரிற் பேதையா ரில்

No fools, of all that stand from virtue's pale shut out,
Like those who longing lurk their neighbour's gate without.

Kuṟaḷ 143

(a) விளிநதாரின வெறலலரமனற தெளிநதாரிற
றீமை புரிநதொழுகுவார

Dead, to all human virtue dead, are they
Who swayed by lust a trusting friend betray and
tempt his wife to ill.

(b) விளிந்தாரின் வேறல்லார் மன்ற
தெளிந்தாரிற் றீமை புரிந்தொழுகு வார்

They're numbered with the dead, e'en while they live,
— how otherwise?
With wife of sure confiding friend who evil things devise.

Kuṟaḷ 145

(a) எளிதென விலலறபபானெயது மெஞஞானறும
விளியாது நிறகுமபழி

Lured by the easy sin, he who invades
Domestic peace stains himself deep in crime
No time can e'er remove.

(b) எளிதென வில்லிறப்பா னெய்துமெஞ் ஞான்றும்
விளியாது நிற்கும் பழி

'Mere trifle!' saying thus invades the home; so he ensures
A gain of guilt that deathless aye endures.

Kuraḷ 146

(a) பகைபாவ மசசம பழியென நானகு
மிகவாவாமிலலிறபபானகண

Hatred and sin, fear, infamy adhere
To him inseparably, who dares invade
Domestic peace.

(b) பகைபாவ மச்சம் பழியென நான்கு
மிகவாவா மில்லிறப்பான் கண்

Who home invades, from him pass nevermore,
Hatred and sin, fear, foul disgrace: these four.

Kuraḷ 151

(a) அகழவாரைததாஙகுநிலமபேர்லததமமை
யிகழவாரபபொறுததறலை

As even those the humble Earth sustains
Who trample on her, thus to bear with them
Who treat her with disdain, is truly great.

(b) அகழ்வாரைத் தாங்கு நிலம்போலத் தமமை
யிகழ்வார்ப் பொறுத்த றலை

As earth bears up the men delve into her breast,
To bear with scronful men of virtues is the best.

Kuraḷ 152

(a) பொறுததலிறபபினையெனறுமதனை
மறததலதனினு நனறு

Even all injuries with patience bear,
And better 't were to let them fade away
To sheer oblivion.

(b) பொறத்த லிறப்பினை யென்று மதனை
மறத்த லதனினு நன்று

Forgiving trespasses is good always;
Forgetting them hath even higher praise.

Kuraḷ 154

(a) நிறையுடைமைநீஙகாமை வெணடிறபொறை
யுடைமை
போறறி யொழுகபபடும

If thou unfading honor wouldst possess,
Let patience guide thee through the path of life.

(b) நிறையுடைமை நீங்காமை வேண்டிற்
பொறையுடைமை போற்றி யொழுகப் படும்

Seek'st thou honour never tarnished to retain;
So must thou patience, guarding evermore, maintain.

Kuraḷ 156

(a) ஒறுததாரககொரு நாளையினபமபொறுததாரககுப
பொனறு நதுணையும புகழ

The pleasure of revenge lasts scarce a day
But the enduring man through life is praised.

(b) ஒறுத்தார்க் கொருநாளை யின்பம்
பொறுத்தார்க்குப் பொன்றுந் துணையும் புகழ்

Who wreak their wrath have pleasure for a day;
Who bear have praise till earth shall pass away.

Kuraḷ 157

(a) திறனலலதறபிறர செயயினுநோநொந
தறனலல செயயாமை நனறு

Unjustly though thy neighbour act by thee
So act not thou by him, ne'er do ought; To virtue adverse.

(b) திறனல்ல தற்பிறர் செய்யினு நோநொந்
தறனல்ல செய்யாமை நன்று

Though others work thee ill, thus shalt thou blessing reep:
Grieve for their sin, thyself from vicious action keep!

Kuraḷ 158

(a) மிகுதியான மிககவை செயதாரைததாநதந
தகுதியான வெனறு விடல

Those who from arrogance of mind aggress
Thou by thine equanimity alone
May'st overcome.

(b) மிகுதியான் மிக்கவை செய்தாரைத் தாந்தந்
தகுதியான் வென்று விடல்

With overweening pride when men with injuries assail,
By thine own righteous dealing shalt thou mightily prevail.

Kuraḷ 159

(a) துறநதாரிறறூயமையுடையரிறநதாரவா
யினனாசசொனனோறகிறபவர

More than the virtue of the anchorite
Is theirs, who bear the calumny unmoved
Spread by malignant tongues.

(b) துறந்தாரிற் றூய்மை யுடைய
ரிறந்தார்வா யின்னாச்சொ னோற்கிற் பவர்

Those who transgressors' evil words endure
With patience, are as stern ascetics pure.

Ellis' text for these couplets at least is not noticeably incorrect, though it does differ from Pope's in not using *puḷḷi* and in its line division.

It is true, however, that where in the latter case there are differences, Pope's reading is to be preferred. More careful revision might have improved some of Ellis' translations, but on the whole they read better than Pope's. It should also be noted that Ellis did revise and change some of his versions. For example, 157 originally read:

> Unjustly though thy neighbour act by thee,
> So act thou not by him, with pity leave
> His punishment to God.

As a last specimen of this important manuscript the vocabulary and explanatory notes for one couplet (no. 141) are given:

> பிறன *anothers.* — பொருளாள *wife;* a derivative from பொருள, formed by the feminine termination ஆள ; connected with the preceding term it means lit. *she who is the property of another.* — பெடடு coveting, the ger. of பெடடல *to desire, lust after.* — ஒழுகும *which practises.* — பெதைமை *the folly.* ஞாலதது, the obl. of ஞாலம used for the loc., *in the world.* — அறம *virtue.* — பொருள *wealth.* — கணடாரகண the loc. plu. formed by கண, *in those who know.* — இல் is not. —
>
> Note — The first term of this couplet பிறல is frequently used by the Author; it signifies *he who bears no determined relation to another* and may, therefore, be rendered *neighbour.* It is derived from பின *behind,* quasi *he who is behind another,* in contradistinction to *his relations and friends,* முறையார from முன் *those who are immediately before him;* it must not be confounded with புறன, from புறம *outward, a stranger.* —

Because Ellis did not live either to complete or to put a final polish to his *Commentary,* the translations it contains may sometimes, as Pope said, fall short of perfection. But students of the *Kuṟaḷ* may well wish that something of the same kind was available for the whole work.

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250 YEARS AFTER
SOME FEATURES OF ZIEGENBALG'S STUDY OF TAMIL

R. E. ASHER

Ten years ago there were extensive celebrations in some of the Christian churches of south India to mark the Quarter Millenium Jubilee of the landing of the first Protestant missionaries in India, for the two pioneering German members of the Danish mission, Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg and Heinrich Plütschau, landed in Tranquebar on 9th July 1706 after a long voyage lasting eight months. Another important quarter millenium jubilee, at least for those interested in the development of Tamil studies in western countries, falls in this year, 1966. It is 250 years since Ziegenbalg's Grammar of Tamil in Latin was published. 1716 is for this this reason an important milestone in the history of the study of Tamil by non-Tamils. It is true that earlier accounts of Tamil had appeared in European publications, but they were extremely short. Thus the best known of them, the "Short introduction to the Malabar language" with "Some rules for attaining the Malabar language" in Baldaeus' *Description of Malabar and Coromandel,* covers only eight pages. The original Dutch version of this work, like the German translation, is dated 1672. The English translation came out in 1704.[1]

Ziegenbalg's is the first comprehensive description of the Tamil language in a European language to appear in print. The first printing of a Beschi grammar, the next to be published, was not until 1738. And this was done at the Danish Mission Press set up in Tranquebar by Ziegenbalg himself.[2] It should nevertheless not be forgotten that descriptions of Tamil were made earlier by Jesuit missionaries, and the manuscripts of some of these are still extant.[3] Indeed Ziegenbalg himself states that some of these earlier studies (including "Rudiments of a

[1] PHILIPPUS BALDAEUS, *Naauwkeurige beschryvinge van Malabar en Choromandel,...,* Amsterdam (J. Janssonius van Waesberge & J. van Someren), 1672, pp. 191-198; *Wahrhaftige ausführliche Beschreibung der berühmten Ost-Indischen Kusten Malabar und Coromandel,...,* Amsterdam (J. Janssonius von Waesberge & J. von Someren), 1672, pp. 186-192; *A True and Exact Description of the most Celebrated East-India Coast of Malabar and Coromandel, as also of the Island of Ceylon...,* London (Awshm and John Churchill), 1704, pp. 663-665.

[2] C. G. E. BESCHI, *Grammatica latino-tamulica,...,* Trangambariae (Typis Missionis Danicae), 1738.

[3] See XAVIER S. THANI NAYAGAM, "Tamil Manuscripts in European Libraries", *Tamil Culture,* vol. III, no. 3-4 (Oct. 1954), pp. 219-228.

Malabarian Grammar drawn up by a Missionary, sent hither by the French King") were of help to him and his colleague in their study of Tamil, even "though they were stocked with many pernicious errors".[4]

There is much that is remarkable about Ziegenbalg's achievements. In the first place it is surprising that he could stand up at all to the rigours of the Indian climate, for he suffered excessively from ill health as a school-boy and as a university student.[5] Moreover, he was very young and inexperienced when he left for India, being then only twenty-two years of age. He died before completing his thirty-sixth year.

Apart from all of this there were the difficulties of learning Tamil at all. When he and Plütschau first reached India, they found no one who knew both Tamil and a language which they themselves understood. In a letter home Ziegenbalg described how they first began their study by sitting with a group of schoolboys tracing letters in the sand. Thus they learnt to write Tamil words and to pronounce them, but in most cases had no idea as to the meaning, since the school-master knew no European language. They were therefore very pleased when they found a Tamilian who knew not only Portuguese, at that time a common enough language at trading posts in many parts of Asia, but also Danish, Dutch and German.[6] After this, as a result of very diligent study, progress was much quicker. Indeed, by the time they consecrated their church (the "New Jerusalem") in August 1707, little more than a year after their arrival, they had studied so effectively that from that time on they "constantly preached therein three times a week, both in Malabarick and Portuguese".[7]

To reach this level of attainment and to be in a position to argue philosophical points with sophisticated Hindus, concentrated and ordered daily study was necessary. Ziegenbalg therefore followed a strict daily pattern, which apart from his pastoral duties included eight hours of work on Tamil language, both in the poetical style and in that style used in "my daily labour and conversation".[8] Sometimes he would have an author read to him as many as a hundred times, "till I was fully acquainted with every word, and its entire coherence with the rest". Thus, he writes, "I have considerably improved myself in this Language".

In all of this industrious study and in all of his writings Ziegenbalg never lost sight of his main purpose, the propagation of his own religion among "the heathen". But because of his appreciation of the qualities of the Tamil language and the greatness of the literature, philosophy and culture that had found expression in it, his work remains of interest even to those not concerned with the progress of Christian missions.

[4] Ziegenbalg, 1718*a*, p. 67.
[5] *Lives*. 1863, pp. 9, 13, 14.
[6] La Croze, 1724, p. 539; Ziegenbalg, 1718*a*, p. 66.
[7] Ziegenbalg, 1718*a*, pp. 70-71.
[8] Ziegenbalg, 1718*b*, pp. 2-5.

He may well have gone to India with the idea that its inhabitants were uncultured barbarians. But he soon learnt better and set about educating himself by learning all he could about Tamil literature and about Hinduism. In addition he wished to educate people in Europe by writing books on south Indian religion and culture for publication there. Among the books he sent home with this in view were his *Genealogy of the Malabar Gods* (written in 1713), the *Complete Description of Malabar Heathendom* (written in 1711), and a set of translations from Tamil called *Malabar Ethics.* His German friends, however, were not able to appreciate his reasons for wanting to publish these, and it was over 150 years before the first of them appeared in print.[9]

In Tamil he and his colleagues (three more German missionaries joined him in 1709) composed and translated many works. A list published in England in 1714 names thirty-two.[10] These include a translation of the whole New Testament, a History of the Life of Christ, two books of hymns, translations of sermons by distinguished theologians, a Tamil Primer, a Dictionary of over 40,000 words as well as a separate Poetical Dictionary.

The dictionaries do not appear to have survived. The rest of this paper will therefore be devoted to the other part of Ziegenbalg's study of Tamil language, namely in the field of grammar.

One matter that does not appear to have specially interested Ziegenbalg is the relationship of Tamil with other languages. In fact his use of the word "Malabaric" as a synonym for "Tamil" seems to have led some, quite wrongly, to assume that his geography was extremely poor and that he did not know the difference between Tamil and Malayalam. The correct explanation is quite different: he was simply following customary usage among Europeans.[11] This is clear from the first chapter of his *Grammar,* where he explains that the language is more properly called "Damul" and that the use of the word "Malabaric" among Europeans results from their use of the word "Malabarees" to refer to the inhabitants of both Coromandel and Malabar coasts.[12]

In one of his few references to the relationship of Tamil to other languages, Ziegenbalg wrote that "It has no manner of Affinity either with the *Arabick, Persian, Mogol,* or *Sinesian* Languages, but is a *peculiar* Language for it self, full of Gravity and Pathos".[13] This is clearly too vague to be taken as a recognition of the separate status of the

[9] Ziegenbalg, 1867, 1926, 1930. See Lehmann, 1956, p. 33.
[10] Ziegenbalg, 1714, pp. 47-49.
[11] Lehmann, 1956, pp. 22-23.
[12] Ziegenbalg, 1716*a*, p. 1. "Hæc, de qua agere aggredior, lingua dicitur *Damulica,* quia gentės, quæ ea in India orientali utuntur, proprie *Damuler* nominantur. Sed dicitur quoque *Malabarica,* quia incolæ in littore Coromandelino & Malabarico, ab Europæis, qui eorum linguam minus recte intellexerunt, nominari solent *Malabares,* quæ nominatio non nisi ab iis, qui cum Europæis commercium habent, intelligi potest."
[13] Ziegenbalg, 1717, p. 9.

Dravidian language group. He moves a little closer to this elsewhere in noting that the various languages of south India and Ceylon are in some way related, but he also includes Sinhalese among them. He further notes that it is still a matter of dispute which of these languages is the basic one.[14]

The *Grammatica Damulica* itself was written in 1715 whilst Ziegenbalg was on his way to Europe for a visit to discuss some matters related to the Tranquebar mission. The Introduction explains that his first grammar of the language was in German. This he had sent to Denmark with a view to having it published in Germany. Nothing came of this attempt (which would appear to have been made no later than 1710), and when he came to revise the work on his voyage home, he decided to prepare a new version in Latin, so that it could be of use to Europeans of other nationalities also. As he hoped, it was published in Halle, where there was a stock of Tamil type.

The book is divided into eight chapters: I Letters (pp. 1-8); II Reading aloud and Pronunciation (pp. 9-14); III Noun (pp. 15-29); IV Adjective (pp. 30-44); V Pronoun (pp. 44-59); VI Verb (pp. 60-107); VII Particles (pp. 108-117); VIII Syntax (pp. 118-128). A few notes on certain interesting features of these different chapters follow.

LETTERS

As might be expected, the type-fount used is very different from any variety of modern Tamil type. This, however, is clearly of no real significance. More important differences are lack of புளளி and lack of differentiation between எ and ஏ and between ஒ and ஓ. Ziegenbalg does, however, clearly distinguish between long and short vowels in his description of Tamil sounds.[15]

His account of the consonant system shows quite careful observation. For ச he gives tscha or scha — thus noting the two sounds associating with this letter (he later adds sa as another variant). There are certain peculiar features in his transcription of the rest of the plosive series (he does not include ற among these).

Thus for க he gives ka only (on this, see the next paragraph) but for ட he gives ta or ra; for த he gives da or ta and for ப he gives ba or pa. This might be assumed to be, in the last three cases, a recognition of allophonic variation. But his examples show that this is not the case for த and ப, for in each case he uses both alternatives in word initial position, where we can reasonably assume that, in native Tamil words, the sound was voiceless, e.g. púmi (பூமி), páwi (பாவி), páwum (பாவம); but bità (பிதா), bugei (புகை), bákkum (பககம), búllei(பிளளை); similarly tágum (தாகம). Note also íbbari (இபபடி) and ébbari. A

[14] Ziegenbalg, 1716*a*, p. 1.
[15] Ibid., pp. 1-6.

clue to this apparent confusion is seen in his table of உயிர்மெய் எழுத்து. For there he transcribes த + short vowel as d; த + long vowel as t. In the same way ப + short vowel is transcribed as b, ப + long vowel as p. This would seem to imply that to Ziegenbalg's ear the aspiration was more marked for these consonants in the cases where a long vowel followed. It is also to be noted that he was German, and that the voiced/voiceless distinction is neutralised in some positions in German. His consistency in transcription leads to '*D*amulica" rather than "*T*amulica".

For ய he gives ja (which, because he was German, implies a palatal semi-vowel) *or* ga. The second of these is difficult to understand, particularly as it does not occur in the transcription of a word. But this latter fact suggests that the only reasonable explanation is that this page was badly set, and that "or ga" belongs with "ka".

ழ is "scha or r and la". This is quite a good attempt to suggest the special sound of this consonant, though not, it must be admitted, a a very full phonetic description. Ziegenbalg is aware of this. He says: "These consonants cannot be accurately represented in term of European letters".[16]

On the nasals he says that ங, ஞ, ண, ந and ன must all be represented by na in Latin, but that they all differ considerably in pronunciation. We can, I think, assume that Ziegenbalg *heard* all the necessary differences of sound. But he did not have the equipment to explain them. He may write both த and ட as ta, but his explanation of the difficulty of the second shows that he did not confuse them. He was equally clear about the contrast between ல and ள even though he transcribes both as "l". For he writes yl (ல்), but ül (ள்).

PRONUNCIATION

This chapter gives fuller exemplification of the remarks made about "letters". A few points worth noting are:

(1) His recognition of the special quality of vowels before retroflex consonants. மகள is transcribed as Magöl, உஙகள as Ungöl, நீஙகள as Nihngöl. Related to this implicit observation is his statement, "Some i vowels change into u; similarly e becomes o".[17] Among examples given are:

பிடவை	Búdawei
மணபீடை	Mánapúrei
விடுகிறது	Wúdugiradu
விடு	Wúdu
பெணபிளளை	Pónbullei

[16] "Hæ literæ consonantes non accurate literis Europæis exprimi ac pronunciari possunt." Ibid., p. 2.

[17] "Aliquæ voces i mutant in u, nec non e in o." Ibid., p. 11.

(2) The quality assigned to final — ஐ (represented as ei).
(3) The quality assigned to final — அன (represented as en). This would seem to be an attempt to represent the colloquial pronunciation [ɛ̃].

NOUN

The approach in this description of the Tamil noun is based on Ziegenbalg's knowledge of Latin and the fact that the book was intended for people well versed in Latin. The statements, therefore, are largely in terms of Latin grammar, beginning with the observation "All nouns in this language are declined and inflected as in Latin".[18] Tamil nouns are then divided into four "declensions", depending on the nature of the final sound, and a full paradigm of one noun from each declension is given. The words chosen are மனுஷன, பாவம, கடடு and கறிகை. The list of exceptions that followed (it includes such words as ஆறு, காடு, ஆடு) suggests that Ziegenbalg failed to see all the possibilities of noun classification.

In his paradigms he sets up an eight-term case system, which includes three "ablatives" (locative, instrumental and sociative). The last of these three contains a very mixed set of items:

N.	மனுஷன	Man
G.	மனுஷனுடைய	Of a man
D.	மனுஷனுககு	To a man
A.	மனுஷனை	Man (accusative case)
V.	மனுஷனெ	Oh man!
Loc. Abl.	மனுஷனிலெ	In or from a man
	மனுஷனிடததிலெ	In or from a man
	மனுஷனிடததில	In or from a man
	மனுஷனுககுளளெ	Within or among a man
Instr. A bl.	மனுஷனாலெ	By a man
	மனுஷனால	By a man
Soc. Abl.	மனுஷனொடெ	With a man
	மனுஷனுடன	With a man
	மனுஷனைபபாதது	Concerning a man
	மனுஷனைககுறிசசு	Concerning a man
	மனுஷனுககாக	For a man
	மனுஷனைககொணடு	Through the agency of a man.

ADJECTIVE

Consciousness of Latin grammar leads to the contrastive statement that "All adjectives in this language are indeclinable, showing neither gender, number or case. ... They always go before substantives, and have

[18] "Omnia Nomina substantiva in hac lingua æque declinantur & flectuntur, ac in lingua latina." Ibid., p. 15.

one form".[19] Ziegenbalg then explains in clear terms the three ways of forming adjectives:

(1) Nouns ending in ம drop their final consonant to become adjectives, exx. பாவம **sin,** பாவ **sinful.**
(2) One of the following can be added to a noun: யுளள, ஆன, யடைததான, யிலலாத, ஆகாத.
(3) Adjectives can be formed from present and past tenses of verbs by changing ஆ of the third person to அ, exx. சொலலுகிருன **he says;** சொலலுகிற **saying.**

PRONOUNS

These are introduced as being declined "as in Latin". Full paradigms are then given for each pronoun, very much in the style of most later grammars of Tamil.

நாம is described as "honorific singular" (meaning **I** or **we**) and there is no mention of an inclusive/exclusive distinction. The other curiosity is in the list of second person pronouns, of which there are said to be four, namely நீய (thou), நீர ("honorific"), தெவரீர ("more honorific") and நீஙகள ("plural").

VERB

This, as might be expected, is by far the longest chapter (pp. 60-107) and gives quite an exhaustive account of the subject. Full paradigms are given, with pronouns grouped not in order of "person", as in the chapter on Pronouns, but under "number" (singular, honorific singular and plural).

Once again, contrastive statements are made. Thus: "There is no **pluperfect** in this language. The sense is given through the use of அதுககுமுனனெ";[20] and "In this language there is no **optative** mood properly so called".[21]

Throughout the grammar there is little attempt at segmentation of verbs into root, formatives, affixes and so on. One result of this is an occasional failure to make useful generalisations. Thus, for example, we find a somewhat redundant paradigm of verb forms + ஆனுல, where a general statement of possibilities might have been more helpful (p. 70).

The formation of tenses is effectively described in terms of the present tense. Ziegenbalg attempts to show (pp. 94-101) that the past tense form can be predicted from the "ending" of the present tense. In

[19] "Omnia Adjectiva in hac lingua sunt indeclinabilia, quæ neque generum, neque numerorum, neque casuum differentiam agnoscunt. ... Adjectiva semper suis Substantivis anteponuntur & unam tantum habent formam." Ibid., p. 30.

[20] "*Plusquam Perfectum* ... non datur in hac lingua, quod tamen formari potest, si Præterito Perfecto adverbium அதுக்குமுனனெ vel அதுககுமுனதி longe prius, anteponatur." Ibid., p. 63.

[21] "Modus *Optativus* proprie non datur in has lingua," Ibid., p. 67.

this case, then, words are in fact segmented, though in a unique fashion, the "ending" being taken to include the final vowel of what would normally be termed the "root", and in some cases to include also the consonant preceding this vowel. This unusual procedure does, however, enable Ziegenbalg to propose an effective classification of verbs based on purely formal criteria. The "endings" in question are: யிககிறது, யிகிறது, எகிறது, உகிறது (with sub-groups ending in ஞுகிறது, லுகிறது, ருகிறது and டுகிறது), கிறது preceded by ங, கிறது preceded by ற. For a final group of verbs with past in யினென the only criterion found for their recognition is that they are "active" verbs — plainly a very different basis for classification than that given for the other groups. Even after using these mixed criteria, Ziegenbalg has to note that his rules admit of exceptions. The future tense, on the other hand, presents no real difficulty, since he can show that the different forms are clearly related to the use of கிறது or ககிறது in the present tense.

PARTICLES

The term "particle" for Ziegenbalg includes "prepositions", "adverbs" and "conjunctions". The short section of "prepositions" is very Latin-orientated and includes the perhaps inevitable statement that, "In this language all prepositions are **postpositions**".[22] Adverbs are of three kinds: those that are not derivatives (e.g. இஙகெ); those that are derived from nouns by the addition of ஆய or ஆக; and "interjections". The conjunctions are உம ; and ஒ repeated to form "disjunctive questions" (e.g. நானொ நீயொ **you or I**?).

SYNTAX

This final chapter discusses gender (this in a purely negative sense, since "adjectives do not show difference of gender"), word order, the use of cases, the six auxiliary verbs, the verb எனகிறது, "participles", and certain "stylistic" uses. For a pioneering attempt when there was nothing approaching a comprehensive syntactic theory it is an admirable effort, brief though it may be (pp. 118-128).

GENERAL POINTS

Certain features of this grammar, and certain of its weaknesses, result from its very specific purpose. It was written for the use of people well acquainted with the traditional grammatical description of Latin who also, as the title-page puts it, "desire at this time to lead those peoples ["the East Indians"] from idolatry to the worship of the true God and eternal salvation in the Gospel of Christ". At various points in this paper Latin grammatical categories have been shown to influence Ziegenbalg's description of Tamil in a way that would not be acceptable to

[22] "Omnes Præpositiones in hac lingua sunt *Postpositiones*." Ibid., p. 108.

a modern linguist. But this very reference to Latin may have helped people wishing to learn Tamil to understand the author's points better.

The fact that the grammar was intended for prospective missionaries led to a bias in the choice of examples and so to sentences which cannot always be regarded as typical of the Tamil of the day. The verb most frequently used as an example is விசுவாசிககிறென, and most sentences given are related to some Christian theme.

The most remarkable feature of the book is its frequent use of clearly colloquial forms. It has been shown above that Ziegenbalg made a carefully separate study of the language of poetry and the language of everyday conversation. This book is clearly concerned with the latter of these two, and no poetical usages are given. Some of the forms cited had not traditionally appeared in Tamil grammars and, to my knowledge, were not thought worthy of serious study again for the next two centuries. A few examples will suffice:

> The list of numerals (pp. 38-43, in the chapter on adjectives) includes ஒணணு, மூணு, அஞசு, நாபபது.

In the chapter on verbs we find:

(1) Present tense forms without the syllable கி that is obligatory in a formal written style: பொறென (p. 83), வாஙகிறென (103), அடககிறென (104).
(2) Past tense forms with palatal rather than dental consonants: சினெகிசசென, அடைடசசென, பிடிசசென, தைசசென (pp. 93-94), அறிஞசென, அடைஞசென (96).
(3) வெணுும (p. 90 and **passim**).
(4) Such forms as திஙகிறது (100), விககிறது (105),

The inclusion of அதுகள rather than அவை in the list of pronouns (p. 51) represents yet another attempt to come closer to the spoken style. Similarly one might note the verb form in concord with this in அதுகள விசுவாசிககுது.

These random comments on Ziegenbalg's *Grammatica Damulica* show it to have been a remarkable piece of work for a first attempt in the field. It is comprehensive, surprisingly systematic, carefully adapted to its special purpose, and by no means without interest 250 years later. Ziegenbalg is clearly one of the important figures in the long line of western scholars in Tamil.

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THE NATURE OF TAMIL LOANWORDS IN MALAY

ASMAH BINTE HAJI OMAR

This paper is intended to discuss the nature of the Tamil loanwords in form and function, i.e. phonology and grammar, in the recipient language, Malay. From these two aspects, phonology and grammar, it can be determined to what extent a word from the donor language, Tamil, is integrated into the recipient language, Malay. There will be no discussion on the contents of the loanwords, but their semantic nature can be observed from the list of words attached herewith. It should also be noted that the words discussed are taken both from their spoken and written forms, both in the donor and in the recipient languages.

THE PHONOLOGICAL NATURE OF THE LOANWORDS

A discussion on the phonological nature of the loanwords will be more explicit if we are first acquainted with the phonological systems of the two languages concerned, namely, Tamil and Malay. For the purpose of this paper the phonological systems are restricted to the phonemic systems only.[1]

The Malay phonemes are as follows:

CONSONANTS

p b,	t d,	c j,	k g	ʔ
m,	n,	ñ,	ṅ	
	s		h	
	r			
	l			
w		y		

VOWELS

i			u
	e	ə	o
	a		

[1] I wish to express my thanks to Dr. Rama Subbiah for allowing me to use his data on the Tamil phonology and for the help he has given me while working on this paper.

The Tamil phonemes are:

CONSONANTS

k, ṅ, s, ñ, ṭ, ṇ, t̺ n̺, p, m, y, r, l, v, ṛ,[2] ḷ, n.

VOWELS

i, e, a,[3] u, o.

From the data above we have 19 Malay consonants as against 17 Tamil consonants and 6 Malay vowels as against 5 Tamil vowels.

Besides these segmental phonemes, there are also other features in the phonemic system of each language which ought to be taken into consideration, namely, the lengthening of vowels and the doubling of consonants, which are phonemic in Tamil but are not in Malay.

It is striking that while the Malay phonemic inventory pairs off a voiced stop/plosive with a voiceless stop/plosive, the Tamil phonemic system does not cater for voiced stops/plosives. Instead it has retroflex consonants which are absent in Malay.

Compare the following:

MALAY				TAMIL			
voiceless:	p,	t,	c	non-retrof:	t,	l,	n
voiced:	b,	d,	j	retroflex:	ṭ,	ḷ,	ṇ

It can also be seen from the phonemic data given above that there are phonemes which are present in the Tamil phonemic inventory but which are not to be found in Malay, and vice versa. In some cases the two systems seem to share the same phonemes.

Because of the diversity in the phonemic systems of the two languages concerned, we find that Tamil words undergo phonemic changes as they are being adopted in the Malay language, so as to suit themselves with the phonemic system of the adopted language. The alternations of the phonemes of the two systems as shown in the loanwords will be discussed below.

ALTERNATIONS OF CONSONANTS

ALVEOLAR RETROFLEX VS. ALVEOLAR NON-RETROFLEX

Since there are no retroflex phonemes in Malay the Tamil retroflex /ṭ/ (henceforth written as ᴛṭ) are found to alternate with Malay /d/

[2] ṛ represents Tamil ɹ.

[3] a is used for the convenience of type-writing; the phonetic value of a is [a].

(henceforth written as $_{M}$d). Examples:

TAMIL	MALAY
kaṭai	kedai
vaaṭai	badai[4]

Alternation occurs not only between $_{T}$ṭ and $_{M}$d, but also between $_{T}$t, ṭ and $_{M}$t as well as $_{M}$d, e.g.

TAMIL	MALAY
muttu	mutu
mutal	modal
muttirai	meterai
caṭṭai	sate
ceṭṭi	cheti

It should also be noted that Tamil /ṭ/ when found to cluster with a preceding /ṇ/ always alternates with Malay /d/. This is because in Tamil itself /ṭ/ in such an environment takes the allophone [ḍ]. Thus /ṇṭ/ - [ṇḍ]- becomes Malay /nd/, e.g.

TAMIL	MALAY
keṇṭi	kendi
aṇṭai	andai
koṇṭai	konde (Indonesian)

An exception to this is indicated in the example *piraṇṭai* which becomes Malay *meranti* where /ṇṭ/ -[ṇḍ]- changes to /nt/.

To sum up we can formulate as follows:

$_{T}$t, ṭ = $_{M}$t, d

FRICATIVE RETROFLEX VS. TRILL (FRICATIVE) NON-RETROFLEX

The phoneme /r/ in Malay has two free variations, i.e. [r] which is an alveolar trill and [ɣ] which is a voiced velar fricative. Since these two replace each other freely in any single idolect it suffices me to discuss them under phoneme /r/.

In the examples below Tamil /r/ seems to alternate freely with Malay /r/:

TAMIL	MALAY
ceruppu	cherpu
karri	kari

There is also an instance where Tamil /r/ alternates with Malay/Indonesian /l/, and that is in the Malay/Indonesian *kali* (river) which originates from Tamil *kaari*.

[4] For meanings of the words, please refer to the word-list on page 553.

Thus in the loanwords concerned, the following alternations are found to take place:

$$T^{r} = M^{r,\, l}$$

NASAL RETROFLEX/NON-RETROFLEX VS. NASAL NON-RETROFLEX

The Tamil /ṇ/ has two diaphones in Malay, i.e. /n/ and /m/. In most cases Tamil /ṇ/ alternates with Malay /n/, for example:

TAMIL	MALAY
maaṇikkam	manikam
aṇṭai	andai

But /ṇ/ in Tamil *oolaṇ* is reflected in /m/ in Malay *ulam.* In the loanwords which I have listed this is the only instance where the original word in Tamil with a final /ṇ/ is taken into the Malay language, and this /ṇ/ happens to alternate with Malay /m/. As such is the case, it is not possible to make a generalising statement that Tamil final /ṇ/ always alternates with Malay /m/. Later, we shall see a reversed process where Tamil final /m/ alternates with Malay /n/.

Because Tamil has two types of n, the alveolar /n̠/ and the retroflex /ṇ/ and it is only /ṇ/ that alternates with /m/, we can have two formulae for this.

$$T^{ṇ,\, n} = M^{n}$$
$$T^{ṇ} = M^{m}$$

LATERAL RETROFLEX/NON-RETROFLEX VS. LATERAL NON-RETROFLEX

Both the Tamil /l/ and /ḷ/ have the same diaphone in Malay /l/, as shown in the examples below:

TAMIL	MALAY
nakkal	nakal
cilucilu	silu
maalai	male
kuḷam	kolam

Tamil /l/ also has another diaphone in Malay /r/, as seen in the Tamil word *kottumalli* which becomes Malay *ketumbar.*

These alternations are summed up as follows:

$$T^{l,\, ḷ} = M^{l}$$
$$T^{l} = M^{r}$$

OTHER TYPES OF ALTERNATIONS

TAMIL /v/ VS. MALAY /b/ AND /w/

In Malay there is no such phoneme as /v/. The /v/ of loanwords

from various languages are usually changed to /b/ to fit in with the Malay phonemic system, e.g.:

SANSKRIT	MALAY
vanāntara	belantara
vamsa	bangsa
ENGLISH	
novel	nobel
television	talibesen

As far as the English examples are concerned, the /v/ is retained in the speech of bilinguals. Otherwise it is always changed to /b/.

Like the Sanskrit words /v/ of Tamil loanwords are always changed to /b/ in Malay. This is because there is scarcely any Malay speaker who is a Malay-Tamil bilingual, let alone the Malay-Sanskrit bilingual. Examples:

TAMIL	MALAY
vaaṭai	badai
veṭi	bedil

Besides that, Tamil /v/ has another diaphone in Malay /w/, e.g.

TAMIL	MALAY
kaaval	kawal kawar (only in the northern dialect)

From the alternations above, it is evident that Tamil intervocalic /v/ is reflected in /w/ in Malay, while Tamil initial /v/ finds its counterpart in Malay /b/.

TAMIL /k/ VS. MALAY /k/ AND /g/

The Tamil phoneme /k/ has two allophones, i.e.

(i) voiced velar plosive [g] before [ŋ] (in this paper symbolized as ṅ).
(ii) velar fricative [x] when it is intervocalic.

In the Malay phonemic inventory, there is no such phoneme as /x/ and the phone [x] is only found in loanwords, especially those originating from the Arabic language. This phone seems to be a free variation of /h/, /k/ and even /s/, e.g.

ARABIC	MALAY
khamis [xamis]	kames
akhir [axir]	aher
khilaf [xilaf]	silap

The word *raaṅki* itself is possibly a loanward originating from

English *rank*.[5] Even if it is so, it is certain that the Malay *ranggi* was not borrowed directly from English *rank* but from Tamil *raaṅki*.

In other phonological environments, Tamil /k/ remains as /k/ in Malay, e.g.

TAMIL	MALAY
kuḷam	kolam
kaṭṭil	katil
nakkal	nakal

There are exceptions to this rule such as shown in Tamil *kuṇṭu* and *kooni* which become Malay *gundu* and *guni* respectively, where Tamil /k/ seems to alternate with Malay /g/. Thus the phonemic alternations in the loanwords with Tamil /k/ are as follows:

$$_{T}k \ = \ _{M}k, g$$

TAMIL /p/ VS. MALAY /b/ AND /p/

Most Tamil words with the phoneme /p/ maintain that phoneme in the loanword, e.g.

TAMIL	MALAY
paaḷam	palam
pantu	pantul
paricai	perisai

As mentioned before, [b] has no phonemic status in Tamil, but the phoneme /p/ when preceded by /m/ takes the allophone [b] and this allophone achieves the status of a phoneme in the recipient language because /b/ is a phoneme there, e.g.

TAMIL	MALAY
tampi	tambi

In the case of Tamil *tumpu*, Malay has a voiceless bilabial plosive, unlike the examples quoted above.

Another instance which does not fit in with this rule is found in the Tamil word *mappu* which becomes Malay *mabok*, where /p/ alternates with /b/. It cannot be concluded that Tamil /pp/ becomes /b/ in Malay, because other instances do not comply with this rule.

Note the following:

TAMIL	MALAY
appam	apam, apom
cappai	chape (Indonesian)
appaa	bapa

[5] See *Tamil Lexicon*, Madras, vol. 6.

There is still another alternation which is undergone by Tamil /p/, and that is with Malay /m/, as shown in the following examples:

TAMIL	MALAY
piranṭai	miranti, meranti

In any case we can always say that in the loanwords:

$_{T}p = {}_{M}p$, b, m

TAMIL /m/ VS. MALAY /m/ AND /b/

The Tamil bilabial nasal is generally retained in the loanwords, e.g.

TAMIL	MALAY
malar	malar
appam	apam, apom

On the other hand, Tamil /m/ also alternates with Malay /b/ and /n/, e.g.

TAMIL	MALAY
maalar	balar
paakkam	pekan

Thus Tamil /m/ has three diaphones in Malay:

$_{T}m = {}_{M}m$, b, n

TAMIL /s/ VS. MALAY /s/, /c/, /j/

The Tamil phoneme /s/ which in the transcription is indicated by the letter c is in certain occurrences found to alternate with the Malay palatal plosive /c/ (symbolized in orthography as ch), as in the examples below:

TAMIL	MALAY
cammaṭṭi	chemeti
maccam	macham
cuuṛai	churi

Examples where /s/ maintains its hold even in the borrower language, are:

TAMIL	MALAY
accam	asam
miicai	misai
paricai	perisai

Besides the above alternations, Tamil /s/ also alternates with Malay /j/, and this occurs when /s/ follows /ñ/. In the Tamil phonemic system, /s/ after /ñ/ takes allophone [dʒ], and it is this allophone that gains a phonemic status in Malay /j/ in the loanwords. An example where Tamil /s/ alternates with Malay /j/ is found in *kañci* from which Malay *kanji* is derived.

Thus the alternations of Tamil /s/ can be formulated as follows:

$$_{T}s \;=\; _{M}s,\ c,\ j$$

TAMIL DOUBLE CONSONANTS VS. MALAY SINGLE CONSONANTS

The Tamil phonological system allows the doubling of consonants in intervocalic positions, but such a phenomenon is not found in the Malay language. Thus Tamil words with double consonants, when transferred into the Malay language, reduce the double into single consonants. Thus $_{T}CC \;=\; _{M}C$.

Examples:

TAMIL	MALAY
peṭṭi	peti
ammaa	emak

ALTERNATIONS OF VOWELS

An important factor which should be borne in mind when discussing the vowel system of the two languages concerned, is the duration feature which is phonemic in Tamil and otherwise in Malay.

Note the following examples:

TAMIL	MALAY
kuuli	kuli
palaa	pala
taali	tali
miicai	misai
nii	ni (only in the language of children in the northern dialect).

Sometimes it is found that if the lengthened vowel occupies the final position of a word, the shortening of this vowel is compensated by the addition of a consonant in the loanword, e.g.

TAMIL	MALAY
ayyaa	ayah
ammaa	emak
akkaa	akak (dialectal-colloquial, southern dialect).
	kakak

(N.B. The final "k" in Malay orthography is phonemically /ʔ/).

A Tamil monosyllabic word of CVC structure, in which V is long when taken into Malay, compensates the shortening of the vowel by

the addition of a final vowel, e.g.

TAMIL	MALAY
miin	mina (in *gajamina*)

There are cases where the addition of a final consonant in the loanword is unconditional, e.g.

TAMIL	MALAY
taaṛu	tarok
pantu	pantul

Besides these additions of phonemes in the final position, the loanwords also do likewise as regards their initial position. This occurrence is indicated in such words as:

TAMIL	MALAY
ilai	helai
uṛai	hurai, urai
akkaa	kakak
oolaṇ	hulam, ulam

It should be observed that these additions are unconditional.

TAMIL /a/ VS. MALAY /ə/, /a/ AND /u/

In most cases the Tamil /a/ normally alternates with Malay /a/.

TAMIL	MALAY
kaaval	kawal
maalai	male

Sometimes /a/ of Tamil words alternate with /ə/ of the loanwords, without abiding to any rule whatsoever, e.g.

TAMIL	MALAY
kaṭai	kedai
paakkam	pekan

It is indisputable that in one special environment Tamil /a/ always alternates with Malay /ə/, and that is the /a/ in the first syllable of a three-syllable word, as in the following:

TAMIL	MALAY
cagala	segala
paricai	perisai

Such a change is obligatory in order to conform with the syllable-structure in the Malay language, which does not allow /a/ in the first syllable of a simple word consisting of three syllables.

In the example where Tamil *karaṭu* becomes Malay *kerutu* it is not only the first /a/ that alternates with Malay /ə/, but the second /a/

is found to alternate with /u/. It is not true to say that CəCaCu violates the Malay syllable system, because there are words in this language which are built on this structure, e.g. kelabu (grey), chelaru (confuse), etc.

Thus the change from Tamil /a/ to Malay /u/ is non-obligatory.

It is evident from the examples above that Tamil /a/ has three diaphones in Malay:

$$^{T}a = {}^{M}a,\ ə,\ u$$

(N.B. It should also be noted that Tamil /a/ in the word final position always alternates with Malay /ə/ of the southern dialects, as those dialects do not admit /a/ before silence.)

TAMIL /i/ VS. MALAY /i/, /e/ AND /ə/

Although Tamil /i/ again appears in the loanwords as in Tamil *taali* becoming Malay *tali*, the rule does not stop there, because Tamil /i/ is also reflected in Malay /e/, e.g.

TAMIL	MALAY
kaṭṭil	katil -/katel/

This change is obligatory as /i/ does not occur in closed syllables in Malay except for a very small number of words.

An alternation which is non-obligatory is between Tamil /i/ and Malay /ə/, as in:

TAMIL	MALAY
ilai	helai
piranṭai	meranti

In this way we can say that /i/ has three diaphones in the loanwords:

$$^{T}i = {}^{M}i,\ e,\ ə$$

TAMIL /o/ VS. MALAY /u/ AND VICE VERSA

The examples where Tamil /o/ alternates with Malay /u/ are as follows:

TAMIL	MALAY
koyil	kuil (/y/ between two different vowels is usually ellipsed in Malay.)
oolaṇ	ulam, hulam

An alternation of the reversed process also occurs, that is from Tamil /u/ to Malay /o/, e.g.

TAMIL	MALAY
uṇṭai	onde-onde

The alternations above are non-obligatory. For obligatory alternations between Tamil /u/ and Malay /o/, we can cite examples already discussed on page 542, namely:

TAMIL	MALAY
taaru	tarok
pantu	pantul-/pantol/

The situation arises because /u/ in a closed syllable is not allowed in Malay but for a very few exceptions.

DIPHTHONGIZATION OF VOWELS IN THE LOANWORDS

The Tamil phoneme /e/ which is found in the spoken language and is manifested as "ai" in the orthography, normally alternates with diphthong /ai/ in Malay. This is because most Malay dialects do not admit /e/ in word-finals.

Examples:

TAMIL	MALAY
miicai	misai
ilai	helai
tirai	tirai
vaaṭai	badai

There are certain exceptions to this rule where Tamil /e/ retains its hold as a word-final, e.g.

TAMIL	MALAY
uṇṭai	onde-onde
toocai	tose
muṛai	more (only in the northern dialects)
koṇṭai	konde (Indonesian)
cappai	chape (Indonesian)

In Kedah and other northern provinces, the word *more* is pronounced as [mɔrɛ], [ɔ] and [ɛ] being free variants of /o/ and /e/ respectively, while /e/ as a word-final fits in with the phonemic system of Bahasa Indonesia.

There are also examples where Tamil /e/ alternates with Malay /i/, e.g.

TAMIL	MALAY
cuuṛai	churi
piranṭai	miranti, meranti

LOSS OF SYLLABLES IN LOANWORDS

Some Tamil words which are constructed on three syllables are shortened once they enter the recipient language, usually by the loss

of a syllable, normally medial or final, e.g.

TAMIL				MALAY
puraḷi				perli
(puraḷi	⟶	perali	⟶	perli)
ceruppu				cherpu
(ceruppu	⟶	cerpu	⟶	cherpu)
curuṭṭu				cherut (Indon. serutu)
(curuṭṭu	⟶	ceruttu	⟶	cherut)

Just as /a/ is not admitted in the first syllable of a simple word which is tri-syllabic, so also is /u/ which is not admitted in that particular environment. So we find in the examples *puraḷi* and *curuṭṭu,* /u/ in the first syllable is weakened to /ə/.

Shortening by haplology also occurs, e.g.

TAMIL	MALAY
cilucilu	silu

REDUPLICATION IN THE LOANWORDS

In connection with the shortening of words by the loss of a syllable or syllables, we should also mention the lengthening of words, not by the addition of a phoneme as already discussed, but by reduplicating the whole word. Such an occurrence is found in Tamil *uṇṭai* which becomes Malay *onde-onde.*

This can be explained by going into the realms of semantics also. The word *uṇṭai* in Tamil means "ball, anything round or globular". *Onde-onde* in Malay is a kind of cake, globular in shape, made of flour, with sweetened green peas or red sugar inside. This cake gets its name due to its ball-like shape. Thus *onde-onde* literally means "ball-like", just as *kuda-kuda* is something which looks like a horse, i.e. a toy-horse, *gula-gula* is something which tastes like sugar, i.e. sweets, candies and so on.

INSERTION OF AN ORAL PHONEME AFTER A HOMORGANIC NASAL

Clusters consisting of a nasal followed by a homorganic oral phoneme (usually plosive) are common in Malay, e.g. *kampong, bangkang, bangga, benda,* etc. The presence of this pattern in Malay seems to affect the nature of loanwords, no matter where they originate from. As such we find that Arabic *zamrud* is sometimes pronounced as *zamberot* or *jamberot* in Malay, and English *general* following the same pattern, becomes *jenderal.*

Some Tamil words seem to toe this line once they become part of the recipient language, e.g.

TAMIL				MALAY		
kooṇi				guni, gundi		
kottumalli				ketumbar		
(kottumalli	⟶	kotumal	⟶	ketumal	⟶	ketumbar)

The alternation between /r/ and /l/ is common in the Austronesian languages.

THE GRAMMATICAL INTEGRATION OF THE LOANWORDS

As in the phonological treatment, we shall see here to what extent the Tamil words are integrated within the structure of the borrower language, namely, Malay.

A word belonging to a definite class in a certain language, is usually exposed to various classes when transferred into another language. Thus it is interesting to note the transposition of a Tamil word from one class to another, as it passes from its source to its recipient language, although many of them retain their former word-classes, such as:

TAMIL	MALAY
kooṇi (noun)	guni, gundi (noun)
kañci (noun)	kanji (noun)

Below is a discussion of the various words in their transposed forms.

TAMIL NOUN VS. MALAY ADJECTIVE

Often we find words of the noun class in Tamil, used as adjectives in Malay, e.g.

(1) The word *nakkal* in Tamil means "mockery". Its counterpart in Malay *nakal* is an adjective meaning "mischievous", as in the sentence below:

Budak itu nakal sekali (=The child is very mischievous).

In the borrower language itself, this word can be transposed again into a noun by affixing the discontinuous morpheme *ke-an,* from which *kenakalan* meaning "mischief" is derived.

(2) In order to convey the meaning of "shortness of stature", Tamil has the word *kattai.* This word is taken into northern Malay as *katek,* which is used as an adjective meaning "short". A transposition of this word, like any other adjective, into the noun class with *ke-an,* thus deriving *kekatekan* "shortness", is possible, although *kekatekan* has never been in use yet.

(3) Tamil *cappai* "that which is weak", has its counterpart in the Indonesian *chape/tjape* "tired", the formal features of which indicate that it is an adjective:

Saya chape sekali (=I am very tired).

TAMIL NOUN VS. MALAY VERB

(1) In Malay there is a word *pantul* "to bounce" which is derived from Tamil *pantu* "a ball'. Any verb in Malay, with the exception of a few, can take the prefix me-. Hence the word *memantul* is derived.

Bola itu memantul (=The ball bounces).

The verb *memantul* is intransitive, and it can be made transitive by adding the suffix *-kan*: *memantulkan.*

Dia memantulkan bola itu (=He/she bounces the ball).

The verb as used in the sentence above is in the active voice, while its passive counterpart is *dipantulkan.*

It is also possible to conjugate *pantul* with nominal morphemes such as *pe-*, *-an* and *pe-an*, resulting in *pemantul* "bouncer", *pantulan* "bounce" and *pemantulan* "the bouncing of".

(2) *cuuṛai* in its model form conveys the meaning of "robbery, dacoity, pillage". In its borrowed form *churi*, it is certainly a verb with all the characteristics of that word-class in the Malay language.

Orang itu menchuri ayam (=That person steals chicken).

By prefixing *pe-* a noun is formed, denoting the executor of of the action: *penchuri* "thief".

Again with the discontinuous morpheme *pe-an*, an abstract noun emerges, indicating the action being executed: *penchurian.*

Penchurian itu berlaku malam tadi (=The theft took place last night).

With *ke-an*, a passive verb is formed: *kechurian.* This is a new form of passive verb in Malay, showing the influence of Bahasa Indonesia, which itself absorbs the form from Javanese. Malay has its own passive formation in *di-*: *dichuri.* Note the two kinds of passive:

Saya kechurian wang (free translation: My money is stolen).
Wang dichuri orang (= The money is stolen by someone).

(3) The Tamil noun *tumpu* which means among other things, "border", has its counterpart in Malay *tumpu.* The loanword means "to reach an end". Figuratively, it means "to concentrate":

Jalan raya itu menumpu di-pinggir hutan (=The main road reaches its end at the fringe of the jungle).

The word *menumpu* in the above sentence is intransitive. Sometimes *bertumpu* is used in the same context.

The suffixation of *-kan* makes the verb transitive, e.g.

Dia menumpukan perhatian-nya kapada buku itu (=He is concentrating on the book).

With the prefix *-an*, a noun *tumpuan* is obtained. It conveys the meaning of "the terminal". Usually this word is used figuratively to mean "place where help, sympathy, protection is obtained", e.g.

Kau, anakku, ada-lah tempat tumpuanku di-masa hadapan (=You, my child, is my place of protection in the future).

(4) In Tamil, the words for metal cast in moulds is *paaḷam*. This word in Malay is taken as a verb, *palam*, meaning "to mend a hole with metal or anything of the like". This word takes the verbal prefixes of *me-* and *di-*, deriving *memalam* and *dipalam*, which are active and passive respectively. With the nominal prefixes, *pemalam* and *pemalaman* are derived, conveying the meaning of "someone or something which mends" and "the mending of" respectively.

(5) *Puraḷi* in Tamil is a noun meaning "deceit, mischief, falsehood", but in Malay this word, reflected in *perli*, functions as a verb, with the meaning "to mock at":

Dia memperli saya (=He/she is mocking at me).
Saya diperli-nya (= I am mocked at by him/her).

So far this word has not been given any nominal affixes to enable it to function as a noun in its derived forms.

TAMIL VERB VS. MALAY NOUN

In Tamil, the verb *kavar*, besides having other meanings, also means "to steal". This word in Malay is manifested in the word *kawar*, used only in the north, meaning "petty thief". Although in Malay a noun can be transposed into the verb-class by any verbal morpheme, in the case of *kawar*, no such transposition occurs. Hence *kawar* has never been used in any context other then a noun.

TAMIL VERB VS. MALAY ADJECTIVE

Among its many meanings, the Tamil verb *malar* also signifies "to be expanded, extended or spread". In Malay *malar* means "continuous", and its use is not very popular; it was not until very recently that the Linguistics and Literature Terminology Committee of the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, decided to take this word in the form of *malaran* (*malar* + nominal suffix *-an*) to signify a linguistic term "continuant". Thus *malaran tak bergeser* comes to mean "frictionless continuant".

TAMIL NOUN VS. MALAY FUNCTION WORD[6]

From Tamil *anṭai* "approximity, neighbour" the word *andai* is derived. This word has never been used by itself. It is always accompanied by prefix *sa-* and particle *-nya* in *sa-andai-nya,* or it is found in the compound *andaikata.* Both these words mean "perhaps". With the verbal morphemes *mekan, mengandaikan* is formed, meaning "to consider as an approximity". *Antai* is also found in *sahabat-andai* meaning "close friends".

TAMIL NOUN VS. MALAY HYPERCLASS

Tamil *mappu* has its counterpart in Malay *mabok.* The latter means "to be intoxicated" or "in the state of being intoxicated" and it can be used both as an adjective as well as a verb, e.g.

> Orang itu sedang mabok (verb).
> Orang itu mabok sekali (adjective).

An overlap such as this, of verb and adjective, is usual in Malay, thus creating the hyperclass, so that a word can be determined as to which class it belongs, not by just its morphological characteristics, but also by its syntactical characteristics.

In Tamil the word *mappu* itself is a noun, conveying the meaning of "bewilderment, beclouded state of the intellect as by intoxication, dullness, arrogance".

TAMIL HYPERCLASS VS. MALAY NOUN

Niilam in Tamil is an adjective as well as a noun. In Malay it becomes a noun meaning "sapphire". Normally it is used together with *batu* "stone", as in *batu nilam.* The word is never used as an adjective, and there is no such phrase as **batu yang nilam,* or **batu yang paling nilam,* to parallel with *batu yang biru* or *batu yang paling biru,* where *biru* "blue" is an adjective. The situation arises possibly because *batu nilam* is an adaption of *niilakkal* "blue stone".

SOME LOANWORDS WHICH RETAIN THEIR FORMER CLASSES IN THE BORROWER LANGUAGE

The discussion below is not on all loanwords which retain their former classes, but only on loanwords of that nature which are indispensably accompanied by certain morphemes. They are never used in their simple forms. Below are some examples of such words and their usages:

(1) Tamil *uṛai* signifies "to be reduced to powder or paste etc.", and the Malay *urai* or *hurai* cannot be classified under any

[6] Function-word is used here to refer to particles.

class other than the verb-class, but *urai/hurai* in its usages as a verb is always accompanied by suffix *-kan*, e.g.

Dia menghuraikan ayat-ayat itu (=He/she analysed the sentences).

Sometimes *urai/hurai* is used with prefix *ter-*, e.g.

Sanggul-nya terhurai (Her coiffure is unravelled).

In the two contexts above, *hurai* has undergone a semantic change, and the only instance where it maintains its original meaning is found only in *emas-urai* (=gold powder), and this is also the only instance where *urai* is used in its simple form.

Urai/hurai with its new semantemes can be transformed into nouns with the various nominal morphemes:

(h)uraian = description (result of action),
peng(h)uraian = description (action performed).

(2) The word *kaar* in its donor language is a verb conveying the meaning of "to become hard, mature, to be firm or strong in mind". In its transferred form in Malay, *kaar* is never used without *me-*, so much so that *mekar* (=to blossom, to become mature, applying to plants or human beings) has all along been taken for granted to be a simple word and that *me-* has always been an integral part of the word *mekar*. In descriptive linguistics *mekar* should be considered as a simple word, since there is no such form as **dikar*, **pengaran* (pe-nasalised +kar+an) etc. It is on the same status as the very few verbs in the Malay language which do not take any verb-prefix *me-* or *di-*. Some of such verbs are *pergi, datang, bangun*, etc. So just as there are no such words as **memergi* and **dipergi*, there are also no such forms as **memekar* and **dimekar*. Although derivatives such as *pemekaran* and *kemekaran* are never in use, these constructions are possible, as shown by *pemergian* and *kedatangan*.

(3) *Kullai* is a verb in Tamil with the meaning of "to become loose, to be deranged". In Malay its counterpart is only found in *terkulai*, a verb meaning "to hang down slackly". *Kulai* in Malay has never been given any other affix, nor has it ever been used in its simple form without *ter*.

(4) *Karaṭu* in Tamil is a noun signifying among others, "roughness, unevenness". In Malay this word is only reflected in *berkerutu* "in the state of being rough or uneven, to have roughness'. This word is constructed on the same pattern as *berbaju* "to possess or have on a dress', and *bersepatu* "to possess or have

on shoes", where the basic words *baju* and *sepatu* are of the noun-class.

Syntactically *berkerutu* diverges slightly in structure from either *berbaju* or *bersepatu.* In the sentence, *Muka-nya berkerutu sekali, berkerutu* takes the characteristics of an adjective, such as *chantek* beautiful, in the context *Muka-nya chantek sekali.* On the other hand, *berbaju* and *bersepatu* can never be followed by *sekali.* There is no such construction as **Dia berbaju sekali* or **Dia bersepatu sekali.*

Likewise such derivatives as **mengerutu*, **kekerutuan* and the like never exist.

(5) *Kuuṭu*: This word is a verb in Tamil with the meaning "to come together, join, meet, assemble, conciliated". When transferred into Malay it becomes an integral part of *sekutu,* which forms the stem of such words as *bersekutu* "to come together, to work together" and *persekutuan* "federation". It is quite tricky to determine the class of *sekutu.* For certain it cannot be an adjective, because it does not take the formal characteristics of that word class in Malay, either morphologically or syntactically.

Sekutu is constructed on the same pattern as *sekata,* which consists of prefix *se-* and the noun *kata.*

It should be mentioned here that *kutu* also means a sort of association in which the members combine and pay instalments into a common fund. Every month each member has his or her turn to draw out the entire amount. This sort of association in the northern dialect is known as *kut.*

Based on the facts above it can be assumed that *kutu* was originally a noun, although now in its simple form it never functions as one except when it takes the particular meaning mentioned above.

(6) *Accu* in its source language is a noun meaning "mould, type". With the meaning "mould", *accu* has its counterpart in Malay in the word *achuan,* also a noun. The construction of this word is *achu* + nominal suffix *-an.* In a construction such as this, the stem can either be a noun or a verb, so that on its face value it is difficult to determine the class of *achu.* Incidentally, there is no verb *achu* conveying the meaning of "to mould" *Achu* as a verb is used in the sense of "to give a suggestive gesture such as to raise a stick, shaking a first, or draw a sword, but no actual blow is delivered", e.g.

Dia mengachukan pisau itu kepada ku (=He suggestively raises the knife towards me).

A wide gap in the two semantemes of *achu* and *achuan* draws us to surmise that the two words were of different origins and have undergone separate etymologies.

CONCLUSION

Loanwords in the Malay language, no matter where they originate from, are readily integrated into the grammatical structure of the Malay language, but their phonological integration depends on the role the source languages of the various loanwords play in the society of the Malay-speaking people. Words borrowed from English or Arabic for instance, still retain traces of their original phonological traits in the idiolects of a number of speakers, although these words might have been used in the borrower language for quite a long time. This is due to the presence of bilinguals in the society, and it is these bilinguals who, either consciously or unconsciously, upkeep the presence of the foreign phonemes in the loanwords.

The situation mentioned above holds true where English loanwords are concerned, because there are many Malay-English bilinguals in the society. The fact that Arabic phonemes are retained in the Arabic loan-words as spoken by some Malay speakers, is not only due to the existence of Malay-Arabic bilinguals (who number much less than the Malay-English bilinguals) but also due to the acquaintance of the Malays with the phonetics of the Koran since their childhood days. Even then it should be noted that loanwords, either they be from English or Arabic, are never free from the process of being adapted into the Malay phonemic system, among the monolinguals.

Unlike the English and the Arabic loanwords, Tamil loanwords are not just grammatically integrated, but phonologically, they are readily adapted into the Malay structure, so much so that more often than not, one tends to take a Tamil loanword for a native word. This is not just because the Tamil loanwords have for a long time made their entrance into the Malay language and that they have been in constant daily usage, but also because the Malay speakers who borrow these words hardly know any Tamil, so much so that any foreign phonological elements in the words are easily replaced by native ones.

It should also be noted that the Tamil-speaking people who immigrated into Malaya, were not missionaries, and as such we do not meet with any religious or philosophical items in the range of the loan-words. All the loanwords concern with items of the everyday life, and the constant daily usage of these words serve as an important factor in their complete integration within the structure of the Malay language.

TAMIL	MALAY
accam = West Indian pea-tree.	*asam* = acid, something sour; *asam jawa* = tamarind. Other types of *asam*: *asam kelubi, asam gelugor, asam paya* etc. Figuratively: *asam garam* = "acids and salt" — symbolizes people who take to each other at once; *asam kelat* = "sour and tart" — unpleasant qualities; *asam sunti* = pickled ginger; *pengasam keris* = acid for cleaning kris", i.e. cannon fodder; *perak asam* = sour (i.e. much alloyed) silver; *semut asam* = an ant eaten as an acid delicacy by aborigines (Wilk., part I, 49a)[7] *pekasam* = fish preserve.
accam = fear	*ancham* = to threaten.
acci = Nayar woman (Bur. & Emen. p. 5, 46)[8]	*achi* = elder sister — used by Malays in addressing Tamil ladies.
accu = mould, type (Bur. & Emen. p. 5, 44).	*achuan* = mould; *achuan peluru* = bullet mould.
acharam = money given in advance	*chengkeram* = money given in advance.
akatti = a kind of leaf used as vegetable	*keti* = a kind of leaf used as vegetable
akka = elder sister	*kakak, akak* = elder sister, *kakanda* = elder brother or sister in courtly speech, in letter-writing used as pronoun between elder and younger, e.g. friends, husband and wife. Colloq. *kak.*

[7] R. J. WILKINSON, *A Malay-English Dictionary*, pts. I and II, Macmillan's, London, 1959.

[8] T. BURROW and M. B. EMENEAU, *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*, Oxford, 1961.

TAMIL	MALAY
ammaa = mother	*emak* = mother; Colloq. *mak*; *mak chik* = aunt — used in addressing elderly women; *mak mertua* = mother-in-law; *mak tiri* = step-mother etc.
amaammi = maternal uncle's wife, husband's mother (Bur. & Emen. p. 14, 154)	*mami* = aunt, a term in use among Jawipekans (i.e. Malays of mixed Indian and Malay origins) of Penang. Specifically an aunt by marriage, not an aunt by blood (Wilk. part I, 733b).
aṅṅa, aṅka = to open the mouth wide	*nganga* = to open the mouth wide.
anṭai = approximity, neighbour	*andai, sa-andai-nya* = perhaps, peradventure; *sahabat andai* = close friend.
appaa = father	*bapak* = father; *bapak mertua*; *bapak tiri*; *pak chik*; *pak* (see *emak*).
appam = round cake of rice flour and sugar fried in ghee; thin cake, wafer, bread (Bur. & Emen. p. 13, 132)	*apam* = made of flour, sugar and water, unleavened and crisp; *apom* = cake made of the same ingredients, leavened; *apom balek, apom dewa, apom jambul* etc.
attan = father, elder, person of rank or eminence (Bur. & Emen. p. 12, 121)	*atan* = name of person.
ayyaa = father, respectable man (Bur. & Emen. p. 15, 163)	*ayaḥ* = father; *ayah tiri, ayah mertua* (ref. *emak*).
ilai = leaf	*helai* = numeral coefficient for tenuous objects such as garments, sheets, thread, blades of grass etc.
kalutai = domestic ass	*keledai* = ass, donkey.
kañci = rice-water	*kanji* = rice-gruel, rice water.
kaar = to become hard, mature, be firm or strong in mind (Bur. & Emen. p. 105, 1250)	*mekar* = to blossom, to unfurl or unfold (of a flower).
karaṭu = roughness, unevenness (Bur. & Emen. p. 89, 1061)	*kerutu* = rough on the surface.
kari = dish of meat etc. cooked with bruised spices.	*kari* = dish of meat etc. cooked with bruised spices.

TAMIL	MALAY
kaari = river	*kali* = river (Indon).
katai = shop	*kedai* = shop.
kattai = shortness of stature	*katek* = short of stature.
kattil = cot, bedstead, throne	*katil* = cot, bedstead.
kaaval = defence, guard, watchmen.	*kawal* = to watch, to guard; *pengawal* = guard, watchman; *pasokan kawalan kampong* = vigilante corps.
kavar = to seize, grasp, catch, steal (Bur. & Emen. p. 94, 1114)	*kawar* = petty thief (northern dialect).
kenti = a pot with a spout	*kendi* = water-goblet.
kontai = tuft, dressing of hair in large coil on the head (Bur. & Emen. p. 140, 1733)	*konde* = dressing in coiffure on the head (Indon.).
kooni = sacks made of jute fibre.	*guni* = sacks made of jute fibre.
kottalam = bastion	*katlum, ketulum* = bastion.
kottumalli = corriander	*ketumbar* = coriander.
koyil = temple	*kuil* = temple.
kulam = tank, pond	*kolam* = pond, pool, reservoir, tank.
kulai — to be deranged; to become loose.	*kulai* = hanging down slackly.
kuuli = wages, pay, freight.	*kuli* = labourer.
kumpal = gathering	*kumpul* = together; *berkumpul, mengumpulkan.*
kuntu = ball, anything globular.	*gundu* = marbles for playing.
kuutu = to come together, join meet, assemble, become conciliated (Bur. & Emen. p. 128, 1562)	*kutu* = a kind of association in which members contribute to a common fund, and every month each has his/her turn to draw out the entire sum; *sekutu* = to come together; *persekutuan* = federation.
maalai = garland, wreath, necklace, etc. (Bur. & Emen. p. 321, 3954)	*male* = wreath.
malar = to be expanded, extended, or spread, etc. (Bur. & Emen. p. 314, 3897)	*malar* = continuous; *malaran* = continuant.
maalar = children born of a Brahman mother and a Sudra father, hunters, savages, outcastes (Bur. & Emen. p. 312, 3951)	*balar* = unnatural or albino whiteness esp. in a buffalo; *kerbau balar* = white buffalo.

TAMIL	MALAY
maaṇikkam = ruby.	*manikam, ma'nikam* = gem, precious stone.
mappu = being overcast or cloudy, bewilderment, beclouded as by intoxication, dullness, arrogance (Bur. & Emen. p. 311, 3849)	*mabok* = intoxication. Properly of anything that turns one's head.
miin = fish	*mina* only in *gajamina* = "elephant fish", i.e. whale, sea monster.
miicai = moustache	*misai* = moustache; *misai kuching* = cat's whiskers, i.e. a kind of flower plant (*orthosiphon stamineus*).
muṛai = order, arrangement, system, regularity, turn by which work is done (Bur. & Emen. p. 340, 4115)	*more* = turn by which a group of people takes to give feast in the mosque during the fasting month (northern dialect).
muruṅkai = a kind of long pod grown on a tree; also known as drumstick.	*munggai* = a kind of long pod grown on a tree always cooked as curry.
mutal = principal, fun, capital.	*modal* = capital invested in any enterprise.
muttu = pearl.	*mutu* = value.
mutia, mutiara = pearl	*mutiara* = pearl.
nakkal = mockery.	*nakal* = mischievous.
nii = you (singular)	*ni* = you (singular) — only in children's speech in the northern dialect.
niilam = blue	*nilam* = sapphire; *batu nilam.*
oolan = a kind of vegetable dish (Bur. & Emen. p. 78, 902).	*ulam, hulam* = vegetable eaten raw or boiled with chilli-paste.
paakkam = seaside village, town, village	*pekan* = town.
palaa = jack-tree (Bur. & Emen. p. 268, 3290)	*pala* = nutmeg; *pokok pala* = nutmeg-tree.
paaḷam = metal cast in moulds (Bur. & Emen. p. 275, 3385).	*palam* = to mend a hole with metal or anything of that nature.
pantu = ball used in play, roll as of string or thread (Bur. & Emen. p. 264, 3241)	*pantul* = to bounce like a ball.

TAMIL	MALAY
paricai = shield	*perisai* = shield.
paṭi = to obey	*patek* = one who obeys, slave (used in court Malay by an inferior to a superior or by a common folk to a royalty); *patuh* = obedient.
peṭṭi = chest, trunk, box.	*peti* = chest, trunk.
piranṭai = square-stalked vine *vitis quadrangularis* (Bur. & Emen. p. 278, 3433).	*meranti, miranti* = a kind of tree yielding good timber, light and easily worked, that is very suitable for temporary buildings, scaffoldings, etc. (Wilk. vol. II, 767.)
poṭi = powder	*pudi* = powder.
puraḷi = deceit, mischief falsehood, mocking	*perli* = to mock at, make fun of.
puṭṭu = a kind of sweet eatable.	*putu* = a kind of sweet eatable prepared from rice; *putu mayong, putu piring, putu buloh.*
raaṅki = vanity, haughtiness	*ranggi* = vain, pert, smart, showing one's own self-importance.
cammaṭṭi = hammer	*chemeti* = whip; *chemeti kuda* = horse-whip.
cappai = that which is weak, lean, emaciated, useless etc. (Bur. & Emen. p. 153, 1930)	*chape* (Indon.) = tired.
catai = flesh	*sate* = a kind of meat cabob eaten with sauce.
ceruppu = slippers, leather sandals, shoes.	*cherpu* = shoes, used in court Malay when talking to the ruler, who is addressed as *cherpu duli tuanku,* i.e. the dust of my lord's shoes.
chii = expression of indignation and contempt.	*cheh, chis* = expression of indignation and contempt.
cilucilu = to feel chill, be cool (Bur. & Emen. p. 166, 2124)	*silu* = shy, bashful.
curuṭṭu = cigar	*cherut* = cigar.
cuuṛai = robbery, pillage, dacoity (Bur. & Emen. p. 177, 2264)	*churi* = to steal.

TAMIL	MALAY
taali = central piece of a neck ornament solemnly tied by the bridegroom around the bride's neck as marriage badge; a child's necklace; amulet tied on a child's neck (Bur. & Emen. p. 205, 1594)	*tali* = string, rope.
taampaaḷam = tray	*talam* = tray.
taarr = bunch, cluster, as of plantains, dates, areca-nuts	*tarok* = bunch (of vegetables).
tirai = curtain	*tirai* = curtain.
toocai = a kind of rice-cake	*tose* = toocai.
tumpu = border, fringe	*tumpu* = terminal, border.
turuci = vitriol	*terusi* = copper vitriol, copper sulphate, bluestone.
vaaṭai = north wind, chill wind, wind.	*badai* = whirlwind, storm.
veeci = courtesan, whore	*bisi* = cheeky.
venṭi = okra, a kind of plant (vegetable)	*bendi* = French bean; also *kachang bendi.*
veṭi = explosion, thunder	*bedil* = gun, rifle; *obat bedil* = gunpowder.
vilaṅku = fetters, shackles.	*belenggu, belanggu* = hand-cuff.
unṭai = ball, anything round or globular (Bur. & Emen. p. 51 571)	*onde-onde* = a kind of cake, globular in shape, made of flour, with sweetened green-peas or red sugar inside.
uṛai = to be reduced into powder or paste.	*urai, hurai* = unravel, analyse, describe in detail.

THE IRULA DIALECT OF TAMIL
SOME PHONOLOGICAL REMARKS

GERARD DIFFLOTH

In nearly every description of the Nilgiris, the Irulas are mentioned as being one of the aboriginal tribes, along with the Todas, the Kotas and the Kurumbas. At the present time, the Irulas do not live in the Mountains proper, but rather on the lower jungle slopes surrounding the Nilgiri plateau. Irulas were also reported in the districts of North Arcot, South Arcot and Chingleput, especially in the Gingee Hills (see bibliography, items 1 and 2) but their connection with the Nilgiri Irulas is not sufficiently documented.

Vocabulary lists in the Irula dialect are to be found in Breeks (bibl. item 3) (hereafter: BR) and a few years later in Hodgson (bibl. item 4) (hereafter: HOD). Both were working in collaboration with Father F. Metz (bibl. item 5). Then we have another word list in 1885 (bibl. item 6) (hereafter: *ADM*). In the Linguistic Survey of India, Grierson did little more than mention the dialect and give bibliographical references. Finally, we have some Irula texts published by the late Superintendent at the Madras Government Museum, F. H. Gravely. These texts were transcribed from a collection of several hundred gramophone recordings of different dialects of the Madras Presidency, a project proposed by Grierson (bibl. item 7) (hereafter: GRAM). Thurston's verdict that the Irulas spoke a "corrupt Tamil" has apparently discouraged further research for there have not been any other publications on the subject since.

On the basis of my own field work in the Nilgiris which I am presently conducting,[1] I should like to remark on some phonological peculiarities of this dialect.

My main informant for this work has been Mr. Kōmaran from Chinnālkombe, a small village near the Pillūr Dam, about 12 miles west of Coonoor. Since the Irulas live in fairly isolated communities, there is some amount of variation within the dialect, and I will occasionally refer to other informants; but on the whole, the features I will mention

[1] I am grateful to the American Institute of Indian Studies for financing my research project in India this year.

seem to be common to all varieties of Irula and would form a thick bundle of isoglosses separating it from other dialects of Tamil.

(A) PHONOLOGICAL INNOVATIONS

Like many other dialects of Tamil, Irula has lost the retroflex approximant phoneme /ṟ/. But instead of merging with the retroflex lateral /ḷ/ as in the neighbouring Tamil dialects, it has split in various directions.

(a) *ṟ corresponds to y before -i
Ex: vayi "way" (BR: vai, GRAM: vayi, *ADM*: beii, HOD: beiee)
kōyi "fowl" (HOD has: koli)
kiyitte "I tore'

(b) *ṟ corresponds to g in a few items (possibly before -a)
Ex: nagal "shade"
kogal "flute" (I have also recorded koal and kwal with other informants, see next paragraph.)

I have also found this peculiar correspondence in the Dravidian dialect spoken by some Koravas, which has words like maga "rain", yēgu "seven", pogudu "sun" etc. ... Whether this is related to the situation in Irula would be difficult to say at present. The two dialects are mutually unintelligible.

A correspondence *ṟ : g is also to be found in some Kota verbs (Ex: *DED*[2] 1316 : kig-/kirt- "to tear") where g is in alternation with the retroflex flap ṛ.

(c) *ṟ is lost.
This seems to be the general rule.
Ex: pū "worm", vūnde "I fell"

When *ṟ was intervocalic, its loss creates various vowel clusters which are either preserved, diphtongised or reduced. Ex: kʉ̄e "below" also kʉ̄ge (BR: kelage, HOD and *ADM*: kaláke):

koal "flute" also kwal,
kangu "potato" also kasungu,
ode "I wept" (ʉ and ɸ are centralised, unrounded vowels) podu "sun", mē "rain" etc.

This phenomenon is unusual for a dialect of Tamil and definitely points to diffusion, or direct borrowing from a dialect of Cannarese, or possibly Badaga.

(d) Finally there are a few cases of *ṟ : ḷ correspondences which are easily explained as borrowings from the local dialect

[2] *DED* = T. Burrow and M. B. Emeneau, *Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1961. Numbers refer to the entry number in the dictionary.

of Tamil which most Irulas know and use in their outside relations.

Ex: eḷuduge "I write", ēḷu "seven", etc.

Another interesting development is the loss of initial short /o/. As a result of this loss, we find some initial consonants which are very rarely or never found in Tamil dialects.

Ex: ḍette "I broke (tr.)" with an initial retroflex
rongine "I slept"
langu "a small insect" with initial l.

In a formal description in terms of ordered rules and distinctive features, this phenomenon would imply that one of the very first morpheme-structure rules of Tamil (a redundancy rule excluding initial retroflexes and liquids) is missing in Irula.

(B) PHONOLOGICAL PRESERVATIONS

The Irula dialect also offers a number of interesting retentions. It should be noted that linguistic retention is the general rule of language, innovation being exceptional. This is essential if language is to serve as a medium of communication between successive generations. Retention is therefore quite a trivial fact. However, some retentions in some dialects especially draw our attention simply because most other dialects have innovated.

In Irula for instance, we find verb forms like:

padịtte "I read", sāyndu "having leaned", ḍendu "having broken (intr.)" etc.

where the dental clusters are those found in Literary Tamil (paṭittēṉ, cāyntu, uṭaintu). This is remarkable only in view of the fact that all known colloquial dialects of Tamil have undergone palatalisation of the dentals after i and y, giving forms like: paḍiccẽ, sānji, oḍenji. This palatalisation is also found in Ceylon and even in Jaffna Tamil.[3] Palatalisation is probably a very ancient innovation in at least some of the colloquials; it is found sporadically in Literary Tamil,[4] and in Malayalam, both Literary and Colloquial.

From these facts alone we cannot conclude that Irula separated from Tamil before Malayalam did. A more likely explanation would hold that palatalisation started very early in one dialect of Tamil (may be earlier than the Tamil-Malayalam split), and only later spread to other dialects in successive waves of diffusion which never reached the Irula

[3] I have found only one exception to this in print: in Zvelebil's "Dialects of Tamil I" *Archiv Orientalni*, 27, (1959) the informant from Trincomalee gave: tirmanittanga (sentence 9); but the same informant also gave forms like: alinjirukku (s. 18), kuliccittu (s. 24), mudiccittu (s. 26) with the expected palatalisation.

[4] T. P. MEENAKSHISUNDARAN, *A history of Tamil Language*, Deccan College, Poona, 1965, p. 128.

dialect. Since we have no dates for this diffusion no conclusion can be drawn as to the date of the Tamil-Irula split.

Note that all dialects of Tamil do not show palatalisation to the same degree: the cluster y + single t is preserved in some. (Si Pillai, bibl. item 8): seydẽ, peydɨdɨ, and is palatalised to -nj- in others: Andronov (bibl. item 9) page 15: ceñcẽ, peñca. These discrepancies lend some credit to the theory that palatalisation spread by successive waves.

The phonological shape of some Irula morphemes is also worthy of notice; words like nagattu "yesterday"[5] and megaru "hair"[6] (compare with Koravan: moguru) should be considered in etymological reconstructions.

The personal pronouns of the first and second person are nā and nī in the singular, nām and nīm in the plural. In addition, the personal ending of the first person plural is -ēm, that of the second person is -iri. We thus find forms like: nām kuḍittēm "we drank" and: nīm kuḍittiri "you (pl.) drank" which remind us of Old Tamil and certainly wet the appetite of the linguist.

Such archaisms are due to the isolation, both geographic and social, of the Irula tribe for a long period of time. This indicates that the syntactic, lexical and phonological structure of the Irula dialect, when investigated and formally described, should be taken into account for further work on the historical grammar of Tamil.

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[5] *DED* 3109.
[6] *DED* 3854.

THE SOUTH DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES

M. B. EMENEAU

1. The unity of a South Dravidian (SDr.) group of languages as opposed to the remainder of the Dravidian family has for a long time been regarded as demonstrated. It includes Tamil-Malayalam and Kannaḍa. Telugu has had to be regarded as in some manner ambivalent, showing some features in common with SDr. and others in common with Central Dravidian (CDr.). Krishnamurti in chapter IV of *TVB* (p. 269) was able to demonstrate conclusively that: 'The weight of comparative evidence discussed... is in favour of considering Telugu as an off-shoot of the Central Dravidian branch of proto-Dravidian... [tha̤t] has been in intimate geographical contact with the members of South Dravidian from a very remote past. The morphological evidence puts it rather conclusively with Central Dravidian.' The central mass of evidence which was worked on as basis for this paper, that on the past tense formation of the verb, only adds another item, although an important one, looking towards this same conclusion, since it is very clear (and not needing to be demonstrated here) that the Telugu past tense stem structure is unlike that of SDr. as here defined.

The position of Tuḷu *vis-á-vis* SDr. and CDr. still needs to be studied in detail. This study can only be made after sufficiently good evidence on the language and its dialects has been made available. Meanwhile, we must accept the generally held opinion that Tuḷu is not a member of the SDr. group; *prima facie,* the formation of the past tense bears this out.

2. To the three members of SDr. already listed, it is clear that three other languages must be added — Toda, Kota, and Koḍagu; the past tense evidence alone is enough for that. Our problem is to place them accurately within the group, i.e. to present evidence for subgrouping. At various times and by various scholars differing views have been expressed. There is no real need to identify the various scholars and their views, especially since much that was proposed was based on superficial inspection, and at times the views expressed were labelled as tentative. But a summary of the possible directions is in order.

3. Toda was early grouped with Kannaḍa. I should say with all modesty that, after an uninformed, but tentative, acceptance of this view,

I was able to proceed in 1958 to abandon it and to demonstrate that Toda is in fact a descendant of an off-shoot from pre-Tamil, which is, of course, the ancestor of both Tamil and its off-shoot Malayalam. Little has been said about Kota, and it does at first sight present a few Kannaḍa-like features of detail. However, in my 1958 paper on Toda I made some statements about Kota parallel to those about Toda, even though I reserved judgment on the relationship between the two languages. Other scholars have drawn the obvious inference that the two languages form a Nilgiris subgroup related to pre-Tamil in the manner which I stated for Toda alone. In the present paper the added evidence from the study of the past tense does not contradict this inference, though it goes no further in substantiating it than to demonstrate that Kota, like Toda, belongs with Tamil-Malayalam rather than with Kannaḍa. However, another scholar has adduced some points of evidence that clearly place Kota with Tamil, and these I shall introduce in §6 below.

4. The third language, Koḍagu, has both early and late been grouped with Kannaḍa, though the late L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar in 1928 attempted to demonstrate a relationship with Tamil-Malayalam, and more especially with Malayalam. The central point of this paper, the past tense, as well as other points to be adduced, agree with the first part of his thesis, which I put in the form that in most respects Koḍagu belongs more closely with the rest of SDr. than with Kannaḍa, with the proviso that in a few points there are isoglosses that join Koḍagu with Kannaḍa. On a close connection with Malayalam I am not convinced.

5. As regards the Nilgiris languages, the conclusion to be derived from the study of the verbal stem S^2, which in the other languages is the past stem, is only that these two languages are not Kannaḍa-like. They have essentially the same subclasses and S^2 suffixes that are seen in the SDr. languages other than Kannaḍa, viz. *-i-, *-ṭ-, *-nd-.[1] They show none of Kannaḍa's characteristic spread, throughout large parts of the system, of -d- (which is derived in the main from *-nd-. Moreover, they share in the innovation of all the SDr. languages except Kannaḍa, whereby in a large class of verbs the intransitive/transitive contrast is carried by the contrasting past suffixes *-nd- and *-t- respectively.[2]

[1] The symbols used for phonemes of PDr., PSDr., and Tamil, will be presented and justified in the complete publication elsewhere.

[2] If one restricted one's view to SDr. alone (in the sense of this paper, i.e. not including Telugu and Tulu), one would conclude that the intransitive/transitive contrast carried by the past tense suffixes *-nd- and *-t- was to be reconstructed for PSDr. and that Kannada had lost it because of the loss of contrast of these two suffixes through the spread of the Kannada suffix -d-. Even so, the absolute failure of Kannada (at least, so far as I have searched the material) to show even the merest survival of such a contrast in its voice system introduces a warning note that this may not be the historical solution. P. S. Subrahmanyam, in his thesis (pp. 46-7, §§1.84-6), has undoubtedly found the correct solution, even though I am forced to disagree with him in some points (e.g. his inclusion of Telugu and Tulu in SDr.) and have attempted a fuller treatment of the Kannada suffix -d-. His view takes in the whole of the Dravidian family. He finds that,

The two Nilgiris languages have diverged in the S^2 system because of idiosyncratic developments; e.g. different results upon palatalization by y preceding the dental suffixes; moreover, in Kota ṯ, ṭ, ṛ + y > c; in Toda c + y > č, z + y > j, whereas in Kota c/j + y > c/j. But they have started from a Tamil-like system, which is that of SDr. minus Kannaḍa.

It was pointed out in the 1958 paper (pp. 43 ff.) that in the morphology based upon the S^2 stem Toda and Kota departed from the other SDr. languages in general (and from the rest of Dravidian), in that in the other SDr. languages S^2 is the basis for the past tense while in Toda and Kota it is the basis for the past tense and for the present tense as well. This must be interpreted as an innovation shared in common by these two languages, and, since such deep-seated borrowing is implausible unless other evidence necessitates the assumption, this trait is evidence for classing Toda and Kota as a Nilgiris subgroup.

The demonstration in the 1958 paper went further, and gave evidence that Toda shared with the oldest Tamil a past suffix *-c-, which is represented in Toda by a sibilant morphophoneme, in Tamil by c. This is seen: (1) in Tamil in 1sg. and 2sg. past tense forms with -c-iṉ added essentially to the S^2 form, (2) in Toda in the past tense, which has the sibilant morphophoneme added to S^2, and (3) in Kota, by what is presumably its own divergence of use, in the past irrealis paradigm which has -c- added to S^2 In all three languages, and in no other, is the suffix added to S^2. This is consequently a shared innovation. Since it was argued that the only possible historical hypothesis for this set of phenomena must be that Toda separated from Tamil at a time when there was still a fully living past suffix *-c-, i.e. in the pre-Tamil period, it follows that Kota also separated then. This conclusion should have been drawn at that time.[3]

6. However, P. S. Subrahmanyam in his comparative work on the Dravidian verb system (1963) has utilized my Kota grammatical sketch (1944) and pointed out several items in which Kota and Tamil have in common forms found nowhere else. He has pointed out (pp. 252, 297) that Sangam Tamil has for verbs with past suffix -t- and future suffix -p-, another future suffix in free variation with -p-, viz. -kuv-; e.g. koḍukuvēṉ = koḍupēṉ 'I will give'. Kota (p. 28, §57) has for most verbs

even though on the basis of some forms throughout the whole family (even including Brahui) the past suffix *-nd- as well as the suffix *-t- must be reconstructed for PDr., nevertheless the adhesion of this pair of suffixes to the intransitive/transitive contrast is found only in that part of SDr. including Ta.-Ma., To., Ko., Kod. Therefore, this must be taken as an innovation that was developed in these languages alone, Kannada not having shared in the innovation. He correctly observes that it must be based on the parallel contrast in phonemic features (e.g. *-ŋg- : *-k-) in the derivative suffixes of voice (i.e. the intransitive/transitive contrast), and on the similarity of the causative suffixes *-t- and *-p- to the past tense suffix *-t- and the parallel future suffix *-p-.

a future with S¹-k/g-v-; the form corresponding to Tamil koḍukuvēṉ is koṟkve·. Again, Tamil (p. 429) and Kota (p. 28, §58) agree and contrast with all other languages in their prohibitives: 2sg. Ta. S¹-ād-i, Ko. S¹-a·d-i·; e.g. Ko. geya·di· 'do not do!'

7. Enough evidence is at hand and has been presented to justify setting up a Nilgiris group consisting of Toda and Kota, which is to be related to Tamil as having separated off in the pre-Tamil period. Since the Nilgiris subgroup does not share the Tamil (i.e. Tamil-Malayalam) palatalization of *k- before front vowels, we must posit the split as having taken place before the Tamil palatalization; this, of course, is only a relative chronology.

8. Kota shows some items of agreement with Kannaḍa. They are essentially rather trivial matters of phonological form of lexical items, even though several striking ones have been identified. The verb o·g-, o·y- 'to go' is Kannaḍa-like in its absence of-inital *p- (though in nothing else). I have discussed this word elsewhere,[4] and have argued, in some detail, that this absence of *p- is due to the influence of the neighbouring Badaga, which is a dialect of Kannaḍa. Though almost everything remains to be done in recording Badaga in its various dialects and in relating it to its parent Kannaḍa on the one side, and to the Nilgiris languages on the other, we can, it seems, be sure that for the surface matters in which Kota (and Toda too) may look Kannaḍa-like, the contacts responsible were not with plains Kannaḍa but with the Badaga spoken in the Nilgiris in the past few centuries.

9. The position of Koḍagu in SDr. has been obscured by certain striking features which need explanation, to be sure, but which are not bolstered by an impressive number of other isoglosses. Kannaḍa, Koḍagu, and Tuḷu share the innovation of the development PDr. *v- > b-; this much-discussed matter is an areal feature, which will be placed in perspective later in paper (§12). Kannaḍa and Koḍagu share a lack of the palatalization of initial *k-, which is so striking a feature of Tamil-Malayalam. In this they are joined by Toda-Kota; i.e. all SDr. lacks the palatalization except the innovating Tamil-Malayalam, and we have pointed out the relative chronology of this matter. Koḍagu shares with Kannaḍa a striking feature involving two verbs, Koḍ. bu·ḷ-, budd- 'to fall' and ë·ḷ-, ëdd- 'to rise', Ka. bīṟ, biṟd-/bidd- and ēṟ, eṟd-/edd-, i.e. the allomorphy based on quantitative vowel alternation and the simplification of ṟ plus the past suffix to dd. The matter is discussed in detail in the full treatment of the past formation; its areal bearings are taken account of in §12.

10. Otherwise there are numerous isoglosses that separate Koḍagu from Kannaḍa and put it with the rest of SDr. Some have been identified

[4] M. B. EMENEAU, *India and Historical Comparative Grammar* (Annamalai University Publications in Linguistics 5) 1965.

in the treatment of the past tense. Koḍagu does not share with Kannaḍa the innovation of the spread of the past tense suffix *-nd- at the expense of *-t-. Koḍagu, like OTa., but unlike the other SDr. languages, retains as a separate subclass the small group of verbs of shape CV̆y which have past suffix *-d-; e.g. Ta. cey, ceyd- 'to do', Koḍ.. gey-, gejj- id. Koḍagu shares with all SDr. except Kannaḍa the innovation of the introduction of the intransitive/transitive distinction into the past suffix pair *-nd-, *-t-.

Other features of the verb structure that are not otherwise discussed in this paper are relevant to the problem of Koḍagu. It agrees with Tamil-Malayalam alone of the SDr. languages in having a subclass of verbs (Tamil class VII) with the past suffix -nd- and the future suffix -p- (e.g. naḍa-, naḍand-, naḍap- to walk); the remainder of the verbs with past suffix -nd- have future suffix -v- (Tamil class II). Toda-Kota and Kannaḍa show nothing parallel to class VII. Whether the Tamil-Malayalam-Koḍagu feature is retention or innovation, Koḍagu is clearly divided from Kannaḍa.

In general, in the system of voice, intransitive/transitive and causative, Koḍagu agrees better with the rest of SDr. than with Kannaḍa. The intransitive/transitive system has been touched upon in part in the paper and will not be further developed here. It need only be noted that even casual examination of the material in *DED* shows that sets with, e.g. -ŋg- and -k- abound in Koḍagu. It is well-known, of course, that the Kannaḍa system is fragmentary and that the -isu/-cu suffix substitutes for it. Koḍagu has a causative suffix (not in *DED*)[5] which appears added to both intransitives and transitives. In this it is structurally like the other SDr. languages (with the exception of Kannaḍa). Its causative suffix is -c-, with several allomorphic variations of the preceding vowel, reminiscent of the Kota transitive -c- and of the Kannaḍa -isu/-cu transitive-causative suffix, but not of the actual forms for the causative found in Tamil-Malayalam or in Tota (-eṯ-; see my 1958 paper, pp. 65 f.) or in Kota (-kc-/-gc-; derived from gey-, gec- 'to make, do').

In the noun system the nouns that in SDr. have in general the suffix *-am, oblique *-at-, are represented in Koḍagu by nouns ending in -a (e.g. mara 'tree'), with an oblique stem in -at-. Kannaḍa, for whatever historical reason, is unlike the rest of SDr., and therefore unlike Koḍagu, in having for these nouns an oblique stem with -ad-.

Several phonological matters may be noted. Kannaḍa is alone in its development of *p- to h-; Koḍagu does not go with it in this matter. Koḍagu does not share with Kannaḍa (and Toda-Kota) the reduction of clusters of homorganic nasal and stop by loss of the nasal. Vowels are in great part difficult to deal with. However, one matter seems to be certain as dividing Koḍagu from Kannaḍa, as follows: in general, in an

[5] T. BURROW and M. B. EMENEAU, 1961 (*DED*), *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*, Oxford 1961.

initial syllable SDr. *e and *o (of whatever origin) are heightened to i and u in Kannaḍa before a high vowel in the next syllable; not so in Koḍagu, e.g. Koḍ. eli 'rat', Ka. ili; Koḍ. kĕḍ-ï- 'to be ruined', Ta. keḍu, Ka. kiḍu; Koḍ. oli 'noise of a metal bell', Ta. oli 'sound, cry', Ka. uli id.; Koḍ. toḍu- 'to touch', Ta. toḍu, Ka. tuḍu; many other examples are available in *DED*.

11. In dealing with Koḍagu we have found that, even though most of the isoglosses that have been identified separate it from Kannaḍa and connect it with the rest of SDr., there are a very few that connect it rather with Kannaḍa. The situation demands a type of solution that will do justice to both sides of the evidence. The tendency of comparativists is usually to adopt the kind of analysis that the Indo-Europeanists most favored, i.e. to stress the differentiating isoglosses and to place little emphasis on the others. I have earlier discussed the matter at some length, and have, I hope, found the direction in which to look for a solution. The model adopted by Indo-Europeanists, especially of the neo-grammarian persuasion, is that of a tree or stemma. It works well up to a point in probably all language families, and best when the language units corresponding to the branches of a tree or the biological individuals of a family are isolated like those branches or those individuals. The biological isolation or individuation prevents any other kind of material relationship than that which produced the branches or the individuals in the first place. But the relationships of a language include not only the relationship of genetic history, but also that resulting from the social nature of language. Language exists at any one time only as a type of interrelation between speakers. It follows that, if related languages are not completely isolated from one another, there will be interrelations between the speakers of the different languages and, consequently, interactions between the languages themselves as structures. It matters little for our present purpose what model we use to describe such interactions, whether the wave model of Schmidt, the net model of some recent investigators, or the model of borrower and leader that has been a metaphorical commonplace for a long time. The complete model that is needed is a three dimensional one, two dimensions in space to contain all the related, but not completely isolated languages, and a dimension in time to contain the histories of the languages. We are dealing with a model analogous to those in solid geometry, which implies that we can construct planes across the model to denote time levels and that any plane that is constructed can have lines drawn on it to represent a 'borrowing', a 'wave', an interaction. The model will accomodate not only interactions resulting from the interrelations between contemporary. speakers, but, if necessary, also interactions resulting from the existence in written form of earlier stages of the language or languages. It is a complicated model, but the language relations of which it is an analogue are complicated.

12. In the relationship which Koḍagu bears to Kannaḍa, then, we have abundantly recognized those lines that are drawn in the time dimension, which in the stemma type of diagram would connect the two languages only through the oldest time plane that we represent in the model, i.e. through PSDr. But the two languages in the space dimension are contiguous, even though the mountainous terrain occupied by the speakers of Koḍagu has made communication with Kannaḍa (in the past) not very easy. Moreover, Tulu is also contiguous with both the languages. The drawing of lines in the space dimensions of the three-dimensional model will take care satisfactorily of the Kannaḍa-Koḍagu-Tuḷu common innovation of PDr. *v- > b-. We may not know the chronology, i.e. the place or places across the time dimension at which the cross lines should be drawn, but the model is none the worse as a model for that. According to older models, we have here a 'wave', a 'borrowing', produced in contiguous cells of a net. Similarly for any other feature which we have identified in which Koḍagu and Kannaḍa are separated from the other languages by an isogloss (which is in fact one type of drawing that can be used in our model). Or we may find other isoglosses connecting Koḍagu with the contiguous Tuḷu, which is not closely related to it genetically; or isoglosses connecting Koḍagu with the contiguous Malayalam and/or Tuḷu, as e.g. the occurrence of initial ñ (and medial too) in all three languages (for examples consult the indexes in *DED*). Since PSDr., or even PDr., *ñ- is involved in a few of the etymologies, there may be genetic connection in this point, but the contiguity suggests interaction to produce a common retention, or since there is contiguity, there may possibly be borrowing of words.

13. When we turn to the Nilgiris subgroup, Toda and Kota, it seems clear from the great diversity in many points and, at the same time, from the very deep-lying similarities, e.g. in the overall structure of the verb system as regards the S^2 stem, that we have genetic relationship between these two languages. Their peculiarly intimate contiguity would lead one to suspect also that the other type of relationship has operated, perhaps even profoundly, and many details of retention of vocabulary, of special developments of meaning in inherited words, of words, found only in the two languages, need this type of explanation. It is even necessary to invoke it for more structural features, such as the common retention of alveolar stop phonemes, the common loss of vowels in non-initial syllables, the development or retention of paradigms with the sibilant past suffix (Toda past, Kota past irrealis). Much more work is needed to identify structural items of this sort.

14. The Nilgiris languages have been almost completely isolated geographically from all other SDr. languages, and so there has probably been little interaction with them, except for the Badaga dialect of Kannaḍa. Much interaction in this last situation will undoubtedly be recognizable as soon as we have detailed information on Badaga. Toda

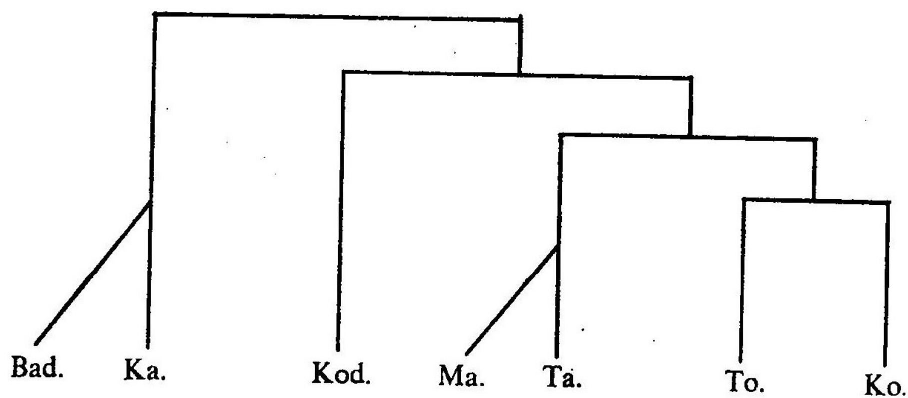


Fig. 1. Stemma of South Dravidian.

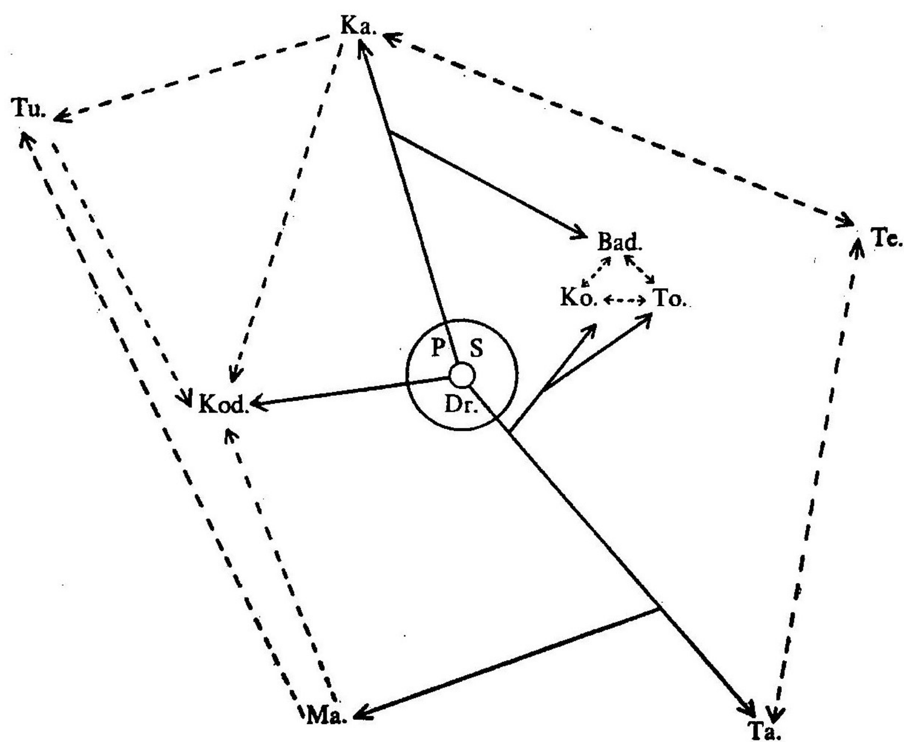


Fig. 2. A three-dimensional model of South Dravidian.

and Kota words in which PDr. *p- is missing are borrowings from or contaminations with Badaga words with initial h- (< *p-). Badaga has borrowed from these two languages; e.g. the meaning of its representative of the verb *tar- 'to give to 1st or 2nd person, is that of the Toda and Kota verbs but not that of the Kannaḍa one, which means 'to bring'. But for this area most of the undoubtedly interesting facts remain to be identified in the future. One of them will be concerned with the isogloss that joins the Nilgiris languages and Kannaḍa in the matter of the simplification of clusters of homorganic nasal and stop by loss of the nasal. Is it an isogloss concerned with borrowing, and if so, is Badaga the active agent on the Kannaḍa side? Or is it independent development? I do not yet have an answer.

15. We are ready, then, to present our revision of the SDr. relationship model. Since three-dimensional models cannot be drawn on two-dimensional paper without distortion, I shall content myself with first stemma diagrams (fig. 1), and then an attempt at accomodating a three-dimensional model to a flat piece of paper (fig. 2). This last contains solid lines to represent the time dimension and broken lines to represent interactions between the languages. Squashing flat the time dimension onto the paper produces distortion both of time dimensions and (somewhat less) of geography, but the result is probably still intelligible. It will be noted that Tulu and Telugu have been introduced as languages of interaction, but no attempt has been made to indicate their genetic (solid line) relationship to SDr. In the stemma diagrams the essential character of the geographical distribution as a large circle with a small isolated area (the Nilgiris) within it, is quite lost, as if the circle had been snapped and stretched out linearly.

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NOTES ON PROBABLE TAMIL WORDS IN PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES*

JUAN R. FRANCISCO

I. INTRODUCTORY

Studies in the contacts between the Philippine languages and Chinese[1] and Sanskrit[2] — languages which form a separate family from that Malayo-Polynesian or Austronesian to which the Philippine languages belong — have shown how much the former had made naturalizations from the latter. There are popular works[3] also showing naturalizations from Arabic, through either Malay or Indonesian, but there has not been any attempt to study these probable borrowings scientifically.

In my work, *Indian Influences in the Philippines*,[4] I wrote towards the end of Chapter I — "A few of the Sanskrit words have recently been considered by scholars like T. Burrow[5] to have their origins in Dravidian..." — with reference to my listing of Sanskrit elements in the Philippine languages. But my reference to the Dravidian (Tamil) words did not go beyond mere mention either in the text or footnotes of the work. In 1964, V. A. Makarenko published a paper in *Tamil Culture* where he discussed at some length the probable influences of Tamil in Tagalog.[6] I will have occasion to examine this work elsewhere in this paper (Section III).

II. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Indian influences in the Philippines — these would include Dravidian (Tamil) — arrived in the islands within the period from the 10th to

* I wish to express my thanks to Dr. V. Raghavan, Professor of Sanskrit, University of Madras, and Dr. Rama Subbiah, Lecturer in the Department of Indian Studies, University of Malaya, for their valuable suggestions in the revision of this paper.

[1] E. ARSENIO MANUEL, *Chinese Elements in the Tagalog Language*, University of the Philippines, Quezon City, 1948.
[2] R. JUAN FRANCISCO, *Indian Influences in the Philippines*. University of the Philippines, Quezon City, Philippines, 1965, 388 pp.
[3] A. TEODORO AGONCILLO and OSCAR ALFONSO, *A Short History of the Filipino People*, University of the Philippines, 1958.
[4] FRANCISCO, op. cit., p. 69.
[5] T. BURROW, *The Sanskrit Language*. Faber and Faber, London, n.d.
[6] V. A. MAKARENKO, "Some Data on South Indian Cultural Influences in South East Asia." *Tamil Culture*, vol. XI, no. 1 (1964), pp. 58-91.

the early 16th centuries.[7] These influences are linguistic, palaeographic and archaeological in nature. Tamil which is a major language in the Dravidian family, had had a part in this influence although, as we will see later in this paper, in a very minor aspect. It has been shown that the Tamil speaking people may have formed the largest group of Indians who came to South East Asia, although epigraphic evidences show that the sacred language, Sanskrit, of India had greater influence upon these languages. Moreover, we know of only a few epigraphic data that are in the Tamil language,[8] in comparison to the hundreds of inscriptions in Sanskrit.[9]

However, H. G. Quaritch Wales[10] appears to be of the opposite view, that "... the Tamil merchants, who doubtless formed a large portion of the settlers, naturally did not write in Sanskrit, a language known only to the priests and kings. Instead when they had occasion, it was Tamil of the common people." But the question may be asked, why are there more Sanskrit inscriptions than Tamil in South East Asia? The paucity of Tamil inscriptions in these regions may lie in the fact that the Tamils who settled in South East Asia were Hindus, and if they inscribed "memorials" of their own, they used Sanskrit, and that it was their *pandita*s who did this for them.[11]

Thus, it is on this background that the probable Tamil elements in the Philippine languages may be viewed.

III. TAMIL WORDS IN THE PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES

The following list shows the probable Tamil words found in the languages of the Philippines. They are very few in number, but they

[7] R. JUAN FRANCISCO, "On the Date of the Coming of Indian Influences in the Philippines", *Philippine Historical Review* (Journal of the Philippines Chapter, International Association of Historians of Asia), vol. I (1965), pp. 136-152.

[8] K. A. NILAKANTHA SASTRI, "Takuapa and Its Tamil Inscription." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Malaysian Branch, vol. 22, 1949. "A Tamil Merchant in Sumatra." *Tijdrschrift voor Indische Taal- Land-en Volkenkunde*, vol. 72, 1932.

[9] AUGUST BARTH and ABEL BERGAIGNE, "Inscriptions Sanscrites du Cambodge ... de Champa." *Notices et Extraits des Mss de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, t. 27, 1re partie, 1re et 2nd fasc. Paris, 1885, 1893. Also R. C. MAJUMDAR, *Sanskrit Inscriptions from Kambuja*. The Asiatic Society Monograph Series, vol. VIII, 1953.

[10] *Towards Angkor*. Bernard Quaritch, London (1927), p. 151.

[11] Cf. the inscriptions of Mulavarman. One of the inscriptions (A) gives the names of his father, Asvavarman, and his grandfather, Kundunga. It is significant that Mulavarman and his father bear personal names of Indo-Aryan origin, while his grandfather's name is "decidedly a 'barbarous' sound". "The name of Mulavarman's grandfather is non-Sanskritic, but that prince must have been an adherent of Hinduism. Otherwise he would not have given his son an Indian name'... It is..., also possible that Asvavarman adopted this name himself on his conversion to Hinduuism." This would imply that Kundunga was not an immigrant from the Indian continent, but probably a native of Borneo, and that the personages to which these inscriptions refer were Hinduized, rather than Hindu princes. Vide J. Ph. Vogel, The Yupa Inscriptions of King Mulavarman From Koetei (East Borneo)." *Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land-en Volkenkunde*. Deel. 74, Eerste en Tweede Aftevering, 1918, pp. 196-197.

may constitute what may be regarded as basic working list for future studies in this field.

áli (Tagalog), "aunt". Dravidian *aḷi* (Telugu), "a wife"; *ali* (Gond), "a wife".

áte, atíng (Tagalog), "an elder sister". Dravidian *aṭṭa, aṭṭi,* "a mother, an elder sister, a mother's elder sister."

atep (Iloko), *atip* (Tagalog), "the roof". Dravidian *aṭṭa,* "the upper loft"; root *ad,* "to place one thing upon another."

bágay (Tagalog), "sort, kind, things". Malay *bagai* "kind, sort". Tamil, *vakai,* "things, kind".

bilanggû (Tagalog), *bilanggo* (Iloko), "prison, chain, fetters". Sulu *bilangu,* "chain"; *vilangu,* "fetters". Malay *belenggu,* "fetters". Tamil *vilangu,* "fetters, etc."

kapal (Tagalog), "ship", Sulu *kapal,* "idem." Malay *kapal*; Tamil *kappal,* "id."

kuda (Bontok Igorot), "horse". Sulu *kuda, kura,* "idi". Malay, Old Javanese, and Sundanese *kuda,* "id". Tamil *kuḍirai,* "a horse" (probably from *kudi* "to leap"). Cf: Telugu *gurram* and Kanarese *kudere.*

kulót (Iloko, Tagalog), "curl". Malay *kerul, "curl"*. Tamil *kuruḷ* "to curl, a curl"; Malayalam *kurḷ*; Kanarese *kuruḷ,* Teluku *kurulu,* "id".

malunggay (Tagalog) *marunggay* (Iloko), "Moringa oleifera". Malay *merunggai,* "id". Tamil *murunkai, murriñña,* "Moringa pterygosperma".

manikam, manik (Tagalog, Iloko), "gem, jewel, etc." Malay *manikam,* "gem, jewel, germ of life". Tamil *māṇikkam,* "gem, jewel".

pitaka (Iloko), *pitek* (Igorot), "box, casket, basket, wallet". Malay *peti,* "id". Dravidian *piḍ,* "to catch, to hold". Tamil *peṭṭi,* "a box, or basket", also *piṭikka,* "hold (as a vessel).

putu (Tagalog, Iloko) "rice cakes". Malay *putu,* "cakes of rice, flour, or nuts". Tamil *puṭṭu,* "rice cakes".

The above list of Tamil words as they are discoverable in the Philippine languages is too short for one to embark upon extensive phonetic and semantic analyses, which would establish linguistic laws governing the development of Tamil sounds in the Philippine languages. However, I have, by way of an extensive study of the Sanskrit naturalizations in the languages of the Philippines, attempted to set a few laws governing word-borrowing from other languages, particularly Sanskrit — a language which belongs to a different family. Briefly stated, the law is — that Sanskrit loan-words in the Philippine languages adapt themselves to the phonetic laws that govern their (the Philippine languages) sound

systems.[12] This law would also apply to the Tamil loan-words that are found in the Island languages. In fact, this law is *a priori* already established as Sanskrit words began to be naturalized in the Malay as well as in the Javanese languages, with very few exceptions.[13]

Earlier in this paper I made mention that I will attempt to examine V. A. Makarenko's views concerning the Tamil elements in the Tagalog language, which have very significant relevance to the problem(s) discussed in this paper.

> The Tagalog language has some Tamil words also. The Tagalog (and Philippine in general) *katamaran* originated undoubtedly from the Tamil and the Tagalog *mesa,* "table" probably, from the Tamil. We may suggest also that the Tagalog *pusa,* "cat" develop from in the Tamil language. ... Perhaps it is from or via Tamil language that they have penetrated into the Tagalog language.
>
> In our opinion the Tamil influence accounts for the existence of a number of stable (steady) elements in the phonology, vocabulary and morphology of the Tagalog language, for example the traditional discharge the gender of nouns (substantives) as lexico-semantic category, the presence of inclusive and exclusive forms of personal pronouns, 1st person plural and some other.
>
> ... There is quite a number of other features in Tagalog phonetics and morphology which may be traced more or less confidently to Tamil influence on this language, e.g. change of sounds of *o-u* and *e-i.*"[14]

The above citation seems to be the most significant linguistic reference made on Philippine languages (particularly Tagalog) concerning the influences of Tamil. And, this appears extensive and absolute without considering factors affecting language borrowing.

The three words (*katamaran, mesa,* and *pusa*) which Makarenko believes, with certainty, to be Tamil in origin appears to be negatived by the following facts:

(a) that these words do not appear in the lexicons of Malay and Javanese (Bahasa Indonesia), on the assumption that if Tamil had influenced Tagalog, necessarily Malay and Javanese must have received these earlier than Tagalog, because it is a fact of geography and history that the influences coming from India to the Philippines reached this archipelago via these intervening regions. Moreover, the word *katamaran* does not even appear in the meaning he assumes in the Tagalog lexicons.

[12] FRANCISCO, *Indian Influences...*, pp. 257-259.

[13] Ibid. The Malay and Javanese languages partake the same characteristics and traits as the Philippine languages.

[14] MAKAREUKO, op. cit., pp. 63-64.

(b) That even if "data on Dravidian influences are still being accumulated",[15] these words are so common to have been missed in the process of borrowing.

(c) That the word *mesa* is definitely Spanish in origin, owing to the fact that it is not only found in Tagalog but also in other Philippine languages like Iloko, Pangasinan, etc.[16] It may also be pointed out that Tamil *mēsai,* "table", found its way into Tamil by the medium of Portuguese, for history records that wherever this Romance Language had penetrated it made certain instrusions into vocabulary of the host language.

(d) That, furthermore, the Tamil *pus-ei* (especially in the South Tamil idiom),[17] may just as well be one of the Austronesian influences on Indian culture, which we cannot necessarily dismiss, because movements of culture did not merely occur from India to the east, but also from the Austronesian regions to the west.[18] This becomes even more significant if we consider the fact that the languages of Malagasy belong to the great family known as the Malayo-Polynesian or Austronesian. Thus, we can see how extensive this family of languages may have for its territorial influence.

(e) that Makarenko in his discourse impliedly dismisses the phenomenon that the South East Asian regions had developed their own culture in some significant cases free from the influences of other cultures.

All these may be true in relation to the second paragraph of the citation above, as well as that in the third, for linguistically the Philippine languages while they may have been influenced by other languages belonging to other families, like Dravidian and Indo-European, have developed their own peculiar syntactical and morphological systems. If we accept Makarenko's view, it must follow that the Philippine languages must belong to the Dravidian family of languages.[19]

I do not dispute Makarenko's view that Tagalog may have received Tamil words in the process of word-borrowing, as I have, in very limited examples, shown. But I cannot subscribe to his view that the "Sanskritisms" in Tagalog are "from or via the Tamil language that have penetrated into Togalog language."[20] Why not "Tamilism" instead

[15] Ibid. p. 64.

[16] JOSE VILLA PANGANIGAN, *Spanish Loanwords in Tagalog Language,* Bureau of Printing, Manila, 1961, p. 64. It may also be noted that the word is found in Mexico and South-western United States. It does not follow that Mexican and U.S. languages have been influenced by Tamil.

[17] R. CALDWELL, *A Comparative Brammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages,* Madras 1956, p. 600.

[18] Cf. H. R. VAN HEEKEREN, *The Stone Age in Indonesia,* 's-Gravenhage, 1957, p. 131.

[19] Vide, FRANCISCO, op. cit., p. 5.

[20] Loc. cit.

inasmuch as these words are fundamentally Tamil? This, indeed, is negatived if we examined the epigraphic evidence of Indian influences in the region — the Philippines *vis-a-vis* South East Asia.

In so far as the epigraphic records are concerned in South East Asia, we have only two which have been noticed,[21] in contrast to the hundreds of Sanskrit as well as the local language (Old Malay and Old Javanese) inscriptions.[22] A very fundamental question may be asked:

> Why did not the Old Javanese and Old Malay languages become "tamilized" instead of having become "sanskritized"? Moreover, why are the supposed Sanskrit loanwords in the Malayo-Indonesian languages recognized in their Sanskrit rather than in their Tamil forms?

These two questions must be answered in the light of the evidences before we can accept or subscribe to, even with caution, Makarenko's views.

What Makarenko calls as "Sanskritisms" in the Philippines languages may be attributed to the actual borrowings from Sanskrit through Malay and Javanese and not from Tamil may be examined in terms of the extensive utilization of the Sanskrit language in the inscriptions, not Tamil. Note for instance the Mūlavarman inscription, which was caused to be inscribed by a local king who had adopted a Sanskrit name, and which was definitely the work of Brahman *panditas*.[23] These *panditas* could not have allowed the use of Tamil to memorialize such a brahmanic ceremony.

This brings me to the last but very important point: while it is true that it was the South Indians (particularly the Tamil speaking groups) who have constituted the greater bulk of Indians that percolated into South East Asia, bringing with them their cultural traits, it appears that it was Sanskrit which *fundamentally* enriched the Malay and Javanese as well as the Philippine languages.

One significant point that is perhaps relevant to the above discussions is that we do not find in the whole range of inscriptions in South East Asian languages that have been "tamilized", in contrast to the "sanskritized" Old Javanese and Old Malay. This aspect brings to focus a very salient reference to my attempt to date the coming of Indian influences into the Philippines.[24] In that work, I utilized the earliest Old Javanese and Old Malay inscriptions. These inscriptions showed what could be regarded as the earliest instances of Sanskritization of the two Austronesian languages. The Sanskrit words in these inscriptions some of which found their way into the Philippine languages, contributed

[21] K. A. NILAKANTHA SASTRI, supra.
[22] BARTH, BERGAIGNE and MAJUMDAR, supra.
[23] Vide, fn. 11, supra. It may be interesting to note that the inscriptions also described a Vedic sacrifice, the bahusuvarnakayajna.
[24] FRANCISCO, "On the Date..."

what may be the earliest Sanskrit loan-words found in the Philippines. But it has not been found in this list any word that may be recognized as Tamil. Even if again "data on Dravidian influences are still being accumulated," it may be rather highly optimistic that in the future we many find Tamilized Old Javanese and Old Malay, on which to base a similar attempt at dating the influx of Dravidian influences in the Philippines.

Makarenko's paper, in fact, dealt primarily with the impact of Indian (Dravidian) writing (scripts) in the Philippines. However, I reserve the examination of this subject for a study which would properly delineate the problems he raised as well as those which have arisen as one reads it.[25]

IV. OBSERVATIONS

It is not the purpose of this paper to draw any conclusion, because the data I have presented are not sufficient to allow for definitive conclusions or inferences. I can only make observations.

The contribution of Tamil in the enrichment of Philippine languages is insignificant in contrast to that of Sanskrit. This is, however, the first reaction that one gets as he examines the data on hand. But, it should not be construed that all efforts at this stage have been exhausted as to render our work on this phase of Indian influences some to a conclusion. A thorough-going search must be undertaken. Moreover, the work should not be viewed solely on the influx of Tamil (Dravidian) elements into the South East Asian languages, but must be viewed also on the probability of the influx of culture elements from the other side. Indeed, it is not without possibility that in the past, perhaps even before the beginning of the influx of Indianisms into South East Asia, there may have been the movement of South East Asian elements into India, which, when India began to exert cultural influences upon this area, were returned to South East Asia now in forms that were recognizable as Indian, owing to the process of overlaying by Indianisms during its sojourn, perhaps for millenia, in the Indian continent.

Makarenko's views seem even more significant in this context because he lost sight of the indigenous developments, which if we gave more attention to would lead us to the better understanding and broader perspective of the problem. Indeed, we need not entirely ignore his views because in our future attempts to clarify our early postulations, they may form the basic data in our attempts to establish the fundamental assumptions prior to the full assessment of the South East Asian culture in respect to its Dravidian (South Indian) character. The picture becomes more vivid in the light of Indian and the local or indigenous developments in this region each blending with the other, thus creating a culture entirely South East Asian.

[25] A monograph on Philippine Palaeography is in preparation by me.

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SOME SALIENT FEATURES OF FR. BESCHI'S LATIN COMMENTARY ON *TIRUKKURAḶ*

V. M. GNANAPRAGASAM

INTRODUCTION

Fr. Beschi seems to have had a special liking for *Tirukkuṛaḷ* among all the Tamil Classics. One has but to glance through *Tēmbāvani* to see how often Beschi alludes to *Tirukkuṛaḷ*.[1] Even in his prose work, *Vētiar Oḻukkam,* meant for lay-helpers in religious service, Beschi quotes *Kuṛaḷ* 428, 2, 436 and makes explicit use of *Kuṛaḷ* ideas and phrases in other places. His epistle to the Christians of Tirukkadavūr has the quotation of *Kuṛaḷ* 113. Even Maṭṭi and Maḍaiyan, two of the disciples of Paramartha Guru refer to and quote *Kuṛaḷ* 266 and 39. In his grammars, Beschi quotes from *Kuṛaḷ* in illustration of his rules; thus the *Grammar of High Tamil* has about 18, and *Clavis* about 12 quotations. In *Tonnul Vilakkam, Kuṛaḷ* is often quoted, but at present it is difficult to ascertain which of them have been added by the first publisher, Vedagiri Mudaliar. In the third chapter on Poruḷ, in the context of the development of a topic, Beschi is eloquent in praise of *Tirukkuṛaḷ* and develops the idea of *Kuṛaḷ* 34: 'Manattukkaṉ . . . , per longum et latum.' The dictionary of Common Tamil also quotes a few couplets from *Kuṛaḷ*.

It should be noted here that whenever Beschi quotes from *Tirukkuṛaḷ* in his Latin works, he invariably translates the couplet into Latin and at times adds his comments.

It is no wonder that such a preference for *Tirukkuṛaḷ* made Beschi introduce it to the Western world for the first time through his Latin Commentary. This embraces the first two parts of *Tirukkuṛaḷ*. The printed text of this Commentary is found in the Notes to Dr. G. U. Pope's *The 'Sacred' Kurral,* for editing which Pope used the MS. of

[1] Here are a few instances where *Tembavani* uses phrases and ideas of *Kural:*

Tembavani	*Kural*
4. 65	80
6. 65	12,72
20. 96	385
25. 58	448
26.137	412
30. 17	71

the India Office Library.[2] Ellis uses it in his Commentary on some couplets of *Tirukkuṟaḷ*.[3] Beschi's Commentary is said to have been written in 1730.[4]

This paper aims at considering some salient features of this Commentary first as a translation and then as a commentary.

I. TRANSLATION

1. GENERAL IDEAS

Translation is a matter of compromise and is certain to fall below the original,[5] especially when the original is poetry of a classical nature. Poetry that is translated into prose has been compared to a lifeless animal;[6] and still poetic works of a high order have been and are being translated into prose, in the hope that, as an elephant whether alive or dead is worth a thousand, the classical works of poetry, even if deprived of the life-giving poetic form, will still be valuable.

Tirukkuṟaḷ may be said to be of this group of classical works. The couplets in venba metre with their strict rhythm and rich contents cannot be fully rendered in a foreign language, in prose or poetry. From Beschi to Tiruvachakamani many have tried to translate *Kuṟaḷ*. In comparing these translations our question cannot be which translation is perfect but which is less imperfect. And Beschi's translation seems to be less imperfect than some others, at least in some respects.

2. TWO KINDS OF TRANSLATIONS

Authors distinguish two kinds of translations: literal and literary.[7] The literal translation pays reverence to the language and finds or coins a substitute for every word of the original. The literary translation keeps the eye on the object or idea of the original and expresses it in the mode of the new language. The danger of the first kind is that it tends to become heavy, and, though pleasing to the scholar, unintelligible to the common reader, like Cowper's translation of Homer and Ludwig's translation of the *Rigveda*.[8] The danger of the second is that it may become extravagantly free and, trying to be readable, may suffer in correctness, like Pope's translation of Homer and Grassmann's translation

[2] G. U. POPE, *The 'Sacred' Kurral*, London, Henry Frowde, 1886, v.

[3] R. P. SETHU PILLAI, ed., *Tirukkural — Ellis' Commentary*, University of Madras, 1955, pp. 406.

[4] TIRUVACHAKAMANI, *Tirukkural*, Madras, 1962, p. 505.

[5] F. W. NEWMAN, "A Reply to Matthew Arnold", in *Essays, Literary and Critical*, J. M. Dent & Sons, London & Toronto, 1914, p. 278.

[6] C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR, *Cakaravarthi Tirumakan*, Camba Nulakam, Madras, 1958, p. 2.

[7] R. KNOX, *The Trials of a Translator*, Sheed & Ward, New York, 1949, p. 4.

[8] MATTHEW ARNOLD, *Essays, Literary & Critical*, p. 218. Berger H. "Hermann Grassmann and Alfred Ludwig, the first German translators of the Rigveda", an article in *South Asian Studies II*, Max Mueller Bhavan, New Delhi, 1965, p. 29.

of the *Rigveda.* How the dangers of these two methods are to be avoided and the qualities of both combined depends on the personal character and skill of the translator who should be accurate and please the scholars and linguists, should be clear and readable and be acceptable to the general public.

Father Beschi who in his missionary life worked and wrote for both the intelligentsia and the common folk, does combine in his translation the qualities of both these methods, as far as a translator of *Kuṛaḷ* can do. It is in these respects of being faithful to the original without being heavy, and being clear and readable without becoming too free, that Beschi's translation is less imperfect than some others.

3. CORRECTNESS

The phrase 'poṛivāyil ainthavittān' in *Kuṛaḷ* 6 has been differently translated by different authors:

> ELLIS: 'who is of sensual organs void'
> POPE: 'who quenched lusts that from the sense-gates five proceed'
> V. V. S. AIYAR: 'who burned away the desires of the five senses'
> TIRUVACHAKAMANI: ' who is
> Quite free from fivefold sense-organs'

The last mentioned author speaks, in his Notes and Comments,[9] against the literal translation of the word 'ainthavittān' as one who has scorched the five senses, and approves the one of Ellis whom he follows. Accepting this, we should note that these two have not been quite exact in the translation of 'poṛivāyil'; they have rendered it as: 'sensual organs'. 'five-fold sense-organs'. It is not 'poṛikaḷ ainthavittān' but 'poṛivāyil ainthavittān'; there is reference to the senses being gates, and they are gates of desires, as Parimelalakar remarks.[10] And so Pope's and V. V. S. Aiyar's are correct: 'lusts that from the sense-gates five proceed'; 'desires of the five senses'. It is a pleasure to see that these two correct forms are found in Beschi's translation:

> 'qui caret quinque iis affectibus, qui quinque sensuum via in animum irrepere solent.' (He who is without the five desires which enter the mind by way of the five senses.)

4. CLARITY

A translation that aims at correctness should also be clear and readable. If a person is translating a foreign work into English, remarks Belloc, his duty is, not to ask, "How shall I make this foreigner talk

[9] TIRUVACHAKAMANI, op. cit. p. 282.
[10] See also the explanation of Parimelalakar for 'ainthavittan' in *K.* 25.

English?" but "What would an Englishman have said to express this?"[11] Beschi who has translated directly the words 'kākkai', 'kūkai', and 'kokku' (in Ch. 49) into cornix, cuculus, ardea; and 'mutalai', 'nari' and 'kaḷiṟu' (in Ch. 50) into crocodillus, vules and elephas; and kattaḷaikal' (in *Kuṟaḷ* 505) into lapis lydius, and 'karumbu' (in *Kuṟaḷ* 1078) as arundo saccarea, does not hesitate to translate 'vil ēr uḻavar' (in *Kuṟaḷ* 872) as gladiator; for a gladiator was easily understood by a Latin student who must have come across ancient Roman shows in amphitheatres. It is good to see the translation of others too:

POPE: Although you hate incur of those whose ploughs are bows
Make not the men whose ploughs are words your foes.

V. V. S. AIYAR: Even if thou challenge the men whose weapon is the bow, provoke not the men whose weapon is their tongue.

TIRUVACHAKAMANI: E'en though you may be enemies with the 'tillers of bow-plough'
You should not be the enemies with the 'tillers of word-plough'.

BESCHI: Si malum est in te concitare gladiatoris odium, pessimum est in te concitare regii ministri odium. (If it is bad to provoke against you the hatred of the gladiator, it is very bad to excite the hatred of the royal minister.)

'Kūthāṭṭavaikkuḻām' in *Kuṟaḷ* 332 has been translated as 'crowds round dancers fill the hall' by Pope, 'The crowd that assembleth to witness a village show' by V. V. S. Aiyar, 'Assembling of... concert crowds in pit' by Tiruvachakamani and as 'uti adventus spectatorum ad publicum ludum' (like the arrival of spectators for the public games) by Beschi, who evidently had before his eyes the Roman public games, familiar to students of Latin.

With regard to words peculiar to Tamil or Indian tradition, some are left as they are when they are clear in the context, like 'Indiren' in *Kuṟaḷ* 25; some are explained like 'māmukaḍi' and 'tāmaraiyināl' in *Kuṟaḷ* 617 as the goddess of unhappiness and the goddess of happiness. (Apud pigros residere infelicitatis Deam, quam Mudevi vocant, in impigri assiduo labour Deam felicitatis, quam Lakshmi vocant, suam sedem figere, aiunt sapientes.)

5. FORM OF THE TRANSLATION

Correctness and clarity concern the matter of the original; the form refers to the manner of expression. Each language has its own poetic

[11] BELLOC, *Translation*, quoted by R. Knox, in op. cit pp. 4 & 5.

forms which are hardly imitable.[12] Translators like Pope and Tiruvachakamani have substituted English poetry for Tamil kuṛaḷ venba.[13] Beschi has given us only a prose rendering, but a prose that is not without its poetic cadence, similar to the one in Thomas a Kempis' *Imitation Of Christ*. To cite an example:

> Rex ministerium eligendo, bonas ac malas qualitates considerando, et inter illas praesertim praeponderantem mature considerando, juxta eam quae praeponderat, eum aptum vel ineptim judicet (*K.* 504).

Similar rhythmic prose is found in other places as well (e.g. *Kuṛaḷ* 664, 766, 850, 861, 922).

Beschi has written much poetry in Tamil to be able to imbibe the music of *Kuṛaḷ*. He was steeped in the poetry of the Bible the thoughts of which (particularly of The Book of Ecclesiaticus, Proverbs and Wisdom) are akin to those of the *Kuṛaḷ*. In his *Grammar of High Tamil* (No. 139) and in his *Tonnul Vilakkam* (No. 235) he has translated, though freely, the first Psalm of David into kali venba metre. And so if he had wanted, he could have lisp'd *Kuṛaḷ* in numbers and numbers would have come; but his aim seems to have been to introduce the message of *Kuṛaḷ* to the Western world and for it a clear and faultless Latin prose was enough. The style of this prose is not as high as classical Latin but is not, what is known as, ecclesiastical Latin; it is just apt for a student of Latin to grasp the thought of Vaḷḷuvar. Pope, according to whom Beschi's Latin is 'tinged with Tamil' avows that this style "will help the student more than a more strictly classical version."[14]

II COMMENTARY

Beschi's Latin rendering is not only a translation but a commentary, for many of the couplets have, besides the translation, an explanation or interpretation, in some places rather long.[15] To confirm his explanations Beschi quotes from Latin authors. For *Kuṛaḷ* 350, he quotes St. Augustine: 'Crescente charitate, decrescit cupiditas.' For *Kuṛaḷ* 621. he quotes Seneca: 'Adversa adversis adversa non sunt, sed aversis.' It may be remembered that Augustine and Seneca abound, like Vaḷḷuvar, in epigrammatic sayings.

[12] KAMIL ZVELEBIL, "Translating Old Tamil Poetry — Some Suggestions", *Tamil Culture*, July 1956, p. 271.

[13] Pope has this to remark about his poetical translation: 'I thought it best to try to give a metrical translation. The Tamil scholar will see that I have tried to reproduce even the rhythm in many cases, but I could not retain the inimitable grace, condensation, and point of the original.' G. U. POPE, op. cit. p. xiv.

[14] G. U. POPE, op. cit. p. v.

[15] Here are a few couplets which have long explanations. *Kural* 20, 24, 28, 111, 149, 150, 155, 157, 168, 173, 179, 202, 221, 225, 228, 229, 230, 283 (in Beschi's 237), 252, 253, 254, 255, 263, 268, 292, 295, 306, 328, 333, 348, 350, 355, 361.

1. DIFFERENT INTERPRETATIONS

In the meaning he offers to some couplets Beschi differs from other commentators. 'Piṟa vāḻi nīnthan arithu' in *Kuṟaḷ* 8 is understood by Jains to mean the sea of births, by Parimelalakar and V. V. S. Aiyar to mean the sea (that is other than 'aṟam') of 'poruḷ' and 'inbam', by Paritiār and Ellis to mean the sea of vice (as contrasted from the sea of virtue), by Pope to mean 'the further bank of being's changeful sea', and by Tiruvachakamani to mean 'the rest of the seas'. Beschi here understands 'the sea of this miserable life', 'Nisi adhaeseris pedibus illius, qui mare virtutum est, difficile erit aliud mare, quod extra illud est (nempe hoc miserum pelagus) trajicere.' Unless you adhere to the feet of Him who is a sea of virtue, it will be difficult to cross the other sea which is outside it (namely this miserable sea).

In 'piṟavi-p-perunkaḍal' of *Kuṟaḷ* 10, the other commentators see a reference to the belief in many births, but Beschi refers it to mean this life. 'Hoc vastum miseriarum pelagus in quo nati sumus, in illud nat antes non trajicient, nisi qui Dei pedibus adhaeserint'. Beschi's Christian belief in one life and one death followed by eternity prompts him to interpret 'eḻumai' in *K.* 126 not as seven-fold birth but as the eternity after death (etiam post mortem tibi celsitudinem affert), 'piṟappu' in *K.* 357 not as future births but as the future eternal life (procul dubio noli cogitare quod aeternam vitam non sis assequuturus), and 'piṟavāmai' in *K.* 362, not as freedom from re-birth but as freedom from the unhappy state after death (desidera a te abigere infelicitatem quae post mortem sequitur).

The Catholic belief in Purgatory, a state of suffering before entering heaven seems to be reflected in Beschi's interpretation of *K.* 349: 'Si affectus omnes obtruncaveris, ab alterius vitae suppliciis liber evadens, ad coelum festinabis; si secus feceris, ab aeterna beatitate diu distentus, variis cruciatibus obnoxius eris.' (If you cut away all affections, you will, freed from the punishments of the next life, hasten to heaven; else, long detained from eternal happiness, you will be subject to various punishments.)

2. INTERPRETATION OF *'ūḻ'*

Beschi's interpretation of 'ūḻ' (Destiny) is a noteworthy attempt in what we call today 'dialogue' between various beliefs. He translates the title of the chapter on 'ūḻ' as 'Divinorum Decretorum Irrefragabilitas' (The irrevocability of the Divine Decrees) and prefixes a remark to the chapter: Caput unicum et ab anterioribus materiis avlusum (a unique chapter and one that is different from the foregoing matter). In the long explanation appended to this chapter, he remarks: 'ūḻ' means something

ancient;[16] in this sense it may apply both to one's former actions, and to the divine decree that decides that the former actions should exercise their force now; for nothing is more ancient than the divine decree. Beschi is not unaware that 'ūḻ' is generally taken to mean one's former deeds; he only asserts that in this chapter, the word 'ūḻ' is better explained by the signification of divine decrees. This is evident, says he, from the general tenor of the whole chapter and particularly from *K.* 377. (Even if a man has amassed thousands, he cannot enjoy his wealth except as the Ordainer has ordained.)

3. JUSTIFIABLE?

Is it justifiable to interpret a poet's mind differently? Our minds are not mere passive recipients of a poet's influence, but the poet's work is the material on which our mind can work. Nay, it must work on the material if the poet has, as Vaḷḷuvar has, condensed thoughts as deep and vast as the seven seas, into the form of a mustard or atom. And so has it been, down the centuries. Different religious thinkers have read their thoughts in *Kuṟaḷ*. What wonder if Beschi, the Catholic missionary interpreted *Kuṟaḷ* in a way that would agree with his beliefs, thus proving that *Tirukkuṟaḷ* is a catholic book common to all creeds?

In his interpretations Beschi is not trying to thrust his ideas into Vaḷḷuvar's *Kuṟaḷ*, nor as Ellis thinks trying to 'reconcile doctrines in reality incompatible'[17] but the poet that he was, is enjoying the vision in which with an eye made quiet by the power of harmony between various tenets and by the consequent deep power of joy, he sees into the life of things, into the fundamental unity in man's attempt towards God. And this is the basis for a sincere and fruitful dialogue.

4. TO SUM UP

The salient features of Beschi's Latin Commentary are correctness and clearness in translation as much as a translation can have, and new interpretations making *Kuṟaḷ* acceptable to Christian minds. In the hands of Beschi *Tirukkuṟaḷ* is the same old harp of ten strings, but the song is a new one.

[16] 'Ul' in the sense of ancient, grown old, mature, is found in *Purananuru* 109, 381; *Kural* 650; *Malai padu kadam,* 133. God is termed the Ancient One existing ere the ancient world — *Tiruvembavai,* ix.

[17] ELLIS, op. cit. p. 123.

THE SYSTEM OF PARTS OF SPEECH IN TAMIL

M. ISRAEL

AIM

The purpose of this paper is to present and elucidate the actual parts of speech in Tamil, with their sub-classes, applying the modern linguistic principles. With this view in mind, the theories enunciated by the indigenous grammarians are sporadically brought forward for discussion and evaluation.

PARTS OF SPEECH

All the words in a language can be classified into various classes according to their morphological construction or their syntactical function. Each class can be called a part of speech, i.e. a word-class. The classification is primarily based on inflection. Where there is not enough inflection to make a useful classification possible, the function of the words at the syntactical level can also be looked into.

Hockett says, "A part of speech is a form-class of stems which show similar behaviour in inflection, in syntax, or both. The part of speech system of a language is the classification of its stems on the basis of similarities and differences of infectional and syntactical behaviour."[1] Thus it is evident that the words are classified into different kinds according to the position they can fill and the function they can perform in various structures.

THE TAMIL WORD

Before devising a system of parts of speech, it is our primary duty to determine what a Tamil word is. Bloomfield defines a word as a minimum free form,[2] i.e. a form which occurs as a sentence. Questions can be arranged in such a way as to have the answer in the form of one word so that a word stands as a complete utterance. In Tamil the nouns, verbs and adverbs can occur as complete utterances. But the other kinds of words (i.e. adjectival participles, adjectives, adverbial participles and particles) which we shall discuss in the course of this paper usually do not occur as complete utterances. However, one can

[1] C. F. HOCKETT, *A Course in Modern Linguistics*, p. 221.
[2] L. BLOOMFIELD, *Language*, p. 178.

hear in colloquial speech a few of the adverbial participles to occur as minimum free forms.

Ex. eppō ceyva? "When will you do it?"
vantu . . . = "having come."

Because of the rarity of occurrence mentioned above, a Tamil word has to be defined in terms of the possibility of its isolatability and also in terms of potential pauses before and after it, though there may not be actual pauses.[3] This definition helps us to include all the Tamil words, though some of them cannot occur as minimum free forms.[4]

WORD CLASSES IN TAMIL ACCORDING TO THE TRADITIONAL GRAMMARIANS

The renowned grammarian Tolkāppiyaṉār, the author of *Tolkāppiyam,* explicitly states in a sutra that, in Tamil, nouns and verbs are the two word-classes. In the sutra that follows immediately he adds that *iṭaiccol* and *uriccol* also occur with nouns and verbs.[5] Thus it is evident that Tolkāppiyaṉār accords a secondary status to *iṭaiccol* and *uriccol* in the system of parts of speech in Tamil. Though he makes a distinction betwen the former two (i.e. nouns and verbs) and the latter two (i.e. *iṭai* and *uri*) in the very treatment, he employs the term *col* to refer to all the four groups of words.

The term *col* used in *Tolkāppiyam* or in other grammatical works in Tamil is not a corresponding one to the term 'word' used by modern linguists. The word, according to modern linguists, must contain a stem, whereas the term *col* includes not only words like nouns, verbs, particles, etc. having stems, but also bound morphemes, i.e. affixes that come under *iṭaiccol.*

Pavaṇanti, the author of *Naṉṉūl,* also considers nouns and verbs as primary parts of speech and only in a secondary sense he gives the dignity of parts of speech to two more categories *iṭaiccol* and *uriccol.*[6]

The existence of nouns and verbs as word-classes is of course not disputed in Tamil. Therefore, let us first of all scrutinize the secondary word-classes (*iṭai and uri*) according to the traditional grammarians and then proceed with the description of actual word-classes in Tamil.

[3] "A word is . . . any segment of a sentence bounded by successive points at which pausing is possible." Hockett, op. cit. p. 167.

[4] A word comes between the morphological level which is an infra-word level and the syntactic level which is a supra-word level. A morpheme may be a word or an infra-word, i.e. a word boundary should always be morpheme boundary, whereas the morpheme boundary may be either a word boundary or an infra-word boundary. Thus the word is generally larger than a morpheme and shorter than a sentence or utterance.

[5] *Tolkappiyam*-Collatikaram, 158, 159.

[6] *Nannul,* 270.

ITAICCOL

Tolkāppiyaṉār states that *iṭaiccol* does not occur in isolation and that it may occur before or after other words.[7] He divides *iṭaiccol* into seven sub-classes. They are:

(1) the sandhi or flexional increments (*cāriyai*);
(2) the verbal terminations which occur with tense markers;
(3) the case markers;
(4) the expletive particles;
(5) the euphonic particles;
(6) the suggestive particles and
(7) the particles of comparison.[8]

The part of speech of a word is that of its stem. Since, the affixes (i.e., *cāriyai*, case markers, verbal terminations, etc.) that are included under *iṭaiccol* are not stems, it is evident that *iṭaiccol*, as a whole, do not form a separate part of speech.

Thus the seven sub-classes of *iṭaiccol* enumerated by Tolkāppiyaṉār can be classified into two major groups:

(1) affixes, and
(2) particles.

The first three sub-classes are evidently affixes and the remaining classes may be considered as particles. The particles separated here are uninflected stems and hence form a word-class.

URICCOL

There are 120 forms of *uriccol* enumerated in *Tolkāppiyam*. Neither the definition of *uriccol* cited nor the forms listed in *Uriyiyal* (a chapter on *uriccol*) help us to treat *uriccol* as a separate word-class. To define *uriccol*, Tolkāppiyaṉār states that they originate from sound, suggestion or quality and that their form may be modified in nouns and verbs.[9] The criterion of origin does not help to distinguish *uriccol* from other parts of speech, since all the words in a language originate only from sound, suggestion, or quality.

If one looks into the forms enumerated in *Uriyiyal*, in the light of the definition of parts of speech discussed already, one can easily conclude that they do not exhibit similar characteristics as to form a single word-class.

From a deep and systematic study, it will become evident that in *Uriyiyal* nouns formed of nominal roots are 30, exx. kamam "fullness", yāṇu "beauty"; derived nouns are 22, exx. ē̱ṟṟam "thought", ciṟumai

[7] *Tolkappiyam*-Collatikaram, 249, 251.
[8] Ibid., 250.
[9] Ibid., 297.

"sickness", cīrtti "great fame"; verbal roots enumerated in the root pattern as well as in the verbal noun pattern are 58, exx. cēr "collect", mēvu "to desire", pāytal "to spread", iyaipu "to unite"; and qualifiers are 10, exx. uṟu "much or many", naṉi "much or many".

Hence it can be concluded that *uriccol,* as a whole, do not form a separate part of speech. It may be admitted here that a few qualifiers which cannot be classified under nouns or verbs are also enumerated as *uriccol.* They are further unanalysable into lexemes; they express some fundamental quality and occur syntactically in attributive construction with nouns which they precede. Of them 'tava' and 'naṉi' may precede and occur in attributive construction with the verbs also.

THE PROPER APPROACH

Every language is a system within itself and hence any classification of its words devised must fit in with the nature of that language. A few other desired features may be:

(1) that it should be complete;
(2) that it should be based on consistent and uniform criteria;
(3) that it should avoid unnecessary complications; and
(4) that it should be useful for the purpose of describing how utterances are formed in the language.

There can be morphologically as well as syntactically defined classes of words in a language. The Tamil words can be classified only to a certain extent at the morphological level. A distinctive classification can be attained only at the syntactical level.

As far as Tamil is concerned, one has to apply the morphological as well as the syntactical criterion, i.e. one has to approach at the lower level and proceed to the higher level to affirm the classification.

NOUNS

A noun is that which does not denote tense but takes or is capable of taking case marker.

In an utterance, what occurs as a subject is always a noun. A noun is capable of being modified by adjectives and adjectival participles.

PRONOUNS

Pronouns are also characterized by the same set of inflectional suffixes as nouns. They behave like nouns; functionally they are substitutes.

Pronouns are a special sub-class of nouns, since they are unlike regular nouns, classified for person and exhibit certain other distinctive traits, i.e. they do not at all take the vocative form. They are not usually preceded by attributes; a few exceptions to this are found in Caṅkam literature.

NUMERALS

Like pronouns, the numerals are also a class of reference words. Tolkāppiyaṉār includes the numerals also under *peyar* and treats them in *Peyariyal*.

They behave like nouns in that they occur as subjects or take case markers.

They are a sub-class of nouns having nominal as well as adjectival function. It may be mentioned here that it is the usual practice to consider numerals as having the function of adjectives only when they precede the substantives. When they follow the substantives they are considered as neuter nouns. While describing the numerals of the Dravidian languages, Sten Konow says, "The numerals are partly used as adjectives and partly as nouns. The numeral nouns are treated as ordinary nouns, and are, accordingly sometimes neuter and sometimes accompanied by the termination of rational noun."[10] He puts the characteristics of the Tamil numerals in a nutshell here.

VERBAL NOUNS

Tolkāppiyaṉār refers to *toḻiṟpeyar*, "verbal nouns" in different places in his work. All those verbal nouns sporadically referred to, may be divided into three classes, mainly from the point of view of their internal structural differences.

The three structural classes are:

(1) Verbal roots occurring as nouns,
exx. uriñ, porun, maṇ;
(2) Verbal roots plus suffixes occurring as nouns,
exx. ceytal, uṇṭal, aruḷal;
(3) Finite verbs occurring as nouns
(usually identified as participial nouns),
exx. uyarntōṉ, ākuvatu.

Though structurally these nouns are formed of, or formed from verbal roots, their function at the syntactical level is the same as that of the nouns.

They take or are capable of taking case markers. They occur as subjects.

It must be pointed out here that the verbal nouns of classes II and III are modified adverbs and adverbial participles. Some of the verbal nouns of class II and the participial nouns denote tense.

[10] S. KONOW, *Linguistic survey of India*, IV, p. 293.

PRONOMINALISED NOUNS[11]

There is no such class of nouns treated in *Tolkāppiyam*. This class of nouns is arrived at after an intensive study of *Kuṟippu* (the so-called appellative verbs). The nouns of this class are formed from either the nominal or the adjectival stems by the addition of different pronominal terminations.

FORMED FROM NOMINAL STEMS

kōleṉ (PN, 72) of the sceptre — I.
kōlai (PN, 109 of the sceptre — you.
kaṇṇai (PN, 353) of the eyes — you.

FORMED FROM ADJECTIVAL STEMS

periyam (PN, 78) big — we.
iṉiyai (PN, 94) of sweetness — you.
iṉiyaṉ (PN, 216) of sweetness — he.

OTHER DERIVED NOUNS

(a) NOUNS DERIVED FROM THE ADJECTIVAL ROOTS
Exx. naṉmai, ciṟumai, arumai.

(b) NOUNS DERIVED FROM THE VERBAL ROOTS
Exx. nilam, vāḻkai.

These nouns cannot be modified by adverbs or adverbial participles, but may be modified by adjectives or adjectival participles, as regular nouns.

Ex. uḻuta nilam.

VERBS

A verb is that which does not take case marker but takes or is capable of taking tense marker.

It is capable of being modified by adverbs and adverbial participles. A verb does not occur as a subject. Finite verbs can occur as predicates, whereas the non-finite verbs can occur as attributes only.

FINITE VERBS

The finite verbs may be classified into two main classes on the basis of the presence or the absence of pronominal termination. Those which take the personal or pronominal terminations may be identified as the personal finite verbs and those which do not take the said terminations may be identified as impersonal finite verbs.

[11] Here the term pronominalised noun is used in a more restricted sense. Jules Bloch has coined this term to cover all the so-called appellative verbs whereas, here in our usage, the defective verbs are excluded from the pronominalised nouns.

PERSONAL FINITE VERBS

Exx. vantēṉ, vantāy, vantāṉ.

IMPERSONAL FINITE VERBS

The finite verbs which do not denote person, number and gender, but occur as predicates may be identified as impersonal verbs. Their person, number, etc. may be identified on the basis of the person, number, etc. of the subjects with which they occur.

Exx. avan vāḻka, may he prosper
avaṉ ceyyum, he does it.

NON-FINITE VERBS

The non-finite verbs, usually, do not take any pronominal termination, i.e. they are not inflected for person, gender, etc. Thus they are not restricted to a particular person, gender or number.

The non-finite verbs may be divided into two classes; the first is that which occurs as adjuncts of verbs and the second is that which occurs as adjuncts of nouns.

It is preferred to employ the term "adverbial participles" for the former class and "adjectival participles" for the latter, as they are only participles having the function of adverbs and adjectives respectively.

Exx. vantu cērntāṉ, having come reached — he
vanta peṇ, the woman who came.

The former class requires a verb to follow as its complement and the latter requires a noun to follow as its complement.

DEFECTIVE VERBS

From the modern point of view *Kuṟippu* — "the so-called appellative verbs" may be classified into two groups. The first one is the group of pronominalised nouns, which we have already discussed and the second is the group of defective verbs.

A few of the so-called appellative verbs are formed from the stems *al-*, *il-*, *uṭai-*, *aṉ-*, etc. These stems are neither nominal nor adjectival but are mid-way between the adjectival and verbal stems. Since they do not occur as imperatives as the stems of the regular verbs, they may be identified as defective verbal stems. The defective verbs are formed by the addition of different pronominal terminations to the stems like the above ones.

Exx. allaṉ, iṉṟu, illai, aṉṉa.

The tense is not marked in these verbs. It is the peculiarity of the defective verbs, as a whole, that they cannot be conjugated for negative voice. In this connection, it must be remembered that *al-* and *il-* are already negative stems.

ADJECTIVES

Tamil has true adjectives and they are frequently used in old Tamil as well as in modern Tamil. In ancient Tamil, they are found to occur in the root or stem forms, exx. *nal, peru, pēr, ciṟu.* Adjectives have no paradigms of their own.

In modern Tamil a number of adjectives are formed by suffixing *a* to the adjective stems, on the analogy of the adjectival participles, exx.

nal	nalla
ciṟu	ciṟiya
peru	periya

Adjectives occur syntactically in attributive construction with the nouns which they precede and qualify.[12]

ADVERBS

Dr. Kamil Zvelebil has explicitly proved the existence of adverbs in Tamil.[13] As far as the morphological criterion is concerned, in Tamil adverbs exist as stems. They are uninflected and hence they have no paradigm of their own.

Exx. iṅku, aṅku, iṉi, naṉi, iṉṉum.

These adverbs are further unanalysable into lexemes. They function as verb-qualifiers.

PARTICLES

Particles are uninflected stems; some of them are derived. Particles are a part of speech mainly established by syntactical criterion.

Particles, in Tamil, may be classified into a few sub-classes according to their differences in behaviour.

PARTICLES PROPER

The suggestive particle listed by Tolkāppiyaṉār may be considered to belong to this group, but the clitics may be excluded.

Exx. koṉ "fear", tañcam "state of being easy".

CLITICS

Clitics are structurally bound particles which have syntactically pertinent distributions. They are bound words which occur in more than one relative position and whose grammatical attachment may be to

[12] "An adjective is a word that syntactically is in attributive construction with a noun which it precedes but that does not agree with the noun in gender or number." M. B. EMENEAU, *Kolami,* A Dravidian Language, p. 31.

[13] KAMIL ZVELEBIL, "The Existence of Adverbs in Tamil", *Tamil Culture,* vol. 8, no. 1 and "More About Adverbs and Adjectives", *Tamil Culture,* vol. 9, no. 3.

the expression as a whole.

Exx. -ā, -ē, -ō.
irāmaṉ-ā, is it Raman?
vantāṉ-ā, did he come?

INTERJECTIONS, ONOMATOPOETIC WORDS, ETC.

Exx. antō, arō, ē.

The expletive particles treated in *Tolkāppiyam* may also be included in this group.

PARTICLES OF COMPARISON

The seventh sub-class of *iṭaiccol* according to Tolkāppiyaṉār is the particles of comparison. He enumerates thirty-eight forms belonging to this group in *Uvamaiyiyal.*

Exx. aṉṉa, eypa.

These particles are dependent on and all bounded by both the preceding and the following words. A number of these particles are formed by derivation.

SUMMARY

THE PARTS OF SPEECH IN TAMIL

(i) NOUNS
- (1) Substantives
- (2) Pronouns
- (3) Numerals
- (4) Verbal Nouns
- (5) Pronominalised Nouns
- (6) Other Derived Nouns.

(ii) VERBS
- (1) Finite Verbs
  - (a) Personal
  - (b) Impersonal
- (2) Non-finite Verbs
  - (a) Adjectial Participles
  - (b) Adverbial Participles
- (3) Defective Verbs.

(iii) ADJECTIVES.

(iv) ADVERBS.

(v) PARTICLES
- (1) Particles proper
- (2) Clitics
- (3) Interjections, Expletives, etc.
- (4) Particles of comparison.

RETROFLEXION IN SANSKRIT

D. H. KILLINGLEY

Long before the terms substratum, linguistic area and language contact became current, when historical linguistics was still developing along single-stream lines, Bishop Robert Caldwell[1] concluded that the 'lingual' or 'cerebral' (also called retroflex or cacuminal) consonants were borrowed by Sanskrit from the Dravidian languages. Caldwell's reasons for this conclusion were:

(a) that while 'cerebrals' are 'essential component elements in a large number of primitive Dravidian roots', in Sanskrit they are in most cases 'merely euphonic', i.e. they are phonetically conditioned variants of the dentals;
(b) that they are not found in the languages related to Sanskrit outside India;
(c) that the Sanskrit loanwords in Dravidian languages generally conform to Dravidian phonology and it is therefore unlikely that the spread of the cerebrals was in the opposite direction, from Sanskrit to Dravidian; and
(d) that Telegu, which is more influenced by Sanskrit than is Tamil, has a less extensive use of these sounds than the latter, thus again precluding borrowing from Sanskrit into Dravidian.

We should prefer now to speak of 'non-Āryan' rather than 'Dravidian' influence, because India was probably at least as full of languages in the second millennium B.C. as it is now, and we have not enough evidence to fix on the Dravidian languages as the source of retroflexion to the exclusion of any others that may have been in contact[2]

[1] R. CALDWELL, *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, 3rd edn. Madras 1956, pp. 147-149. This edition is virtually a reprint of the second edition of 1875.

[2] Languages are said to be in contact when they are used alternately by the same persons. Contact thus implies the existence of more or less bilingual individuals through whom the introduction of loan-words and other contact or interference phenomena take place. Cf. U. WEINREINCH, *Languages in Contact*, New York, 1953, p. 9.

with Indo-Āryan at that time. But with this modification Caldwell's view has some support today.[3]

It is the second of Caldwell's reasons that has proved the most cogent, and which provides strong circumstantial evidence for non-Āryan influence on Indo-Āryan phonology. The phenomena involved in this second reason are the same as those involved in the theory of a 'linguistic area', i.e. 'an area which includes languages belonging to more than one family but showing traits in common which are found not to belong to other members of (at least) one of the families.'[4] A feature, whether grammatical, lexical or phonic, which is shared by a number of languages of more than one family within an area, but not by the members, found outside the area, of (at least) one of the families, may be called an area feature.

The term 'linguistic area' has the advantage over the older term 'substratum', used in connection with similar phenomena, that it is purely synchronic and descriptive. The substratum theory attempts to account for language change as a result of the adaptation of the language in question by a population previously speaking another language, which may be now unknown. This leads us straight into the realm of speculation, while the establishment of a linguistic area involves only an inference from data.

Nevertheless the existence of a linguistic area implies a historical process whereby the area features became widespread in the area; and this process must have involved communication between the different language groups. Since language is arbitrary (in the Saussurian sense), similarities between languages can only be accounted for by some linguistic continuity between them in the past. Though phonic features, being limited by the possibilities of the human organs, are not 'arbitrary' to the same extent as are lexical items, the use of retroflexion is so general in India, and so relatively infrequent elsewhere, that we are led to seek a historical explanation for its geographical distribution.

Lexical area features — that is, widespread loanwords — are well known and need no comment; but phonic and grammatical area features cause difficulty because they seem to strike at the foundations of comparative grammar. Following Professor Emeneau, we shall take India as an example of a linguistic area, and retroflexion as an example of an area feature, and examine them to see how the conflicting claims of the linguistic area theory and comparative grammar can be reconciled. We shall not seek to prove that retroflexion was accquired by Indo-Āryan through Dravidian influence, beyond pointing to what may be called the circumstantial evidence provided by its appearance as an area feature.

[3] Cf. T. Burrow, *The Sanskrit Language*, p. 95: 'They are characteristically Indian sounds, and were certainly acquired by the Indo-Aryans after their entry into India.' Cf. also p. 373.

[4] M. B. Emeneau, 'India as a linguistic area,' *Language*, XXXII, p. 16.

It is not the inadequacy of this evidence that has made scholars reluctant to consider such an explanation of retroflexion in Sanskrit, so much as lack of an adequate theory to accommodate it.

The problem of retroflexion in Sanskrit is particularly complex. In other instances of phonic 'borrowing', we find that the new sound appears first in loan-words, and afterwards may appear in new formations or in sporadic transformations of older words.[5] Thus Malay has acquired a hushing sibilant [ʃ] (written *sh* in the Roman orthography current in Malaysia) through the introduction of Arabic loanwords. The bulk of the occurrences of this sound are still in Arabic loanwords; others occur in English loanwords such as *sĕteshĕn* [sәteʃәn] 'station'. In general, the appearance of the *sh*-sound in a Malay word shows that it is a loan-word from Arabic or some later source; rarely a new formation such as *shurga* from Skt. *svarga*.[6] Sometimes such borrowed sounds are not fully established as phonemes; they may be replaced, especially in informal speech or by unlearned speakers, by similar sounds which occur in the native phonological system. Such is the case with the French nasal vowels in English, the English final dorsal nasal consonant in French, the Arabic sounds in Malay, and the Sanskrit sound in Tamil.[7]

The case of the retroflex sounds in Sanskrit is completely different. Many of their occurrences are in words of Āryan origin, and are accounted for by sound-laws tracing them to Indo-Iranian by comparison with Iranian correspondences. The occurrences which are not so accounted for may be divided into two further groups: those in words of Indo-Āryan origin which do not conform to the sound-laws just mentioned (the so-called Prakritisms), and those of non-Āryan origin. The membership of these three groups is disputed. The first group of occurrences of retroflexion is accounted for from the point of view of comparative philology as a development from Indo-European; the method leaves no room for considering any outside influence on this group, and treats the other two groups separately as loanwords from other languages and therefore independent of the first group.

We have therefore two points of view: on the one hand we find that circumstantial evidence indicates that the Sanskrit retroflex sounds had an origin in some non-Āryan language(s) in India; on the other hand, we find that the established historical phonology of Sanskrit leaves no place for such influence, at any rate as regards the first group of

[5] For examples see L. BLOOMFIELD, *Language*, London, 1935, p. 447; L. DEROY: *L'emprunt linguistique*, Paris, 1956, pp. 85-91. The latter work treats retroflexion in Sanskrit, and phonic 'borrowing' in general, very inadequately, despite its thorough treatment of lexical borrowing.

[6] J. GONDA, *Sanskrit in Indonesia*, Nagpur, 1952 (not available to me).

[7] MURRAY B. FOWLER, 'The segmental phonemes of Sanskritized Tamil,' *Language* 30 (1954) pp. 360-367.

occurrences. The difficulties may be shown by examining Jules Bloch's treatment of the question.[8]

Bloch examines briefly the origin of the 'cerebral series' as a development from Āryan (alias Indo-Iranian), regarding the Āryan *š as the pioneer in this development. He concludes that 'There is, therefore, nothing to justify the assertion that the Indo-Āryan cerebrals are of indigenous origin. The local pronunciation has rendered the development of this class possible; and in this sense the action of the substratum is undeniable.'[9] This leaves us in some doubt as to whether he accepts or rejects non-Āryan influence; but later, after dismissing the idea of morphological influence of Dravidian on Indo-Āryan, he concludes: 'One is, therefore, ultimately led to search for the Dravidian elements of Sanskrit only in the vocabulary';[10] we may take this as a rejection of non-Āryan influence on Sanskrit phonology.

Now it was not lack of evidence which led Bloch to this surprising, and also self-contradictory, view of the origin of Sanskrit retroflex sounds; nor was it that partisan reluctance to admit Dravidian influence, of which scholars trained in the Indo-European field are sometimes accused. Bloch was ready enough to admit Dravidian influence on Sanskrit vocabulary even in the Ṛgvedic period, and even after denying an 'indigenous origin' of the retroflex sounds, he says that 'the local pronunciation has rendered the development of this class possible.' The difficulty lay rather in the theory of the substratum, which in the form used by Bloch could not account for the facts.

Bloch's grounds for rejecting a substratum explanation of Sanskrit retroflexion are, first, that the retroflex phonemes reflect certain Āryan consonants and clusters, and, second, that their distribution does not correspond to that of the Dravidan retroflex phonemes. Sanskrit has retroflex initial stops, which Dravidian languages do not have, and Sanskrit does not have word-final retroflex laterals or nasals, which Dravidian languages have.

The second objection is really not very strong. The initial retroflexes in Sanskrit are very rare. Apart from made-up words used in grammar, and doubtful words not attested in texts, some are onomatopoeic, others probably loan-words from unattested languages (*ṣaṣ*- 'six' and its cognates are exceptional). Such words fill only five and a half pages in Monier-Williams' dictionary. None of them except *ṣaṣ*- and its derivatives appears in the Ṛgveda, where the non-initial retroflexes are already numerous — a circumstance which would rather confirm than refute the Dravidian hypothesis, since it suggests influence first by

[8] J. Bloch, 'Sanskrit et dravidien', *Bulletin de la societe de linguistique de Paris,* XXV, pp. 1-21; tr. by P. C. Bagchi in: S. Levy, J. Przyluski & J. Bloch: *Pre-Aryan and pre-Dravidian in India,* Calcutta, 1929, pp. 35-59. References are to the translation.

[9] Ibid., p. 40.

[10] Ibid., p. 46.

a language having only non-initial retroflexes (e.g. Dravidian), and only later by one having initial retroflexes also (e.g. Muṇḍa). Thus initial retroflexion is only marginal to the Sanskrit phonological system, and was introduced during the attested period *pari passu* with the introduction of new words (still with the exception of *ṣaṣ-*). As for word-finals, the vast majority of them in Sanskrit form part of the morphological system inherited from Indo-Iranian, where non-Āryan influence would be least likely.

It is Bloch's first objection which shows the real difficulty; he seems to regard an explanation from the substratum, and an explanation from Āryan historical phonology, as mutually exclusive. It is the limitation of the comparative method which prevents him from bringing non-Āryan influence into a discussion of the comparative phonology of Sanskrit. This method was built up on the idea of a language 'family', in which different branches have developed independently and therefore provide independent witness on the 'parent' language.[11] To make the method work one must first set aside those features of the language under observation which are due to the influence of other languages; one is then left with the 'inherited core' of the language.[12] A great many of the works in which retroflexion appears in Sanskrit belong to this inherited core, and the retroflexion in them can be traced through sound-laws; it cannot therefore be ascribed to outside influence. This is the argument implied by Bloch so long as he is speaking in terms of comparative phonology; even though when speaking in more general, less methodical terms he is ready enough to say that 'the local pronunciation has rendered the development of this class possible.'

In his later work *L'Indo-Aryen du Véda aux temps modernes*,[13] Bloch seeks to bring the non-Āryan languages more closely into his explanation of the origin of the cerebrals, and indeed comes near to the solution proposed below; but he does not give a clear account of how the non-Āryan influence worked.

Another methodological factor which may have inhibited systematic recognition of the role of non-Āryan languages in the development of retroflexion in Sanskrit, is the tendency of comparatists not to consider the phonetic nature of reconstructed forms; anything marked with an asterisk is merely a formula representing a statement of correspondences, not a

[11] The comparative method works best when this model corresponds most closely to the facts, e.g. in Indo-European. It breaks down where the related languages have also been in prolonged contact with each other, as in Romance, Semitic and Dravidian.

[12] Cf. A. Meillet, 'Les parentes de languages,' *Bulletin de la societe de linguistique de Paris*, XXI. In this article Meillet insists that each language has a single inherited core, rejecting the idea of secondary relationship. On the latter idea see V. Pisani, 'Parente linguistique', *Lingua* III, 1952, pp. 3-16.

[13] J. Bloch, *L'Indo-Aryen du Veda aux temps modernes*, Paris 1934, p. 53; cf. p. 325.

phonetic reconstruction.[14] As far as the comparative method itself goes, this may be valid; but this does not prevent us from developing other techniques of historical reconstructing which take phonetics into account.

Because of these limitations in the comparative method, comparatists who have spoken of non-Āryan influence underlying retroflexion have usually done so only in general terms, and have not integrated this idea into a systematic treatment of the origin of those sounds.[15]

Professor W. S. Allen's important treatment of retroflexion,[16] though it involves both synchronic and diachronic approaches, does not mention the non-Āryan material.

A. Martinet, who has contributed much to the development of new techniques of historical linguistics which go beyond the classical comparative method, goes into greater detail by reconstructing the process by which a distinction of two phonemes */s/ and */š/ developed in Indo-Iranian.[17] This distinction was reinforced according to the principle of maximum differentiation, whereby a language tends to maintain as clear a distinction as possible between similar phonemes, and to increase this distinction wherever this can be done without endangering other distinctions.[18] The reinforcement of the distinction between */s/ and */š/ was done in two ways. In Iranian, it was done by introducing an opposition of tense and lax; the */š/ remained tense, while the */s/ become lax, eventually changing in prevocalic position to /h/. On the other hand 'in Indian [i.e. Indo-Āryan], perhaps under the influence of substratum languages, the solution which prevailed was, for š, retroflexion involving a considerable hollowing of the tongue.'[19] Thus Martinet does not stop at establishing correspondences, but reconstructs the phonetic components of the reconstructed phonemes and elaborates a theory of causality in sound-change. Unfortunately he does not go into further detail on the question of non-Āryan influence; the term substratum which he uses here is one which he himself finds unsatisfactory.[20] Nor does he bring into consideration other retroflex sounds besides ṣ.

In attempting a fresh interpretation of this problem, it will be useful to distinguish the phonetic process of retroflexion from the phonological order of sounds (ṭ, ṭh, ḍ/ḷ, ḍh/ḷh, ṇ, ṣ) which it characterises

[14] Cf. A. MEILLET, *Introduction a l'etude comparative des langues indo-europeennes,* 3rd edn., Paris, 1912, p. 41; L. BLOOMFIELD, *Language,* pp. 309-310.

[15] E.g. J. BLOCH and T. BURROW in the passages referred to in notes 3, 8 and 13.

[16] W. S. ALLEN, 'Retroflexion in Sanskrit,' *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,* XVI, 1954, pp. 556-565.

[17] A. MARTINET, *Economie des changements phonetiques,* Berne, 1955, ch. 9. The argument in this paper is based on Martinet's book. Cf. also Martinet, 'Function, structure and sound change', *Word,* VII, pp. 91 ff.

[18] MARTINET, *Economie,* p. 62.

[19] MARTINET, *Economie,* p. 91; my translation.

[20] MARTINET, *Economie,* pp. 15-16; p. 132.

in Sanskrit.[21] This order we shall call cerebral. This term, traditionally applied to the retroflex sounds,[22] does not clearly indicate their phonetic nature in articulatory terms; but it is well established and its lack of phonetic connotation will be an advantage here. It will be used to characterise sounds set up as the historical predecessors of the retroflex sounds of Sanskrit, but without indication of their phonetic nature beyond the fact that they are distinguished from the dental order by a point of articulation further back in the mouth than for the dental order. Correspondingly, the dotted letters ṭ, &c, will be used to represent the cerebrals without indication of their phonetic nature. This will enable us to separate the development of the cerebral order in Indo-Āryan from the origin of retroflexion as a phonetic feature of this order.

We will assume, on the evidence of the Dravidian loans in the earliest vocabulary, that non-Āryan influence on Sanskrit had already begun at the time of the Ṛgveda, though this is sometimes disputed.[23] It is also well established that the Ṛgvedic vocabulary contains words showing characteristics of Middle Indo-Āryan phonology — the so-called Prākritisms. These indicate contact with a less conservative Indo-Āryan dialect. The period before these two types of influence we will call proto-Indo-Āryan (pIA).

The cerebrals of pIA (i.e. those attested in Sanskrit with the exception of those in the Prākritisms and non-Āryan loans) can be divided into six groups according to their origin:

1. THE 'HIGH VARIANTS' OF IE *S IN INDO-IRANIAN

Indo-European had one sibilant phoneme. Because of its uniqueness this phoneme could have many allophones without losing its distinctness from all other phonemes.[25] In realising this phoneme after certain sounds, the tongue was raised higher in the mouth than in other contexts and drawn slightly back; this resulted in a 'hushing' realisation of * /s/. These 'high variants' of IE * /s/ acquired phonemic status in the Indo-Iranian and Slavonic languages; in Indo-Iranian they occurred

[21] I have followed Martinet in using the word 'order' rather than 'series' for a set of phonemes characterised by the same point of articulation (sthana); 'series' is reserved for a class of sounds sharing features such as voice or voicelessness, aspiration or non-aspiration, nasality, and degree of contact (prayatna).

[22] On the origin of the term cerebral, see W. S. Allen; *Phonetics*, pp. 52-53.

[23] T. BURROW, *The Sanskrit Language*, ch. 8. Cf. P. Thieme's review of this book in *Language*, vol. 30.

[24] This has also been disputed. Cf. L. RENOU, *Histoire de la langue sanskrite*, Lyons, 1956, p. 30 (with bibliography); M. MAYRHOFER, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Worterbuch des Altindischen*, vol. I, Heidelberg, 1956, pp. 5-9; T. BURROW, *The Sanskrit Language*, pp. 96-7; M. B. EMENEAU: 'The dialects of Old Indo-Aryan', in H. Birnbaum and J. Puhvel (ed.): *Ancient Indo-European Dialects*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1966, pp. 129-131.

[25] MARTINET; *Economie*, p. 237.

after vowels other than a (short or long), r and k.[26] So long as these variants appeared only in the contexts indicated, they remained allophones of */s/. In Iranian languages they are rendered as a hushing sibilant; in Sanskrit as the retroflex ṣ. In reconstructed Indo-Iranian they are written *š.

2. INDO-IRANIAN CLUSTERS: š + DENTAL

Where one of these high variants of *s is followed by a voiceless dental stop, the stop is also cerebral in Sanskrit:

I-I št Skt ṣṭ, Av št; I-I šth Skt ṣṭh, Av šθ.

Where the following stop was voiced the sibilant was also voiced in Indo-Iranian:

I-I žd(h) Skt ḍ(h) with lengthening of the preceding vowel; Av. žd.

Thus the high variants of *s may have been followed in Indo-Iranian by high variants of *t or *d; these did not become phonemes in the Iranian languages and are not distinguished from t or d in their orthographies. Their probable existence is inferred from the tongue position required for the preceding *š.

3. š > SKT. CEREBRAL STOP

Where a high variant of *s was followed by s in final position (e.g. *dviš-s), Sanskrit has a final ṭ (dviṭ). This can be interpreted as an occlusion of the cerebral sibilant in this context before the simplification of final clusters occurred in Indo-Āryan. Occlusion also occurs where a stem ending in a high variant of *s is followed by an ending beginning with a consonant: dviṭsu, dviḍbhyaḥ. In this small range of contexts the cerebral stops were phonologically distinct from the dental stops.

Since the high variants of */s/ occurred after sounds which required a drawing back of the tongue, they may be reconstructed phonetically as alveolar or prepalatal sibilants, pronounced by laying the fore-part of the blade of the tongue against the roof of the mouth.

The š of modern Persian is a hushing sibilant of this kind. The stops following these in group 2, or replacing them in group 3, would then be alveolar or prepalatal.

The I-I clusters described in groups 2 and 3 occur only after vowels other than a or ā, after r, or after k.

[26] In Ashkun Kafiri three distinct reflexes of IE *s are found, after front vowel, back vowel and r. This shows that there were several high variants, not just one. G. Morgenstierne, 'The language of the Ashkun Kafirs,' Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap, II, 1929, pp 192 ff., quoted by W. S. Allen, *BSOAS* XVI, p. 262.

4. INDO-IRANIAN CLUSTERS: PALATAL + DENTAL

Where a palatal (IE *k′, g′, gh′) was followed by a dental stop, the reflexes in Iranian and Indo-Āryan are the same as those listed in group 2. Thus the I-I clusters were phonologically identical with those in group 2. But unlike the latter, clusters of this origin could occur after */a/ or */ā/; thus in this context there was a distinction between Indo-Iranian *št (Skt ṣṭ, Av št) and *st (Skt st, Av st), and between *zdh (Skt ḍh after long vowel, Av žd) and zdh (Skt dh with change of preceding a to e). This gives phonemic status to the cerebrals in a limited context, in addition to that described in group 3.

5. IE PALATAL STOP > SKT CEREBRAL STOP

Since IE *k′s became ṭ in final position in Sanskrit, a few more occurrences of ṭ as a distinct phoneme can be added. The corresponding sound in Avestan is š (spaš non. sg. of spas 'spy'). When a stem ending in a IE palatal stop was followed by an ending beginning with a consonant, the palatal became ṭ before voiceless, ḍ before voiced.

š is the only phoneme of the Sanskrit cerebral order to which an Iranian phoneme corresponds; it is also the only one which can be reconstructed as a phoneme in Indo-Iranian. We have reconstructed it as an alveolar or post-palatal hushing sibilant, occurring most frequently as a conditioned variant of s, but having a phonemic status when preceded by /a/ or /ā/ and followed by /t(h)/. In pIA, the distribution of ṣ was the same as that of I-I š, and its phonetic character was probably similar also. The voiceless cerebral stops in pIA occurred only as variants of /t(h)/ after ṣ, except in very limited contexts. The voiced stop ḍ occurred before ending beginning with a voiced consonant; in this position it was distinct from the dental d. ḍ and ḍh became phonemes when the preceding sibilant was lost, but since this change involved compensatory lengthening they occurred only after long vowels.

6. CEREBRAL VARIANT OF /n/

Cerebral ṉ in pIA occurred only as an allophone of /n/, in certain contexts where its articulation was affected by a preceding ṣ, r or ṛ. This means that after the articulation of ṣ, r or ṛ, the tongue remained in its retracted position up to and including the occlusion of /n/; it quitted this position for the occlusion of a palatal or dental stop, or s, or l; or at the release of a cerebral stop or nasal.

Since we have already reconstructed pIA ṣ as an alveolar or prepalatal, the tongue position for n is likely to have been the same. Further, r and ṛ are usually described by the ancient phoneticians as alveolar, not retroflex,[27] so after these sounds also an alveolar variation of /n/ is to be expected.

[27] W. S. ALLEN, *Phonetics*, pp. 53-55. Only the Paniniya Siksa definitely prescribes a retroflex articulation for r and x̣ ṛ; in the other treatises alveolar

In pIA phonology we have found a dental order and a cerebral order, the latter phonetically alveolar. This alveolar articulation of the cerebral order in pIA is inferred from a phonetic analysis of the comparative evidence on the origin of these sounds. But the opposition between the two apical orders only appears in certain relatively rare phonetic contexts, and in the case of the nasal there is no opposition (even in classical Sanskrit the phonological opposition between the first four vargas is partly neutralised in the nasals: the palatal ñ is no phoneme but an allophone of /n/, the velar nasal has only a limited distinctive function, and ṇ appears most often in contexts which exclude dental n). In the terms used by Martinet,[28] the opposition between dental and cerebral has a low functional yield; i.e. there are relatively few pairs of utterances which are distinguished only by this opposition.

Two things happened to this functionally marginal order: the functional yield of its opposition to the dentals was increased by the addition of new lexical items, and it acquired retroflexion. The first had already happened to some extent by the time of the Ṛgveda, but even there the words having cerebrals occurring in phonetic contexts which do not exclude dentals, number only one or two hundred, according to a rough count made with Grassmann's lexicon. In classical Sanskrit the proportion of such words in the vocabulary is considerably increased. The second process, the introduction of retroflexion as a feature of the cerebrals, was certainly complete by the time of the phonetic treatises, in the last few centuries B.C.; and since the purpose of these works was to preserve traditional pronunciation of the sacred texts, we may suppose that retroflexion was established before that time. Retroflexion of the tongue may have been extended by some speakers to r and ṛ, as noted in note 27, but this does not seem to have been general. Retroflexion of the cerebrals gave them greater differentiation from the dentals, and this factor may have contributed to its success. The interdental articulation of the dentals, attested in modern Indian languages, serves also to increase this differentiation.

Two historical explanations may be offered for the addition of retroflexion as a feature of the cerebrals. pIA may have been adopted by a people whose language included retroflex phonemes; they would have included in their IA speech loan-words from this language containing retroflex phonemes, and also identified the pIA cerebrals with their retroflex order. The substratum theory envisaged such a process, but was not backed by a sufficient phonological analysis. Alternatively, pIA could have adopted, from non-IA languages, loanwords containing

or the like is indicated; Apastamba-srauta-sutra indicates both retroflex and alveolar articulation. The discrepancy of the descriptions may reflect variations in practice.

[28] MARTINET, *Economie*, pp. 54-59.

retroflex sounds, and reproduced the retroflex articulation of the originals; the cerebrals would then have joined this new retroflex order, moving in the direction of greater differentiation from the dentals. These two possibilities represent two extreme forms of the results of language contact; other forms between these extremes are also possible.[29]

In the middle-Indo-Āryan-like languages, from which the 'Prākritisms' in the Ṛgveda are derived, the dental-cerebral opposition had a greater functional yield than in pIA. It is possibly among the speakers of these languages that contact with non-IA languages, and the retroflexion of the cerebrals, first took place. Once this retroflexion took its place as a feature distinguishing the cerebrals from the dentals, it was possible to increase the functional yield of the opposition, by adding more words containing cerebrals, without danger to communication; and the increase in the number of distinctive occurrences of the cerebrals, could have started among these less conservative contemporaries of Vedic Sanskrit.[30]

It would be fitting to close with a tribute to Caldwell, who composed his great work on the Dravidian languages at a time when the analysis of Indo-European which was to reach its classical form in the works of Brugmann and Meillet was still being developed. We have already noted that his second reason for recognising non-Āryan influence in the cerebrals anticipates the theory of a linguistic area; it may be added that his first reason comes near to the theory of functional yield.

[29] Cf. U. WEINREICH, *Languages in contact*, p. 24: 'New manners of rendering phonemes are almost as easily diffused from one language to another as within one language community, for a common manner of rendering phonemes in both languages is not dependent on an extensive common vocabulary'. The retroflexion of the cerebral order in Indo-Aryan as envisaged here is an example of the very common type of result of language contact referred to by Weinreich as 'phone substitution.'

[30] Cf. M. B. EMENEAU, 'The dialects of Old Indo-Aryan', in BIRNBAUM and PUHVEL: *Ancient Indo-European Dialects*, pp. 123-138.

PORTUGUESE-TAMIL LINGUISTIC CONTACTS

E. C. KNOWLTON, JR.

A. INTRODUCTION

The linguistic results of contact between speakers of Portuguese and speakers of Tamil are visible chiefly in the presence of loan words from Tamil in Portuguese, and, correspondingly, of loan words from Portuguese in Tamil.

Malaysia, with its communities of speakers of Portuguese and of Tamil, may be presumed to be a particularly favourable locale for the student of these particular languages in contact. Confusion has arisen, however, in the use of the abbreviation *Mal.* which may refer in any given instance to either Malay or Malayalam. Similar difficulty arises in careless use of Javanese for Japanese or the reverse.

B. TAMIL WORDS IN THE WEST

Tamil words became known to speakers of Western European languages from the sixteenth century, and most often a Portuguese use antedates the use in other such languages. A very brief sketch by Mary S. Serjeantson[1] gives the chronology of the following words of Dravidian origin in English, for example:

I. 1. "betel" (1553), 2. "coir" (1582), 3. "copra" (1584), 4. "atoll' (1625), 5. "teak" and 6. "tindal" (1698), indicated as of Malayalam origin and usually with Portuguese as intermediary.

II. 7. "mango" (1582), 8. "curry" or "carriel" (1747 and 1598, respectively), 9. "coolie" (1598), 10. "pariah" (1613), 11. "cheroot" (1669), 12. "corundum" (1728), 13. "anaconda" (1768), 14. "mulligatawny" (1784), 15. "yercum" (1826), and 16. "patchouli" (1845), from Tamil often through Portuguese.

III. 17. "bandy" (1761) is referred to Telugu, as well as "bandicoot" (1780); and 19. "catamaran" (1697) is assigned to no particular language.

[1] MARY S. SERJEANTSON, *A History of Foreign Words in English*, Barnes and Nobel, Incorporated, New York, 1961, p. 234.

C. TAMIL WORDS IN PORTUGUESE

Most of the words listed above have entered Portuguese. Some of those assigned to Malayalam might have been, without much risk, assigned to Tamil as well. When the phonemic, or phonetic, shape of a word is similar in related languages, a borrower of an exoticism may not always have borrowed it from the same source as an earlier writer in his language. A word may have been borrowed once directly from language A into language X; again, what seems to be the same word in meaning and spelling may be borrowed directly from language B, related to A, into language X. Later users of the word in language X may be borrowing directly from language A, from language B, or following the earlier user of the word in language X. The same situation may be continued and expanded by reference to language Y, and specific languages like Tamil, Malayalam, Portuguese, and Latin may take the role of languages A, B, X, and Y. Linguistic historians have tended to make too much of the fact that the first attested use of a term in a certain language is earlier or later than that in another language, and drawn somewhat rigid schemes of the route of entrance of a certain word into a different language.

If we find in Tamil a word for "betel" close to the Portuguese form, and know that there was direct contact between Tamil and Portuguese speakers, we cannot neglect the possibility that the Portuguese word may owe its origin, in some instances of its use at least, to Tamil, rather than to Malayalam, without excluding Malayalam as a source language. Sometimes, direct study of a certain passage where an exoticism is used may enable us to speak with some assurance of one instance, but often this may not be practicable. Proença[2] gives the Tamil word *veṭṭilai* and defines it as Portuguese *betle;* there is no compelling reason to attribute this instance of Portuguese *betle* to Malayalam *veṭṭila,* whatever be the source of Portuguese 1. *betele* (1500), the earliest use quoted by Dalgado.[3]

The Portuguese equivalents of the remaining Dravidian words of Serjeantson's list with dates of the earliest example and attribution of source follow.

2. *cairo, cair* Dalgado, I, 173a (1502) Malayalam-Tamil
3. *copra* Dalgado, I, 305a (1563) Malayalam
4. *atol*[4] (1615) Singhalese
5. *teca* Dalgado, II, 364b (1614) Malayalam-Tamil
6. *tindel* Dalgado, II, 355a (1699) Konkani and Marathi

[2] ANTAM DE PROENCA, *Vocabvlario tamvlico, com a significacam portvgveza,* Imprenssa Tamulica da Prouincia do Malabar, Ambalacatta, 1679, p. 2136b.

[3] SEBASTIAO RODOLFO DALGADO, *Glossario luso-asiatico,* vol. I, Imprensa da Universidade, Coimbra, 1919, p. 122a. Hereafter quoted as Dalgado, I, with page number only.

[4] SEBASTIAO RODOLFO DALGADO, *Glossario luso-asiatico,* vol. II, Imprensa da Universidade, Coimbra, 1921, p. 457a. Hereafter quoted as Dalgado, II, with page number only.

7. *manga* Dalgado, II, 27b (1525) Malayalam < Tamil
8. *caril* Dalgado, I, 218b (1563) Konkani
9. *cule* Dalgado, I, 331a (1581) Dravidian
10. *pariá* Dalgado, II, 177b (1516) Tamil
11. *charuto* Dalgado, I, 265b (1833) English < Tamil-Malayalam
12. *corindon*[5] French < Telugu
13. *anaconda* Machado, I, 194b (xix century) Tamil
16. *patchouli* Dalgado, II, 189b (1898) French < English
19. *catamaram* Dalgado, I, 231a, Tamil

Four of these words are not found in Portuguese dictionaries. Of the remaining ones, 6. "tindal," 11. "cheroot," 12. "corundum," 13. "anaconda," and 16. "patchouli" are given earlier dates in English than in Portuguese. Enough examples have been given, however, to show that the history of Tamil words in Portuguese is no mere duplication of the history of such words in English, and that definite attribution of a given exoticism to a single source is far from being realized.

If we acknowledge the possibilities of error or of misinterpretation that exist, perhaps drawing up a tentative list of further possible loan words in Portuguese from Tamil will be useful.

POSSIBLE TAMIL ETYMON	PORTUGUESE FORM, DATING, SOURCE
20. *atikāri,* "master"	*adigar* (1507) Dalgado I, 11.
21. *aiyar,* "father"	*aier* (1608) Dalgado I, 18.
22. *añcali,* "angely wood"	*angelim* (1550).[6]
23. *aṇṇāvi,* "master"	*annavi* (1707) Dalgado I, 46.
24. *appam,* "rice cake"	*apa* (xvi century) Dalgado, I, 47.
25. *arippu* "sifting"	*aripo* (1613) Dalgado I, 57.
26. *aval* "unhusked rice"	*avel* (1554) Dalgado I, 69.
27. *vaḍakar* "Telugu"	*badagás* (1687) Dalgado I, 76.
28. *vellālaṉ* "caste name"	*balala* (1602) Dalgado I, 84.
29. *vaḷḷam* "boat"	*balão* (1535) Dalgado I, 85.
30. *vīçai* "viss"	*biça* (1545) Dalgado I, 125.
31. *bōvi* "palanquin bearer"	*boi* (1554) *Hobson Jobson,*[2] 109.
32. *kaççam* "skirt"	*cacha* (1511) Dalgado I, 163.
33. *kaççan* "northwest"	*cachão* (1614) Dalgado I, 164.
34. *kaççuṇṭai* "cachoonda"	*cachondé* (1619) Dalgado I, 165.
35. *kāçu* "coin"	*caixa* (1510) Dalgado I, 175.
36. *kaḻuvēṟṟu* "impale"	*caluete* (1504) Dalgado I, 187.

[5] JOSE PEDRO MACHADO, *Dicionario etimologico da lingua portuguesa,* vol. I, Editora Confluencia, Lisbon, 1956, p. 667a. Hereafter quoted as Machado, I, with page number only.

[6] HENRY YULE and A. C. BURNELL, *Hobson Jobson, A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases, and of Kindred Terms, Etymological, Historical, Geographical and Discursive.* New edition edited by William Crooke. John Murray, London, 1903, p. 30. Hereafter referred to as *Hobson Jobson*[2] *and* page number.

POSSIBLE TAMIL ETYMON	PORTUGUESE FORM, DATING, SOURCE
37. *kamam* "land"	*cama* and *gão* (1519) Dalgado II, 569.
38. *kamapuḷi* "blanket"	*camapuli* (1645) Dalgado II, 570.
39. *kaṇakkappiḷḷai* "conicopoly"	*canacapole* (1577) Dalgado I, 194.
40. *kankāṇi* "inspector"	*cangane* (1687) Dalgado I, 205.
41. *kañçi* "conjee"	*canja* (1553) Dalgado I, 206.
42. *katti* "knife"	*cati* (1615) Dalgado I, 237.
43. *çami* "type of banana"	*chame* (1645) Dalgado II, 570.
44. *çiraṭṭai* "coconut shell"	*charêta* (1603) Dalgado I, 264.
45. *çeṭṭi* "merchant"	*chatim* (1510) Dalgado I, 265.
46. *çāyaver* "colored root"	*xaia* (1616) Dalgado II, 423.
47. *çippi* "pearl oyster"	*chipe* (1602) *Hobson Jobson*,[2] 202.
48. *çiruppu* "sandal"	*chiripos* (*c.* 1560) Dalgado I, 275.
49. *çakkaram* "silver coin"	*chocrão* (1551) Dalgado I, 277.
50. *çakkili* "chuckler"	*chaquivili* (1577) Dalgado I, 261.
51. *çuṇṇam* "lime"	*chunambo* (1515) Dalgado I, 282.
52. *kōvil* "temple"	*comil* (1632) Dalgado I, 301.
53. *kūli* "wage (earner)"	*cule* (1581) Dalgado I, 361.
54. *kōṭṭai* a measure	*cota* (1520) Dalgado I, 314.
55. *turai* "master"	*durei* (1613) Dalgado I, 373.
56. *paṇam* "money"	*fanão* (1498) Dalgado I, 386.
57. *kalam* a measure	*galêm* (1554) Dalgado I, 414.
58. *kiṭaṅku* "godown"	*gudão* (1513) Dalgado, I, 445.
59. *kiṇṇi* "basin, jar"	*guinde* (1551) Dalgado I, 448.
60. *kiṇṭan* "cotton cloth"	*guingão* (1552) Dalgado I, 449.
61. *çaṅkatam* "joining"	*jangada* (1540) "raft" Dalgado I, 484.
62. *iḷaṉīr* "young coconut"	*lanha* (*c.* 1560) Dalgado I, 510.
63. *mañçi* "boat"	*manchua* (1539) Dalgado II, 19.
64. *maṇṭakkāḷ* "pearl diver hauler"	*mandacar* (1701) Dalgado II, 20.
65. *maṇṭali* "poisonous snake"	*mandali* (1516) Dalgado II, 20.
66. *mañçāṭi* a weight	*mangelim* (1516) Dalgado II, 29.
67. *maṇiyakkāraṉ* "village chief"	*maniagar* (1603) Dalgado, 32.
68. *makā* "great" and *paṭṭi* "village"	*mapali* (1548) Dalgado II, 36.
69. *marakkalaṉ* "pilot"	*marcar* (1504) Dalgado II, 38.
70. *marakkāl*, a measure	*marca* (1645) Dalgado II, 572. and *mercar* (1554) Dalgado II, 50.
71. *māṭṭu* "carat"	*mate* (1554) Dalgado II, 43.
72. *mutaliyār* "chief"	*modeliar* (1543) Dalgado II, 61.
73. *naççiṉi* "raggy"	*nachenim* (1554) Dalgado II, 87.
74. *nāṟi* a measure	*nale* (1554) Dalgado II, 96.
75. *nel* "rice in the husk"	*nêle* (1554) Dalgado II, 104.

POSSIBLE TAMIL ETYMON	PORTUGUESE FORM, DATING, SOURCE
76. *ñaṉi* "sage"	*nhani* (1608) Dalgado II, 106.
77. *olai* "palm leaf"	*ola* (1511) Dalgado II, 117.
78. *pallakku* "palanquin"	*palanquim* (1535) Dalgado II, 142.
79. *paṇṭāram* 'revered master"	*pandara* (1603) Dalgado II, 154.
80. preceding item & *piḷḷai* "son"	*pandara-pulo* (1687) Dalgado II, 155.
81. *paṇiyāram* "fritter"	*paniela* (1687) Dalgado II, 162.
82. *paṭavu* "boat"	*parangue* (1504) Dalgado II, 169. and *parau* (1504) Dalgado II, 171.
83. *pulaiyaṉ* member of low caste	*poleá* (1504) Dalgado II, 218.
84. *puṉṉai* "poon tree"	*puna* (1614) Dalgado II, 229.
85. *kīri* "mongoose"	*quil* (1563) Dalgado II, 237
86. elements 85 and 80b "mongoose"	*quirpele* (1563) Dalgado II, 237.
87. *tayir* "curdled milk"	*taira* (1619) Dalgado II, 339.
88. *tāli* "trinket"	*tale* (1516) Dalgado II, 343.
89. *talaiyāri* "watchman"	*taliar* (1687) Dalgado II, 344.
90. *tamiṛ* "Tamil"	*tamul* (1516) Dalgado II, 349.
91. *tāram* "copper"	*tara* (1506) Dalgado II, 359.
92. *tēkku* "teak"	*teca* (1614) Dalgado II, 364.
93. *tīrvai* "duty"	*tirvai* (1645) Dalgado II, 574
94. *tōṇi* "dhoney"	*tona* (1504) Dalgado II, 378.
95. *tuppāçi* "interpreter"	*topaz* (1549) Dalgado II, 381.
96. *tuttanākam* "zinc"	*tutanaga* (1613) Dalgado II, 394.
97. *ūṛiyam* "obligation"	*ulia* (1687) Dalgado II, 397.
98. *varaku* "millet"	*varago* (1687) Dalgado II, 405.
99. *veṭṭivēr* "vetiver"	*vetiver* (1619) *Hobson Jobson*,[2] 966.

Of particular interest in Malaysia are words of Tamil origin documented in the Creole Portuguese Malacca dialect. Father Silva Rêgo[7] has recorded for this type of Portuguese such items as 48. *chiripo*, 51. *chunambo*, and 75. *néli*.

Also of great interest to the student of Tamil words in Malay is the work of Schuchardt, who discusses in footnotes such words as 75. *nelle* from Dravidian *nĕli*;[8] 100. *kotte* from Tamil *koṭṭai* meaning "kernel";[9] 101. *koena* from Tamil *kūn* meaning "hump";[10] 102. *kattee* related to Tamil *kuṭṭaiyan* meaning "dwarf";[11] 103. *maynatoe* attributed by him

[7] ANTONIO DA SILVA REGO, *Dialecto protugues de Malaca*, Agencia Geral das Colonias, Lisbon, 1942, pp. 122, 132.

[8] HUGO SCHUCHARDT, "Uber das Malaioportugiesische von Batavia und Tugu," in the *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien Philosophisch-Historische Classe*, Band CXXII, F. Tempsky, Vienna, 1891, p. 44 (note 10). Hereafter referred to as Schuchardt, with page and note numbers.

[9] SCHUCHARDT, p. 112, note 128.

[10] SCHUCHARDT, p. 113, note 131.

[11] SCHUCHARDT, p. 113, note 134.

to Tamil rather than to Malayalam, with the meaning "washerman";[12] 104. *katel,* "cot," assigned to Tamil *kaṭṭil;*[13] 8. *karrie* for "curry";[14] 105. *oedoembol,* "iguana," from Tamil *uḍumbu*;[15] and 106. *moeroenga,* "maringa tree", from Tamil *maruṅkai* through Malay *marunggai.*[16]

Tamil words are found, as to be expected, in the Portuguese of Ceylon. Among such, Dalgado lists in a special study: 1. *betle*; 7. *mangue*; 8. *cari(l)*; 35. *cassa*; 47. *chippi*; 51. *chunambo*; 3. *copra*; 107. *cuda,* "nest, basket," indicated as coming from Tamil *kūṭu*; 53. *cule;* 58. *gudão;* 108. *pete* (*peti*), "basket," assigned by Dalgado to Sinhalese *peṭṭiya* or Sanskrit *peta,* but perhaps from Tamil *peṭṭi,* "chest, trunk, box, case";[18] 94. *tone;* and 109. *tortil,* "cradle," from Tamil *toṭṭil.*[19]

Students of the chronology of Tamil loan words in Western languages should not neglect two important studies, which refer chiefly to English.[20] A few more Tamil words, attested in Antão de Proença's dictionary but not found in other sources by us, are listed elsewhere.[21]

We have already seen the importance of Dalgado I, II, in the chronology of the Tamil words in Portuguese. The most important sources of such words for Dalgado were the following, each of which provided at least twelve examples:

1. Fernão de Queiroz, *Conquista Temporal e Espiritual de* Ceylão, Lisbon, 1699.
2. Gaspar Correia, *Lendas da India,* Lisbon, 1858.
3. *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental,* New Goa, from 1857.
4. Afonso de Albuquerque, *Cartas,* Lisbon, 1884-1915.
5. Diogo de Couto, *Decadas da Asia,* IV-XII.
6. Fernão Guerreiro, *Relaçam Annual das cousas que fizeram os padres da Companhia de Jesus, nas partes da India Oriental ... nos annos de* 600 *e* 601, 602 *e* 603, 604 *e* 605, 606 *e* 607, 607 *e* 608, Lisbon, 1602-1611.

[12] SCHUCHARDT, p. 112, note 150.
[13] SCHUCHARDT, p. 119, note 157.
[14] SCHUCHARDT, p. 122, note 169.
[15] SCHUCHARDT, p. 136, note 252.
[16] SCHUCHARDT, p. 142, note 293.
[17] SEBASTIAO RODOLPHO DALGADO *Dialecto Indo-Portugues de Ceylao,* Imprensa Nacional, Lisbon, 1900, pp. 135-182. The Portuguese words are listed in alphabetical order in this section called *Vocabulario.*
[18] V. VISVANATHA PILLAI, *A Tamil-English Dictionary,* Madras School Book and Literature Society, Madras, 7th edn., 1963, p. 544a.
[19] G. U. POPE, *An English-Tamil Dictionary,* Clarendon Press, Oxford, 7th 1906 edn., p. 24b.
[20] These are the following: Sir James A. H. Murray, editor, *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles,* twelve volumes and one supplement, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1928; and G. Subba Rao, *Indian Words in English,* Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1954.
[21] EDGAR C. KNOWLTON, JR., "Antao de Proenca's Vocabulario Tamulico Lusitano: Indo-Portuguese Elements," *Tamil Culture,* 11, 1964, pp. 135-164.

7. *Historia Tragico-maritima,* 12 volumes, compiled by Henrique Gomes de Brito, Lisbon, 1904-1909.
8. Filipe Neri Xavier, *Bosquejo Histórico das Communidades,* New Goa, 1852 and 1903-1908. Dalgado's bibliography of work used by him in his *Glossary* is found in Dalgado I, pp. lv, lxvii and Dalgado II, pp. ix-x.

D. PORTUGUESE WORDS IN TAMIL

That Portuguese loan words have entered Tamil is well known. A twentieth-century grammar lists six examples: 1. *mestiri,* "an overseer," 2. *meçai,* "a table," 3. *pātiri,* "a priest," 4. *çāvi,* "a key," 5. *çaṉṉal* or *jannal,* "a window," and 6. *aṉṉāçi,* "a pine-apple."[22] These words correspond to Portuguese ones with similar meanings: 1 *mestre,* 2. *mesa,* 3. *padre,* 4. *chave,* 5. *janela,* and 6. *ananás.*

Our most convenient listing of Portuguese words in Tamil we owe to Dalgado, of whose work we have an English translation which includes valuable supplementary material by the translator.[23] It is possible to find many of these words in two valuable Tamil-English dictionaries,[24] but some of them are so rarely used or perhaps restricted in use to Christian circles, as not to appear in smaller dictionaries. Checking these Tamil words with Tamil-speaking students at the University of Hawaii from Madras and from Ceylon revealed that many were not known to them, and that the use of such words, as might be expected, differs from area to area.[25] Such divergences in lexicon might lend themselves to investigation on the part of dialect geographers.

To the six loan words already given we may add the following in tabular form. With the transliteration of the Tamil term will be given a specific reference; where there is a significant difference in meaning from the Portuguese, the Tamil meaning will be given separately.

[22] A. H. ARDEN, *A Progressive Grammar of Common Tamil* (revised by A. C. Clayton), The Christian Literature Society, Madras, 1962, reprint of 1942 5th edn., p. 303.

[23] SEBASTIAO RODOLFO DALGADO, *Portuguese vocables in Asiatic languages, from the Portuguese original of Msgr. S. R. Dalgado* (translated into English with notes, additions and comments by Anthony Xavier Soares), Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1936, pp. 502-504. Hereafter we shall refer to this work as Soares with page number.

[24] *Tamil Lexicon,* six volumes and one supplement, University of Madras, Madras, 1936 and 1939, which includes a history of Tamil lexicography, pp. xxv-xliv; and S. GNANA PRAKASAR, *An Etymological and Comparative Lexicon of the Tamil Language,* volume I, Trirumakal Press, Chunnakam, Ceylon, 1938. Hereafter these works will be referred to as *Lexicon,* and as Prakasar, respectively.

[25] My thanks are due to Mr. Kandiah Thiagalingam from Ceylon and to Mr. Shanmugam Pappanna from Madras. If their reaction is at all typical of regional variation, *alavaangu,* "crowbar," is used in Ceylon (but not in Madras), and *ammaar,* "cable," in Madras, if not in Ceylon.

PORTUGUESE WORD AND MEANING	TAMIL FORM, SOURCE, MEANING
7. *acabado* "finished"	*akkapāḍu* Prakasar, 4c, "sea disaster"
8. *acabar* "to finish"	*akkapparai* Prakasar, 4c, "wandering about"
9. *adro* "churchyard"	*ādru* Soares, 7a
10. *aiapana* Brazilian plant name	*ayappanai* (*ayapāni*), Prakasar, 121a
11. *alar-se* "to advance oneself to"	*alārippu* Prakasar 152c opening song formula in a dance
12. *alavanca* "crowbar"	*alavāṅku* Prakasar 152a
13. *alfinete* "pin"	*alappanāttu* (*alappunētti*) Prakasar, 150c
14. *almôndega* "meat ball"	*almond* Soares, 14
15. *altar* "altar"	*altār'* Soares, 14
16. *alva* "alb"	*ālvai* Prakasar, 234a
17. *amancebado* "one who lives with a mistress"	*masuvāḍu* Soares, 146
18. *amarra* "cable"	*ammār* (*ammaru*) Prakasar, 111a
19. *ambar* "amber (gris)"	*ampar* Prakasar, 126
20. *amito* square cloth worn under the alb	*amittu* Prakasar, 116b
21. *anona* "custard apple"	*aninuṇā* (*annauṇṇā*) Prakasar, 69c, 186b
22. *apóstolo* "apostle"	*appōstalan* Prakasar, 97b
23. *armário* "cupboard"	*alamāri* (*alumāri*) Prakasar, 151b, 153c
24. *arrátel* a weight	*irāttal* Prakasar, 318a
25. *assado* "roast meat"	*asādu* Soares, 26a
26. *atā* "custard apple"	*āttā* Soares, 26-28
27. *auto* "act"	*akkuttu* "terms of agreement" Prakasar, 9a
28. *bacia* "dinner plate"	*bāsi* Soares, 30
29. *balchão* "caviare"	*balcham* Soares, 33b
30. *banco* "bench"	*bānku* Soares, 37a
31. *biscoito* "cracker"	*piskōttu*[26]
32. *bispo* "bishop"	*bíspu* Soares, 52a
33. *bôlo* "cake"	*bôlu* Soares, 54
34. *botão* "button"	*bōtan* Soares, 56b
35. *bule* "tea-pot"	*bulei* Soares, 59
36. *cabaia* 'tunic"	*kabāy* Pillai, 188a
37. *cassave* "cassava plant"	*cavvātu Lexicon* III, 1331b

[26] *The Great Lifco Dictionary* (*English-English-Tamil*) The Little Flower, Madras, 1960, p. 255c.

PORTUGUESE WORD AND MEANING	TAMIL FORM, SOURCE, MEANING
38. *café* "coffee"	*káppi* (*kóppi*) Soares, 62-64
39. *calafate* "caulker"	*kalapparradippal* Soares, 66-67
40. *camisa* "shirt"	*kamísei* Soares, 71-72
41. *canhão* "cannon, shirt-cuff"	*canhão* Soares, 76a
42. *capa* "pluvial"	*kāppa* Soares, 77
43. *capela* "chapel"	*kapelei* Soares, 85a
44. *castiçal* "candlestick"	*kastisál* Soares, 85a
45. *católico* "Catholic"	*kattōlikka-matam*[27]
46. *cemitério* "cemetery"	*semitéri* Soares, 92b
47. *chá* "tea"	*cāya Lexicon* III, 1380a
48. *chinēla* "slipper"	*chinelei* Soares, 103-104
49. *comadre* "godmother"	*kumádri* Soares, 113-114
50. *compadre* "godfather"	*kompádri* Soares, 114b
51. *comunhão* "Holy Communion"	*komuniyāñ* Soares, 115-116
52. *confissão* "confession"	*komphisāñ* Soares, 116b
53. *cordão* "silk rope"	*kordan* Soares, 118b
54. *cotão* "vest"	*kuttán* "chemise" Soares, 122-125
55. *couve* "cabbage"	*kóvi* Soares, 126a
56. *cozido* "boiled meat"	*kujid* Soares, 126b
57. *cozinha* "kitchen"	*kusini* Soares, 126-127
58. *crisma* "chrism"	*krismei* Soares, 128b
59. *cristão* "a Christian"	*kiṟistiyaṉ*[28]
60. *cruz* "cross"	*kurus* Soares, 129-130
61. *damasco* "damask"	*damásu* Soares, 132a
62. *doação* "donation"	*uvacam* Prakasar, 371c
63. *doce* "sweet"	*dôse* Soares, 135b
64. *escola* "school"	*iskōlai* Prakasar, 323c
65. *escrivão* "scrivener"	*iskiriván* "clerk" Soares, 149a
66. *Espirito Santo* "Holy Ghost"	*ispirittu cāntu* Prakasar, 323c
67. *estante* "book-case"	*stantei* Soares, 150b
68. *fiscal* "superintendent"	*pēskār* Soares, 155b
69. *gaveta* "drawer"	*gavêtei* Soares, 167a
70. *globo* "glass bowl"	*galobei* Soares, 169a
71. *gola* "coat collar"	*golla* Soares, 170
72. *grade* "grate"	*kirāti* Percival, 184b
73. *hissope* herb of mint family	*isopei* Soares, 174b
74. *Hollandês mestre* "Dutch master"	*ulāntā mēstar* "surveyor" Prakasar, 369c

[27] K. Appadurai Pillai, *Kazhagam English-Tamil Pocket Dictionary*, The South India Saiva Siddhanta Works Publishing Society, Madras, 1962 reprint of 2nd 1957 edn., p. 544a. The word cited means "Catholicism" and has a suffix.

[28] P. Percival, *An English-Tamil Dictionary*, The Madras School Book and Literature Society, Madras, 1953 reprint of rev. edn., p. 586. Afterwards referred to as Percival, with page number.

PORTUGUESE WORD AND MEANING	TAMIL FORM, SOURCE, MEANING
75. *hóstia* "consecrated wafer"	*óstu* Soares, 176a
76. *lacre* "sealing wax"	*ilākkiri* (*ilākkai*) Prakasar, 307a
77. *lanterna* "lantern"	*lāntar* *Lexicon* VI, 3439b
78. *leilão* "auction"	*ēlam* *Lexicon* I, 565b
79. *lenço* "handkerchief"	*ilēñci* Prakasar, 309c
80. *loba* "soutane"	*lobei* Soares, 198
81. *meirinho* "sacristan"	*miriñ* Soares, 223-224
82. *missal* "missal"	*misāl* Soares, 228b
83. *missão* "mission"	*misán* Soares, 229a
84. *missionário* "missionary"	*misiyonár* Soares, 229a
85. *natal* "Christmas"	*nattal* Soares, 239b
86. *novena* "novena"	*novenei* Soares, 241b
87. *oliva* "olive"	*olivai* Percival, 279b
88. *opa* long loose robe	*ópa* Soares, 244a
89. *órgão* "organ" music term	*orgán* Soares, 244b
90. *padroado* "advowson"	*padrovádu* Soares, 248
91. *pálio* "pallium, pall"	*pálli* Soares, 261a
92. *papa* "pope"	*pāppu* Lexicon V. 2611a
93. *papaia* "papaya"	*pappāçi* Percival, 289a
94. *Páscoa* "passover"	*paçkā* Percival, 292a
95. *pateca* "melon"	*vattakai* Percival, 255b
96. *pena* "pen"	*pēṉā* Pope, 69a
97. *pia* "font"	*piyá* Soares, 285a
98. *pipa* "cask"	*pippā* *Lexicon* V, 2666
99. *pires* "saucer"	*píris* Soares, 290-291
100. *púlpito* "pulpit"	*pulpitu* Soares, 303
101. *quaresma* "Lent"	*karesmai* Soares, 303b
102. *real* a coin	*iṟaiyāl* Prakasar, 321a
103. *recado* "message"	*iṟakkātu* Prakasar, 317a
104. *recebedor* "receiver"	*iṟaicuvatōr* Prakasar, 321a
105. *reformado* "reformed"	*iṟappiṟamātu* "Protestant religion" Prakasar, 318a
106. *relójio* "watch"	*orolóju* Soares, 309; *orlas*[29]
107. *renda* "lace"	*renda* Soares, 310
108. *rolão* "flour"	*rolam* Soares, 312b
109. *rosa* "rose"	*rōçā* Percival, 344a
110. *sacramento* "sacrament"	*sakraméntu* Soares, 315b
111. *sacrário* "tabernacle"	*sakkrári* Soares, 315b
112. *sacristão* "sacristan"	*sankristán* Soares, 315b
113. *santo*(*a*) "saintly"	*canta* *Lexicon* III, 1262a
114. *sapato* "shoe"	*cappattu* *Lexicon* III, 1277a

[29] W. G. B. WELLS, *Dictionary of Colloquial Tamil*, The Associated Newspapers of Ceylon, Colombo, 1932, p. 306.

PORTUGUESE WORD AND MEANING	TAMIL FORM, SOURCE, MEANING
115. *tabernáculo* "tabernacle"	*tabernákulu* Soares, 338b
116. *tambaca* alloy of copper and zinc	*tampākku Lexicon* III, 1753a
117. *temperado* "spiced"	*temprad* "stew" Soares, 342b
118. *têrço* "third of a rosary"	*térsu* Soares, 343
119. *tesoureiro* "treasurer"	*tijoreri* Soares, 345a
120. *tinta* "ink"	*tintei* Soares, 345
121. *toalha* "towel"	*tuvālai* Percival, 401b
122. *tocha* "torch"	*tócha* Soares, 346a
123. *trave* "a beam"	*trávi* Soares, 351b
124. *varanda* "verandah"	*varanda* Soares, 358-362
125. *véu* "veil of chalice"	*vévu* Soares, 366b
126. *vigário* "vicar"	*vigári* Soares, 367a
127. *vinha de alhos* "vindaloo"	*vendále* Soares, 367

It is apparent that in the restricted area of Christian religious terms, not known doubtless to non-Christian speakers of Tamil in general, the Portuguese contribution has been great.

The Tamil version of the Bible has been criticized for its stilted and un-idiomatic quality;[30] but it is not clear whether this criticism is valid for all translations into Tamil. There were translations of the Bible into Tamil published in Tranquebar by Danish missionaries (1714-1727) and in Colombo by Dutch missionaries (1759), and there has been subsequent revision and translation.[31] It is possible that the earlier Portuguese missionaries may have influenced the shape Biblical names took and that later translators continued to follow their lead, but a careful study of the history of Bible translation into Tamil by someone aware of the languages and tradition involved would be required to resolve this problem. Spot checking of names in the gospel of John reveals greater closeness to Portuguese or Latin than to English or French, leaving aside the consideration of the possibility of Danish or Dutch influence. Forms like *Tōmā* and *Nikkotēmu* make the Portuguese hypothesis attractive.[32] These and other problems await further investigation.

[30] C. Jesudasan and Hephzibah Jesudasan, *A History of Tamil Literature*, Y.W.C.A. Publishing House, Calcutta, 1961, p. 261.

[31] Eric M. North (ed.), *The Book of a Thousand Tongues*, Harper and Brothers, New York, London, 1938, p. 321.

[32] *St. John in Tamil*, Bible Society of India and Ceylon, Bangalore, 1961, pp. 55 (xiv. 5) and 7 (iii.i), respectively.

A PHONOLOGICAL STUDY IN *TOLKĀPPIYAM*

V. SP. MANICKAM

Tolkāppiyam is the earliest extant Tamil grammar. Its age is generally placed in the third century B.C. All the now available literature is only of the post-*Tolkāppiyam* period. No work contemporaneous with *Tolkāppiyam* has reached us. It is calculated that there must be an interval of two centuries between the age of *Tolkāppiyam* and that of Sangam classics. *Tolkāppiyam* though very ancient, has come down to us more or less intact. It has been studied by scholars at all times. To understand the principles of Aham and Puram, the well known classification of literature in Tamil, we have still to rely on this treatise. In the thirteenth century which may be styled as the "Renaissance of Grammar", there appeared a flood of commentaries on this monumental work, to make it easy to understand. New grammatical works also emerged, based on *Tolkāppiyam*.

From the beginning of the twentieth century, *Tolkāppiyam* is being studied by scholars in different branches both in India and abroad. There is immense scope in this ancient work for research in the fields of sociology, anthropology, history, economics, psychology, philosophy, military science, politics and linguistics. That *Tolkāppiyam* has become popular is evident from the publication of critical dissertations and explanatory books on it by many writers. It is heartening to note, that even students of Tamil studying in high school, apart from undergraduates and graduates and research students, know something about the greatness and content of this book of their ancestors. Translations of *Tolkāppiyam* as a whole or in parts are also forthcoming. Like *Tirukkural,* I hope *Tolkāppiyam* too will be translated in many world languages so that scholars will find it a repository of valuable material for the study of the successive and continuous thought-current of the human race. The more ancient a book is, the more is the value of its material for research.

Linguistics is the latest addition to the domain of science. Language is subjected now to scientific treatment. Philologists of the nineteenth century did research in language on hypothetical basis in unknown regions. They concentrated their attention mainly on the origin of language and the relation between the word and its meaning. But, linguists

of modern thought try to unravel the exact nature of a language synchronically at first. Synchronic linguistics or descriptive linguistics has become the order of the day. For linguistic scholars, *Tolkāppiyam* is an infallible guide. Though old, fortunately it deals with a language which is still alive and growing. It has really described the features of the utterance of the speech-community of its times and also brought out the grammatical core of the language. For the study of phylogeny or historical linguistics also, we may derive a good deal of help from *Tolkāppiyam.*

Tolkāppiyam has three parts. The first part called Eḻuttatikāram deals with all features of phonetics such as phonemes, allophones, phonemic structure, phonetic symbols, phonemic symbols, morphophonemics, alternations, juncture, phonetic changes and canonical forms. The second part called Collatikāram explains all features of morphology and syntax, free morphemes, bound morphemes, substitutes, derivatives, compounds, morphological processes, inflection, syntactical constructions, congruence etc. The third and last part called Poruḷatikāram, bigger than the other two parts combined, treats elaborately the culture of the Tamils in regard to love, heroism, philosophy, customs and manners, various kinds of literature, prosody etc. Though the third part does not deal directly with any linguistic aspect, it offers a good deal of material for linguistic analysis, being a depository of a lot of morphemes and morphological and syntactical constructions. The growth of any language in modern times is artificial and occurs by leaps and bounds. It is nurtured by rapid means of communication. Its quick development may be compared to the yield in land supplied with artificial manure. The impact of modern culture on any pattern of language these days cannot be easily conceived by us. Only future linguists can ascertain the mode of changes correctly. But in the days of Tolkāppiyar the language grew naturally, steadily and peacefully. Nothing was done specially and rapidly for the sake of language. Therefore the description of Tamil as found in *Tolkāppiyam* may be accepted as true for all times.

In this paper I shall confine myself to the phonemic analysis of Tamil as represented in this ancient work. Panamparanar in his preface to *Tolkāppiyam* eulogises the author as one who has elicited the phonemic features with no disorder (*mayañkā marapin eḻuthu muṟai kāṭṭi*). This gives us encouragement to hold *Tolkāppiyam* as an authoritative and authentic treatise in the field of phonetic study. True to this praise, *Tolkāppiyam* commences with the enumeration of thirty phonemes in Tamil. That they are phonemes alone and no more is emphatically said in the beginning of the sentence *eḻuttenap patuva.* The next suttiram enumerates three more, *Kurriyalikaram, Kurriyalukaram* and *Āytam* and they are called phoneme-like, *eḻuttōraṉṉa.* This means that these three have not the value of a phoneme but only the semblance of it. What is meant by this is that they have no phonemic value and

they are only non-distinctive sounds. They have no independent articulation. For their expression they are dependent on the sequence of phonemes either in a morpheme or in a word on in syntax — *cārntu varal marapu.* Linguists call these three allophones in modern terminology. Really, these three are problematic. There are thirty phonemes in Tamil. Are we going to say that only three have allophones and all the other twenty-seven phonemes have none? Of the three, *Kurriyalikaram* and *Kurriyalukaram* belong to the category of vowels. Āytam is said to be the allophone representing the three phonemes l, ḻ and v. It may be noted that the so called three allophones are diminutive in quantity as clearly revealed in the descriptive nomenclature given to them.

According to quantity or *māttirai* Tamil phonemes may be classified as threefold, 7 vowel phonemes having two *māttirai,* 5 vowel phonemes having one *māttirai* and 18 consonantal phonemes having half *māttirai* each. This classification is based on the suttirams 3, 4, 11 in *Tolkāppiyam.* All these thirty phonemes are distinctive and are called base or primary sounds. There is no phoneme or distinctive element of sound in Tamil having three *māttirai.* It does not mean that we should not employ three *māttirai* in Tamil. What the author wishes to point out is that it has no phonemic value and it has also no single symbol. These aspects of a sound having three *māttirai* and more are brought out in the following two continuous suttirams.

"Mūvaḷa picaittal ōreḻut tiṉṟē"

and "Nēttam vēṇṭin avvaḷa puṭaiya
kūṭṭi eḻūutal enmanār pulavar."

This kind of lengthening of quantity in vovels is called *Aḷapeṭai.* To indicate the lengthening, usually signs of short vowels will be placed along with the signs of long vowels. In like manner, dots are employed by Tolkāppiyar as diacritical marks to denote only diminution of *māttirai.* The placing of a dot on the word Miyā or *Nāṭiyātu* will show that there is only a phonetic change but no phonemic value. In this connection a note of explanation is necessary in regard to the symbol of *Āytam.* It is traditionally held by Tamil scholars that *Āytam* will have three dots like the three heads of a hearth or like the mathematical symbol ∴ for the word "therefore". The phrase *Muppāṟpuḷḷi* in the second suttiram has misled scholars to hold the above view. *Muppāṟppuḷḷi* does not denote *Āytam* alone. It denotes all the three 'Phoneme-like' in that suttiram. That *Āytam* too will have only one dot is clear from the following suttiram which describes its occurrence in the sequence of phonemes.

"Kuṟiyatan munnar āytap puḷḷi
uyiroṭu puṇarnta vallāran micaittē"

Āytappuḷḷi, the dot representing in writing for *Āytam* will come after a short vowel and before a stop. While pointing out this occurrence the author has used the finite singular verb *micaittē*. If more than one dot should represent *Āytam*, the finite verb ought to be in plural as *micaya*.

The first International Conference of Tamil Studies now at Kuala Lumpur must evolve a scientific transcription of Tamil phonemes to be adopted by all Dravidologists in future as the International Phonetic Association did in 1912. I have so far explained that Tolkāppiyar has employed phonemic transcriptions and phonetic transcriptions. Now we are using more or less the phonetic signs used in *Tamil Lexicon* of the University of Madras. Certain changes in symbols are being made by individual writers sporadically to suit typing and composing. Any use of linguistic symbols should reflect to a great extent the true phonemic nature of a language. To indicate long vowel phoneme geminates or diagraphs like *Paari, Aaytam* have come in vogue. The phonemic system will not allow the juxtaposition of two vowels. The sequence of vowels within a morph or word is phonemically impossible. The insertion of a semi-vowel when two vowels occur as in *avan, aval, āyan* is necessary. The method of doubling the ordinary symbol of short vowel phoneme to indicate the long one will be misconstrued that Tamil has no long vowel phonemes. Moreover we use the regular symbol of short vowels in *Aḷapeṭai* with no prevention of hiatus. This absence will show that the geminates have no phonemic value.

The use of *Āytam* by some modern writers needs careful study. *Āytam* has no independent production. In writing the name of the country "France" *Āytam* commences the word. It is elevated to the level of a phoneme and is in contrast with other phonemes initially.

Modern linguists have defined vowel as a sound for whose production the oral passage is unobstructed. Conversely, consonant is a sound for the production of which the air current is occulted in the oral passage at various levels and degrees. This physiological definition is understood by Tolkāppiyar. The terms *Uyir* (vowel) and *Mei* (consonant) have been philosophically interpreted by many commentators and scholars. They expound that *Uyir* like the soul has an independent movement and *Mei* like the body depends for its movement on *Uyir*. This is only a metaphorical and not linguistic interpretation. Tamil grammarians have always taken both *Uyir* and *Mei* as primary sounds, *mutal eḻuttu*. No inferiority in phonemic value is assigned to the consonants. When Tolkāppiyar says that the twelve vowels will be produced by the air expelled from the throat ("*miṭaṟṟup piṟanta vaḷiyiṉ icaikkum*") he has definitely known the unobstructed production of vowels. The terms *Mei* and *Oṟṟu* reveal on the face of them that consonants will be produced by the touch of various organs in the mouth cavity. This is evidenced by the use of verbal participle *Oṟṟu*.

According to *Tolkāppiyam* suttiram 86 there is some tinge of touch even in the birth of certain vowels like i, ī, e, ē and ai (*Mutal nā viḷimpuṟal uṭaiya*). Therefore in the first general suttiram of the chapter (*Piṟappiyal*) on the production of phonemes, he has mentioned the touch of organs *uṟuppuṟṟu amaiya* as a feature common to vowel and consonant. This is a point to be considered by phoneticians.

ĀYTAM: ITS ORIGIN AND NATURE

R. RADHAKRISHNAN

It appears that *āytam* is more of an enigma than a problem. Recently Professors F. B. J. Kuiper and N. Tevaneyan[1] have subjected it to some scrutiny. *Tolkāppiyam*, a grammar of Old Tamil, has listed this sound unit as one of three cārpeḻuttu,[2] which term is translated variously as 'secondary', 'non-linear' and 'non-autonomous' phonemes. This *āytam* is now represented in Tamil by three small circles arranged in a triangular fashion, the base of which is horizontally positioned, and is transliterated as h̲, k̲, H, or simply h. Following Kuiper, h without any diacritic will be employed in this paper.

The prevailing views as to the historical sources and the phonetic nature of *āytam* are presented below. Regarding the phonetic nature, Kuiper, not that he is entirely convinced of it, puts it in the following words: "at the moment when *āytam* was pronounced at the end of the preceding syllable, the tongue had already adopted the position required for the following plosive."[3] This was after Dr. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri's interpretation of sutras 2 & 101 in eḻuttatikāram in *Tolkāppiyam*.[4] Sastri further adds that the six different phonetic renderings of h, corresponding to the six stops, viz. k, c, ṭ, t, p, ṯ, have merged into one with that of h before k, and which at present comparable to that of Sanskrit visarga ḥ before stops. In present day terminology Sastri's views would ascribe an independent phonemic status to *āytam*.

Professor M. Varadarajan[5] accepting the possibility of six different variants of h, considers them as allophones of the stops that follow, and from which they are historically derived. He has characterised the phonetic nature of these *āytam* variants as more subtle than the Sanskrit h. Kuiper's view on this point approximates that of Varadarajan. He excludes, on the authority of *Tolkāppiyam*, any oral articulation for

[1] F. B. J. KUIPER, 'Two Problems of Old Tamil Phonology', *Indo-Iranian Journal*, vol. II (1958), pp. 191-207; N. Tevaneyan, *aytam*, Caivacittanta nutpatippuk kalakattin ayirattettavatu veliyittu vilamalar (1961), pp. 53-58.

[2] *Tolkappiyam*-Eluttatikaram, sutra 2.

[3] KUIPER, op. cit., p. 193.

[4] P. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI, *Tolkappiyam*-Eluttatikaram (1937), pp. 9, 103.

[5] M. VARADARAJAN, *moli nul*, pp. 68-70.

āytam[6] and considers, for example, that "the group hṯ can hardly represent an independent phonetic development lt hṯ, but must be a mere secondary variant of the assimilated geminate ṯṯ'.[7] And it is a fact that hC and CC never contrasted.

On the other hand Tevaneyan considers h as an altered form of k alone, presumably at the synchronic level, and phonetically that it is a 'subtle k'.[8] He does not speak of six variants of h, and in this he has the support of the earlier commentators of *Tolkāppiyam*. For h he lists four historical sources, viz. l, ḷ, v and the stops, and a special metalinguistic morphophonemic source.[9] His examples are: kahṯītu (< kal + tītu), ahṯiṉai (< al + tiṉai), pahṭuḷi (< pal + tuḷi);[10] muhṭītu (< muḷ + tītu); ahkaṭiya (< av + kaṭiya), ihkaṭiya (iv + kaṭiya), uhkaṭiya (uv + kaṭiya) etc.; kahṯītu < kaṯṯītu (< kal + tītu), muhṭītu + muṭṭītu (< muḷ + tītu); ahkān (vowel a followed by sariyai kān), mahkān (nasal m followed by sariyai kān), vahkān (the consonant v followed by sariyai kān).[11] Here Tevaneyan seems to imply two historical developments, at least in reference to l and ḷ: (1). -lt- > -tt-, -ḷt- > ṭṭ-; (2) -lt- > hṯ-, -ḷt- > hṭ-. The second possibility was rejected by Kuiper and he derives all -hC- from -CC-.[12] Again, according to Tevaneyan -ht- yielded -tt-, which was further reduced to -t-.[13] His examples are pal + tu > pahtu > pattu > patu 'ten', al + tu > ahtu > attu > atu "that", etc. This would be exactly the reverse of Kuiper's formulation: -hC- > -CC-, as far as deriving one cluster from the other.

After having closely examined the use of h, Kuiper has the following to say: "Obviously its use, which at one time must have been rooted in the linguistic reality, was becoming a traditional, merely literary device as early as the Oldest Sangam works. If this is true, the possibility that a reliable oral tradition could have survived until the age of the later grammarians can safely be rejected. Hence only theoretical considerations can guide us in determining the probable phonetic value of the plosive (following the h)."[14] For these same reasons it is highly desirable that the phonetic value of *āytam* itself be considered theoretically. Now I will sketch my analysis and suggest an hypothesis as to the origin and nature of *āytam*. The forms in which h occurs are classed into four groups: 1. those that occur in Old Tamil literature; 2. those that occur in the metalanguage of *Tolkāppiyam;* 3. those that are given largely as examples in grammatical works; and 4. others which are listed in the *Tamil Lexicon*.

[6] KUIPER, op. cit., p. 192.
[7] Ibid., p. 193.
[8] TEVANEYAN, op. cit., pp. 54, 58.
[9] Ibid., p. 56.
[10] See footnote 17.
[11] For a discussion on sariyai, see R. Radhakrishnan, 'Empty Morph and Sariyai', *Journal of the Annamalai University*, vol. XXV.
[12] KUIPER, op. cit., p. 193.
[13] TEVANEYAN, op. cit., p. 57.
[14] KUIPER, op. cit., p. 196.

Group 1. aht- 'that', iht- 'this', pah- 'many', toh- 'ancient', koh- 'kill', ahku 'to reduce', ohku 'to shrink', vehku 'to desire', ehku 'sharp iron', ahtai 'woman of rank', pahtu 'ten', pahṯi 'boat', and pahṯuli 'name of a river'.[15]

Group 2. laḷahkān 'the consonants l and ḷ', ṇnahkān 'the consonants ṇ and n, yahkān 'the consonant y', mahkān 'the consonant m', ṯahkān 'the consonant ṯ', nahkān 'the consonant n', vahkān 'the consonant v', pahkān 'the consonant p', rahkān 'the consonant r', lahkan 'the consonant l', and ahṯiṇai 'non-human class (literally, non-class)'.

Group 3. kahcu, kahṭu, kahtu, kahpu, and kahṯu.[16]

Group 4. ahkam 'grain, course of action', ahkaram 'white madar', ahku 'oozing water', ahkulli & cahkulli (Skt. šaskuli) 'steamed meat-cake', ahkēnam 'the letter h', ahpōtam 'a fabled bird', ahkaṭi 'difficulty', cihkuvikam (Skt. jihvīka) 'a kind or high fever in which the tongue is drawn in', cuhṯu 'onomatopoeic form for rustling', pahti 'portion', pahṯiyar 'people of the maritime tract', and vehkā 'name of a river'.

The forms in Group 1 are most important and revealing as they are the earlist recorded ones, and as they do not include analogical literary formations or borrowings. All these forms have allomorphs with nasals in the position for h; aht-:ant-; iht-:int-; ahtai:*antai, this form is formally comparable to tantai '(one's) father', nuntai 'your father', and entai 'my or our father', pahtu:pan-, pah-:pan-; pahṯi:paṉṯi;[17] toh-: ton-; koh-:kon-; ahku is traditionally analyzed into al + ku, but this could as well be aṉ + ku, for consider the negative aṉṯu; ohku, the base of which oh- could be connected with the base in oṉpatu 'nine' and such a possibility has been suggested in the *DED*;[18] ehku is traditionally analysed into el 'lustre' + ku, but this could as well be eṉ + ku, for consider eṉṯu 'sun'; and vehku, the base of which veh- is to be identified with vem- in vemmai 'heat', vennir 'hot water' etc. So it is quite reasonable to assume that *āytam* could be derived historically from nasals, provided that such a postulate explains facts better. Now I set up the following

[15] For complete forms, see Kuiper, op. cit., and Kamil Zvelebil's "Appendix" therewith. Note in all the forms listed morphophonemic ṯ (after pause it is t) alone occurs after pah-, toh-, and koh-.

[16] In addition to this set the commentators list ehku, ahkam, vehku, ahtu, ihtu, and uhtu. All these except uhtu appear above in Groups 1 or 4, and uhtu presents no special problem.

[17] pahti is a kind of boat which is supposed to have resembled the face of a pig (panti) when seen at the front. The form panti itself is believed to have the stem pal 'tooth', thus panti is one that has teeth (conspicuously). However, pahtiyar (pahti+ar) refers to the people of the maritime tract. So, if I may hazard a guess, I would set up the stem *pan- as in pani 'rain, mist, fog' as the base for all the three forms above. And the form pahtuli 'the river Pahtuli' may better be analyzed pahti 'boat', + ul "in" + i 'the nominalizer' to mean a river which admits boats into its stream.

[18] T. Burrow & M. B. Emeneau, *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary* (1961), etyma grouped under 844 & 862.

schemata as the plausible and deducible courses of phonetic change involving the nasals, which I have assumed to have given rise to *āytam*.

$$\text{(i)}\quad VNC > \overrightarrow{VNC} > V\tilde{\gamma}C > V\gamma C > VxC > VC$$

$$\text{(ii)}\quad VNC > \overrightarrow{VNC} > \tilde{V}^{\cdot}C > \bar{V}C$$

$$\text{(iii)}\quad VNC > \overrightarrow{VNC} > VCC$$

$$\text{(iv)}\quad VN \dagger C > V\d{N} \dagger C = VL \dagger C > \overrightarrow{VCC}$$

Above, V is a vowel, N is a nasal consonant, L is a lateral consonant, C is a stop consonant. $\tilde{\gamma}$ is a nasalized velar fricative; γ is a denasalized but voiced velar fricative; x is a denasalized and devoiced velar fricative; † is a word-final pause. VLC in (iv) would also include instances where L is not derived from N. The arrow indicates the direction of assimilation for the place of articulation when the C after N is t. For all other changes assimilation as to the manner of articulation is implied.

All the four types of phonetic change shown in the schemata seem to have taken place before the end of Old Tamil period itself. In (ii) above vowels followed by nasals yielding nasalized vowels, is common enough. In (i) above, a nasal yielding a nasalized velar fricative $\tilde{\gamma}$ is confirmed in Chinese.[19] This change is interesting both as a process facilitating the complete elimination of nasals, and more importantly, as an organic mechanism contributing to the process of sound change. Though at first this change appears to be improbable, it turns out to be organically possible on closer examination. During the production of a nasal the soft palate is lying 'low' making passage for air to escape through the nose. When the nasal undergoes an assimilative process as to the manner of articulation, as in Tamil, to the following oral consonant, interestingly enough, the oral contact for the nasal is weakened and subsequently eliminated, allowing the air to pass through the mouth also, and as a consequence creating friction at the 'low lying' area of the soft palate. Thus the nasal is partially turned into an oral. The same assimilative process (turning the nasal into an oral) further denasalizes the segment leaving the 'improbable' fricative alone to represent the original non-velar nasal. Therefore it is evident, for it has already been shown that h occupies the position of a nasal, that *āytam* should have represented either the nasalized, or simply, the voiced velar fricative.

From Kuiper's examination of the data it is clear that h belonged

[19] See B. KARLGREN, *Etudes Sur La Phonologie Chinoise* (1926), pp. 617-674. My thanks are due to Dr. G. S. Waldo for directing my attention to the Chinese languages in general for the phenomenon of denasalization, and to Professor Wolfgang Franke for lending me the *Phonologie Chinoise* which was not otherwise available to me.

to a phase of Tamil phonology predating the Old Tamil, and its occurrences in Old Tamil forms are, in reality, archaic literary retentions, which were employed to suit the metrical and stylistic requirements. Also we should remind ourselves that Sangam Classics do not represent a uniform or a single dialect. The schemata suggested above probably represent different dialects which contributed to the formation of Old Tamil as it is represented in the Sangam Classics.

Below, the forms included in the four groups above and a few other related forms are commented upon. The probable course of phonetic change is indicated by listing the forms against the appropriate schema. Schema I: All the forms listed under Group 1, and atu 'that', itu 'this' and -patu 'ten'.[20] It is of interest to note in this connection that assimilation as to the place of articulation is progressive, whereas assimilation as to the manner of articulation is regressive or anticipatory. ṯ in -hṯ- clusters is t in origin. In Group 1 there are some forms with -ht- cluster also. The original nasal in these forms is inferred to have been other than an alveolar. So the demonstrative bases are reconstructed as *am-, *im-, and *um- (and similarly *em- 'which, who'). This reconstruction receives some support when the demonstratives with personal suffixes are examined in this light. avan < *am + an; ivan < *im + an; evan < *em + an. Also consider forms like iḷavaracu < iḷam + aracu. In these forms v is satisfactorily explained as the altered form of the original m. But the t in the form pahtu presents a problem. If paṉ- is the base one would expect ṯ in it. May be it is due to contamination with the other dialect form *pattu (derived according to Schema III).

Schema II: ātu and ītu, particularly as case suffixes. These are often identified with the demonstratives. Also possibly āku 'to become', 'to finish' (cf. ahku 'to shrink'), vēku 'boil (v)' (cf. vehku 'to desire'), and nō, nōku & nōtal, with the base *nom- 'pain (v)' (cf. nontu 'having suffered').

Schema III: *N at the internal sandhi: attai *antai (cf. ahtai); pattu < *pantu (cf. pahtu); ekku < *enku (cf. ehku). *N at the external sandhi: paṯṯuvalai < pan 'many' + tuvalai 'rain drops'; paṯṯuḷi < pan + tuḷi 'drop'. In the following both -NC- (before assimilation) and -CC- (after assimilation) occur: veṉṯi & veṯṯi 'victory'; aṉṯu & aṯṯu 'not so' niṯṯal and kuṯṯam, respectively 'standing' and 'defect', could be analysed to have bases niṉ- and kuṉ- respectively. An examination of the ṯṯ cluster in Old Tamil would yield more instances belonging to this class. Note here that -hC- cluster is not derived from -CC- cluster, or vice versa as has been suggested by others before. Instead they are treated as two independent developments from the same source, i.e. -NC- clusters, characterizing the impact of regional dialects on the formation and regularization of Old Tamil in the Sangam Classics.

[20] Notice the forms atu, itu, and patu are derived from ahtu, ihtu, and pahtu, and not from attu, ittu, and pattu as Tevaneyan did. Cf. footnote 13.

Schema IV: kaṯṯītu kal 'stone' + tītu 'harmful'; muṭṭītu muḷ 'thorn' + tītu 'harmful'; maṭṭāḻi < maṇ 'earth (en)' + tāḻi 'pot' etc. Of these the first two are often cited as kahṯitu and muhṭītu as examples for *āytam* in sandhi, and for free-variation between -hC- and -CC-. These two are probably latter-day grammarians' creations (though the second could have occurred in Old Tamil, for muṇ- occurs in muṇṭakam 'thorn') for exemplification, but of course based on the correct synchronic analysis of the earlier occurrences. For, already there were forms having allomorphs with homo-organic laterals in position for nasals: e.g. kol 'kill', muḷ 'thorn' etc. The view that laterals gave rise to *āytam* has its origin here. It is possible that the forms like paṯṯuvalai and paṭṭuḷi listed against Scheme III and such other forms could also have been formed independently after the nasals yielded homorganic laterals. That is, -ṯṯ- could be traced to two different sources, namely, -ṉt- and -lt-; and -ṭṭ- to -ṇt- and -ḷt-.

All words included in Group 2 and ahkēnam 'the Tamil sound h' are terms in metalanguage, among which for ahṯiṇai alone proper etymology could be established: aṉ (=al) + tiṇai 'the non-class' or non-human class. The h in other terms could not be traced back historically to any phoneme, and its presence in them should probably be attributed to the grammarian's intention of explaining something by implication. Possibly it was intended to imply that h has the same place of articulation as that of the following k. Though this is not certainly the best means of stating the fact, there was such a tradition of implicating which was acceptable to the author of *Tolkāppiyam* himself, and he termed it uṭampoṭu puṇarttal[21] 'physical linkage'. -kan in the terms is a sariyai, an empty morpheme.[22]

I am unable to trace the first occurrences for the forms included in Group 4. h in ahkulli, chkulli and cihkuvīkam is obviously introduced as approximations to the non-Tamil sounds in the borrowings. As the *Tamil Lexicon* implies, pahti is possibly the rendering of the colloquial pronunciation of pakuti 'part'. ahkam and ahku possibly have the base *an- 'not, diminish', and have undergone semantic specialization. The forms like kahṭu, kahtu & kahpu are really grammarians' creations, for they are used nowhere in the literature.

Now with certain amount of certainty it may be concluded that *āytam* is historically derivable from nasals directly, and it was in all probability a voiced velar fricative, which was also nasalized during its formative period.[23]

[21] *Tolkappiyam*-Porulatikaram (Kalakam edn.), sutra 656.

[22] See footnote 11.

[23] The present erratic variation between voicing and unvoicing of aytam which Kuiper points out should be considered not as due to any living tradition with the educated, but largely due to the influence of present day intervocalic pronunciation of the velar stop phoneme, which has this variation.

ON INTERVOCALIC VOICING OF STOPS IN OLD TAMIL

R. Radhakrishnan

Professor F. B. J. Kuiper has dealt with this problem at length in his two articles[1]. He concludes that "the modern opposition between a tense voiceless articulation of the plosives in initial position, and a lax (more or less voiced) articulation with weakened occlusion intervocalically seems essentially to have existed already about the beginning of our era".[2] Note above the expression "more or less voiced". This is because, I presume, both voiced and voiceless variants occur in Modern Tamil dialects. And he approvingly quotes Meerwarth's conclusion that "the sonatization of the intervocalic stops must have been completed at least at the beginning of our era".[3] Also stated is that the fricative pronunciation "must be dated back to the Sangam Period (i.e. the first century A.D.)".[4] Though he correctly assessed that "the fundamental opposition is rather between tense articulation and lax articulation" and that "the latter of which *may* additionally be characterised by voicing but need not necessarily be so"[5] in regard to the present day Tamil dialects, he gives the impression that in Old Tamil, to start with, the intervocalic single stops were voiced, and in course of time they developed lenis articulation, sometimes (i.e. in some dialects) retaining the original voicing component of the intervocalic stops, and sometimes (i.e. in some other dialects) losing it. That is, the voicing component of the intervocalic stops was already there in Old Tamil, and it was the feature that was discarded last, when considered in the historical perspective. In an attempt to reconcile the presence of t and p in intervocalic position in the "devoicing" Jaffna dialect[6] with this theory, he explained it is possibly due to a "secondary development".[7] That is, Old Tamil intervocalic d and b (according to Kuiper) developed into homorganic fricatives, which in

[1] F. B. J. Kuiper, 'Two Problems of Old Tamil Phonology', *Indo-Iranian Journal*, vol. II (1958), pp. 207-224; and 'Note on Old Tamil and Jaffna Tamil', *Indo-Iranian Journal*, vol. IV (1962-1963), pp. 52-64.

[2] Ibid., p. 222.

[3] Ibid., p. 221.

[4] Ibid., p. 59.

[5] Ibid., p. 215.

[6] Ibid., p. 56.

[7] Ibid., p. 59.

turn developed, due to the "secondary development" peculiar to that dialect, into -t- and -p-. Thus Kuiper has supported Caldwell's "law"[8] of the convertibility of surds into sonants in intervocalic position as applicable to Old Tamil. As against this view, M. Srinivasa Aiyangar, P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri, C. R. Sankaran and S. K. Chatterji have maintained that Old Tamil intervocalic stops were voiceless.[9] Below, I argue that in Old Tamil there were stops in intervocalic position, and they were voiceless.[10]

I suggest that voicing was the last component added on to the Old Tamil intervocalic reflects of surds, and setting-in of the lenis articulation of surds should be considered the first phonetic change, which, in Modern Tamil dialects, reduced those surds to fricatives in most cases, and still in some instances to nothing.[11] Below I present two charts summing up the assumed stages, one based on views as presented by Kuiper, and the other based on my own views.

ACCORDING TO KUIPER:

Stage I voiceless stops	**Stage II** voiced stops	**Stage III** weakened articulation but voiced	**Stage IV** weakened articulation but voiceless
k	g		x
c	j	z	s
ṭ	ḍ	ɽ	—
t̲	d̲	r	—
t	d	đ	θ
p	b	w	—

Above, the fortis articulation represented in the first column apply to pre-Sangam period, and this inference is justified in view of Kuiper's quotation from Meerwarth cited above.

ACCORDING TO THE PRESENT AUTHOR:

Stage I voiceless stops	**Stage II** weakened articulation still voiceless	**Stage III** weakened articulation but voiced
k	x	ɣ
c	s	—
ṭ	(ŧ̣)	ɽ
t̲	(r)	r
t	θ	đ
p	(w)	w

[8] CALDWELL, *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian Family of Languages*, London, 1913.

[9] KUIPER, op. cit.

[10] See, for the supporting evidence I have tracted from *Tolkappiyam*, my 'A Note: Tolkappiyam on Intervocalic Stops'.

[11] KUIPER, op. cit. p. 59.

How to account for Kuiper's Stage IV developing from Stage III? Why should there be devoicing? It cannot be argued that an economy of effort was involved here, for, the immediately neighbouring segments are and were voiced. Alternatively a sort of dissimilation should be involved. Then, what are the phonetic features present in the context which prompts such a dissimilative process? None are discernible. Further, now is one to explain -đ- or -θ- yielding -t-, and -w- yielding -p- in the unvoicing Jaffna dialect? One has to resort to 'secondary development' as Kuiper did. But this again is not convincing, particularly when one fails to discover appropriate phonetic environments that would justify the plausibility of such a change.

The alternative course of phonetic changes I have suggested would account for the historical developments better. My Stage III is simply derived as due to the voicing-assimilation of medial consonants to the neighbouring vowels. The intervocalic -t- and -p- in the unvoicing Jaffna dialect is due then, to the retention of an archaic feature in that dialect, which need not be connected with a "(hypothetical!) *pre*-Sangam stage of the Tamil system of plosives",[12] but with probably the Sangam or post-Sangam Tamil system of plosives. Also consider that my suggested alternative to that of Kuiper's course of phonetic changes involves only three stages instead of four, which is more economical, and thus more plausible.

In my chart there is a gap in Stage III on the palatal row. That is -s- has not yielded -z-. This is explainable as due to the fact that initial c-, unlike the other stops, has developed into s-, thus removing the palatal from the stop series, except when it occurs in clusters. Instances of s- and VsV are to be identified as of a seperate /s/, for s and c contrast even in clusters, e.g. *pesra(n)* 'he speaks' and *tanni pacra(n)* 'he irrigates'. This identification of medial s segment with the initial s segment impedes the voicing assimilation to the immediate vowels. For -x-, the allophone of /k/, there are no such initial or other segments to be identified phonetically with. This facilitates its assimilation to the neighbouring vowels in regard to voicing. This being the case, however, there are still dialects, mostly that are least exposed to Sanskritic cultural and linguistic influences, which still retain not only initial c- but also VcV.

The reflexes of cerebral, alveolar and bilabial stops in intervocalic position are enclosed in brackets in my Stage II, and they stand to be explained. For t and ṯ, the weakening of the intervocalic articulation and voicing of the segments were probably obtained with a minimum time lag, if not concurrently. This explains why VṯV has fallen together with VrV at a very early date. It should be noted that both ṭ

[12] Ibid., p. 58. The intervocalic -t- and -p- need not be connected with the pre-Sangam stage even as an alternative to be rejected preference to the "secondary development".

and ṯ do not occur initially. It is evident that this distributional factor did effect the phonetic changes. Regarding VpV two cycles are to be recognised. By the end of Old Tamil period the alteration of -v- for -p- was complete.[13] Most of the intervocalic -p- instances in post-Sangam Tamil are due to Sanskrit borrowings. These too were affected by the intervocalic weakening process, resulting in -w-. At least in some dialects the distinction between the segments derived from Old Tamil -p- and those from the post-Sangam Tamil is kept up. Old Tamil -p- yields -v-; and the other -w-. The -w- could alternate with -v-, but not the -v- with -w-.

Because k, c, ṭ, ṯ, t, and p are grouped together as hard consonants, Kuiper gives the impression that all these had undergone the same phonetic changes in the same sequence, and probably, with a uniform rate of change. Otherwise he need not have assumed a fricative stage and proposed a "secondary development" to explain the presence of -t- and -p- in the unvoicing Jaffna dialect. However, it is clear that some consonants are more stable than others because of their differentiable syntagmatic constrastive function at subphonemic (distinctive feature) level, and their interrelations within a phonemic system. If this is so, then there could be no uniform rate of change. Consequently that even if a tendency for a particular kind of phonetic change is discernible in a language, it is unnecessary to assume that it is or was operative on all segments at once. This standpoint should explain why in the Jaffna dialect -k- developed into -x- and -h-, but not similarly -p- and -t- into fricatives.

The observation that "the transition of /p/ to /v/ in *Tolkāppiyam* and the late Sangam works"[14] need not imply, which it did for Kuiper, that "intervocalic /t/ and /ṭ/ must have been voiced in the 1st century A.D."[15] Kuiper notes that "as a rule single p does not occur intervocalically in genuine Tamil words, since it has become v in the first centuries A.D."[16] Already it was pointed out above that this change belongs to a different cycle. Probably this was one of the first changes that characterised Old Tamil. It is of interest to note here that weakening of intervocalic stops is an on-going process observable in Modern Tamil also, when looked at diachronically. And Kuiper's statement that "one fails to see decisive arguments for the theory of a material change in the pronunciation of the plosives after the first centuries A.D.[17] is not justified, when one considers the changes in the present day Tamil dialects like VkV developing into VvV. For example, *makan, pakal, viraku, takappan,* and *varaku* yielding respectively *mava(n), pval, vervu, tavapa(n) and varavu.*

[13] Ibid., p. 212.
[14] Ibid., p. 58.
[15] Ibid., p. 58.
[16] Ibid., p. 212.
[17] Ibid., p. 58.

To support his views Kuiper relied more on Greek evidence[18] than on anything else, and discarded the Sanskrit evidence[19] which went against his theory as unreliable. He has not checked contrastively the phonemic systems of Greek and Sanskrit with that of Tamil. It seems, he simply relied on Greek spelling, which evidently used the voiced stops to represent the Tamil intervocalic stops. But it is imperative to take notice of the fact that foreign sounds are reinterpreted in terms of one's own phonemic system. Greek has only voiced-voiceless opposition for its stops, where voiceless stops are aspirated.[20] The acoustic impression of lax versus tense articulation is, in Greek, realised in the opposition of voiced-voiceless stops. No wonder then, the Greek listeners identified the relatively weaker accoustic impressions of Tamil intervocalic single stops, which were presumably unaspirated, with their counterparts and accordingly wrote voiced stops in Greek spelling. On the other hand Sanskrit has not only voiced-voiceless opposition, but also aspirated-unaspirated opposition. This explains why Sanskrit speakers identified the Tamil intervocalic hard consonants as voiceless stops,[21] correctly in our opinion. Here Bloch receives some support for his view deduced from the evidence of Tamil words in Kumarila Bhatta's Sanskrit Commentary that "the modern pronunciation with voiced ḍ and b must... have arisen after that date",[22] i.e. A.D. 750.

So the view that Old Tamil intervocalic stops were not voiced could still be maintained. That is, Caldwell's law of the convertibility of surds and sonants could not be applied to Old Tamil.[23]

[18] Ibid., pp. 219-221.
[19] Ibid., p. 222.
[20] See George Thomson, *The Greek Language*, W. Heffer & Sons., p. 14.
[21] KUIPER, op. cit., p. 222.
[22] Ibid., p. 222.
[23] See footnote 10.

INTERVOCALIC STOPS IN OLD TAMIL[1]

R. RADHAKRISHNAN

Besides Professor F. B. J. Kuiper, Professor Bh. Krishnamurti has treated this problem recently.[2] Unlike others who relied, in his words "too much on the doubtful evidence of loan words and a string of ethno-paleographic theories"[3] he for the first time has made use of the evidence obtained from the Dravidian comparative vocabulary. He concludes: "We approve of Caldwell's statement in a modified form that voicing of the radical voiceless stops in intervocalic position was ancient in all literary South Dravidian languages and also probably represents a proto-Dravidian dialect condition."[4]

Krishnamurti divides intervocalics into two groups, those that occur in the roots, and those which occur in the suffixes. According to him voicing the root intervocalic stops was *ancient* as it is shared by Tamil, Telugu and Kannada. However, Telugu and Kannada evidence alone could be valid here. Tamil evidence is included here only by analogy, and it is precisely the point, the validity of which is questioned. The analogy based on presumtive reasoning is taken for granted because of the fact that he finds in Ancient Tamil spirantization of -c- and -p- to -y- and -v- which indicates the weakened articulation and, of course, the concurrent voicing of these stops. Also he refers to Alfred Master's citation of *atar* 'path', a Sanskrit borrowing from Tamil, in which the latter sees Sanskrit influence for the voiceless rendering of the intervocalic, and but for it, it should have been *adar*, thus providing the former further evidence for intervocalic voicing.

Already I have argued for the correctness of Kumarila Bhatta's renderings of Tamil words in Sanskrit, and that *atar*, in Sanskrit spelling with a voiceless stop in the intervocalic would be the correct rendering of the Tamil word.[5] In regard to the weakened articulation, note that spirantization was a feature of *ancient Tamil*, and Alfred Master states

[1] See R. RADHAKRISHNAN, 'A Note: Tolkappiyam On Intervocalic Stops' and 'On Intervocalic Voicing of Stops in Old Tamil'.

[2] BH. KRISHNAMURTI, 'Telugu Verbal Bases', *University of California Publications in Linguistics*, vol. XXIV, 1961.

[3] Ibid., p. 31.

[4] Ibid., p. 33.

[5] RADHAKRISHNAN, op. cit., 'On Intervocalic Voicing...'

that p and v were practically interchangable at that time. As for the other stops in Ancient Tamil weakening was not evidenced so far. Following Professor Chatterji, Krishnamurti also makes a distinction between Ancient and Old Tamil. So it is more correct to say that weakened articulation spirantized -p- and -c- alone in Ancient Tamil without drawing parallel conclusions for other stops, for that would imply an uniform rate of phonetic change for all without giving any consideration to the differential syntagmatic contrastive function and the interrelations of stops within a phonemic system.[6] So spirantization found in Ancient Tamil is no proof to assume that the same state of affairs was obtained in Old Tamil also, and that too for all stops. In this connection it is interesting to note that Chatterji thinks that Ancient Tamil had voiced and voiceless plosives, both initially and medially as distinct phonemes, and in Old Tamil all voiced plosives both initial and medial became voiceless stops.[7] Elsewhere I have attempted to show that intervocalic single stops were voiceless in Old Tamil.[8] I referred to *Tolkāppiyam* according to which only stops immediately following the nasals were voiced.[9] Also I have shown that the oft quoted Greek evidence for intervocalic voicing is really not very dependable, whereas the discarded Sanskrit evidence is more revealing.

The only evidence that would lend Krishnamurti some support to his contention that voicing the stops intervocalically was *ancient* is the voicing phenomenon observed by him in Telugu and Kannada roots. But his segregation of root and suffix intervocalics for independent treatment is not convincing, as it implies that tactical environment by itself could affect phonetic changes; to put it in other words, it implies that speakers of a language are capable of switching phonetic codes to suit the grammatical categories. So, unless this tactical or grammatical environment is translated into some sort of phonetic environment, the evidence of voicing of the root intervocalic stops in Telugu and Kannada is rendered useless, for the purpose of treating intervocalic voicing as ancient. Thus Krishnamurti's "internal evidence" proves no better than the "doubtful evidence of loanwords and a string of ethno-paleographic theories" in establishing intervocalic voicing of stops in Old Tamil.

When voicing of the root intervocalic stops in Telugu and Kannada is considered in phonological and historical contexts, I suspect the presence of nasals in the environment which were subsequently eliminated; or, in some cases, those voiced stops were historically derived from other

[6] Ibid.

[7] S. K. CHATTERJI, 'Old Tamil, Ancient Tamil and Primitive Tamil', *Indian Linguistics*, vol. 14 (1954), and reprinted with slight modifications in *Tamil Culture*, vol. V (1956), no. 2.

[8] RADHAKRISHNAN, op. cit.

[9] Cf. KRISHNAMURTI, op. cit., p. 33. So there is no difficulty in deriving the Malayalam suffixes /-ṅn/&/-ññ-/ from Old or Middle Tamil /-nk-/&/-ñc-/ as they are phonetically already -ṅg- & -ñj-.

consonants other than the homorganic voiceless stops.[10] If I am right on this point, the spirantization referred to by Alfred Master and Krishnamurti may not be coupled with sound changes that produced voiced stops in the root morphemes. And consequently it would not support the view that in Ancient Tamil all the intervocalic stops, even in the root morphemes, were voiced. And of course, Krishnamurti's further assumption that intervocalic voicing of radical stops does probably represent "a Proto-Dravidian dialect condition" receives no support.

[10] Ibid., pp. 35, 40, 48.

A NOTE: *TOLKĀPPIYAM* ON INTERVOCALIC STOPS*

R. RADHAKRISHNAN

In his Comparative Grammar[1] Caldwell formulated the law of the convertibility of surds and sonants, which referred to the allophonic distribution of stops. According to this law the stops in the initial position are voiceless, whereas the intervocalics are voiced. This state of affairs observable in most of the Modern Tamil dialects was also assumed for all the Dravidian languages by Caldwell. Though his views on this point are not accepted now, it has given rise to a controversy regarding the nature of the intervocalic hard consonants (p, t, ṯ, t, c and k) in Old Tamil. The law implied that in Old Tamil also the intervocalics were voiced. Some scholars like M. Srinivasa Aiyangar, P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri and C. R. Sankaran[2] have voiced their doubts and argued that the Old Tamil intervocalic stops were voiceless on the evidence of Tamil script and the rules of *Tolkāppiyam* (a grammar of Old Tamil). The evidence they have brought forth from *Tolkāppiyam* so far is that it lists only thirty "linear phonemes" (twelve vowels and eighteen consonants), and it refers to all the six stops as valleḻuttu 'hard consonants' to imply they they are voiceless. As F. B. J. Kuiper[3] points out, the arguments based on this evidence alone are quite unconvincing. However, I will show below that though *Tolkāppiyam* does not make explicit statement regarding the unvoiced nature of the intervocalic stops, it clearly implies it.

It is unfortunate that the commentators of *Tolkāppiyam* have failed so far to appreciate the consistent use of the metalanguage in it. The

* This note has been accepted for publication by the *Indo-Iranian Journal*. However, as this note serves as an introduction to my two other papers on 'intervocalic stops', it is submitted to the International Conference-Seminar of Tamil Studies.

[1] REV. ROBERT CALDWELL, *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages or South Indian Family of Languages*, 3rd edn. Reprint 1956, Univ. of Madras, p. 138.

[2] M. SRINIVASA AIYANGAR, *Tamil Studies*, Madras 1914; P. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI, *JOR*, Madras, VI, 1932; and C. R. SANKARAN, *Phonemics of Old Tamil*, 1951. All as quoted by Kuiper. See footnote 3.

[3] F. B. J. KUIPER, "Two Problems of Old Tamil Phonology," *Indo-Iranian Journal*, II, 1958; and "Note on Old Tamil and Jaffna Tamil", *Indo-Iranian Journal*, VI, 1962-63.

pertinent terms to our problem on hand are *icaittal* 'voicing' and *uyirttal* 'breathing'.[4] Note that *icai* and *uyir*, the stems in the two terms mentioned above, also mean respectively 'music' and 'life' for which voicing and breathing are indispensible. When Tolkappiyam describes sounds that are voiced it employs the term *icai-*; but when it describes sounds that are voiceless it employs the term *ūyirttal*. According to *Tolkāppiyam*[5] the vowels (sutra 84), the nasals (sutra 100) and the liquids (sutra 99) are voiced; The stops are breathed (sutra 17), except when they are preceded by nasals (sutra 25).

When *Tolkāppiyam* carefully employs the word *icaikal* to refer to the voiced allophones of the stops occurring after the nasals, we could reasonably expect that it would indicate explicitly if the intervocalic stops were voiced. So I propose to reinstate the problem of intervocalic voicing in Old Tamil, in spite of Kuiper's Greek evidence.[6]

[4] For a detailed treatment, see my forthcoming articles on 'The metalanguage of *Tolkappiyam*' and 'The Phonetic details from *Tolkappiyam*'.

[5] *Tolkappiyam*, Eluttatikaram: Naccinarkkiniyam edited by C. Kanecaiyar, Cunnakam, 1952.

[6] See footnote 3 above.

SUTRA 110 IN *TOLKĀPPIYAM*-E̲LUTTATIKĀ

R. RADHAKRISHNAN

Vidwan M. Arunachalam Pillai, an established grammarian of traditional scholarship, has warned us against the errors that might have crept into *Tolkāppiyam* texts due to the repeated copyings by uncritical scribes and editors, and required us to be on the alert to discover the correct readings.[1] With this support from a scholar of *Tolkāppiyam*, I am emboldened to suggest an emendation of sutra 110 of *Tolkāppiyam*-E̲luttatikāram.[2]

As it is, the sutra reads as follows:

> niṯutta colluṅ kuṯittuvaru kiḷaviyu
> maṭayoṭu tōṉṯiṉum puṇarnilaik kuriya.

The word to be noted here is *aṭai*, 'qualifiers', underscored in the sutra quoted. This sutra, in its present reading, tells us that a word in position and a word that follows it are eligible for sandhi transformations, even if they are qualified by others. In Tamil qualifiers usually precede the qualified. So the *aṭaiyoṭutōṉṯuñcol* and the *aṭaiyoṭutōṉṯuṅkiḷavi* are understood to have reference to compounds.[3] The earlier commentators like Ilampūranar and Naccinārkkiniyar seem to prefer to restrict the use of this sutra to two kinds of compounds, though they are inclined to extend the application of it to all the compounds of Tamil. Accordingly, the sutra is understood to mean that compound words are to be treated as single words for the purposes of sandhi transformations. But, even without the presence of this sutra, the purport of it could easily be inferred from a sutra[4] which states that all compounds function as if they are single words. Thus this sutra in its present reading and interpretation adds no useful information, and the grammarian-author could be blamed for, according to the Tamil canons of criticism, the slur of repetition. Also it is not convincing to assume that the grammarian

[1] M. ARUNACHALAM PILLAI, 'Tolkappiyattil oru cuttiram', *Caivacittanta nutpatippuk kalakattin ayirattettavatu veliyittu vila malar*, 1961, p. 47.

[2] *Tolkappiyam*-Eluttatikaram, Kanesaiyar edn., 1952.

[3] For a description of compounds, see *Tolkappiyam*-Collatikaram, sutras 412-420.

[4] Ibid., sutra 420.

had employed the word *aṭai* in the sutra to imply the reference to compounds, for, elsewhere he has used *tokai* 'compounds' as a grammatical term. Using this grammatical term he could have made a briefer statement, something like **ellāttokaiyum puṇarnilaikkuria.*

So, I suggest that the form *aṭai* 'qualifiers' in the sutra should read as *iṭai* 'particles'. Notice, in terms of Tamil syllabic writing only a diacritic is to be added to the first letter of the second line in the sutra, and it involves no replacement when one hand-writes. Now let me demonstrate how this emended version is more appropriate.

In sutras 108 and 109 *Tolkāppiyam*-Eḻuttatikāram characterizes the sandhi transformations. The last phoneme of the word in position and the first phoneme of the word following it, when in proximity, are said to suffer four kinds of sandhi transformations, viz. replacement, increment or loss of consonant(s), and no change. Both, the word in position and the one following it could either be a noun or a verb, with no restriction on the resulting colligations, yielding four kinds of grammatical sequences: noun + noun, noun + verb, verb + noun, and verb + verb.

In sutras 158 and 159 of *Tolkāppiyam*-Collatikāram we are told that words are to be classified into nouns and verbs; and, the particles[5] and the stems (or roots)[6] occur along with them. Obviously all nouns and verbs must have stems in them; but particles might or might not occur with them. That is, in reference to sutra 110 above, it is possible to have instances where both the word in position and the one following it containing no particles. So the sutra 110 makes it explicit that noun and verb referred to in the sutra 108 would include also instances where particles occur with them. This explication based on the suggested emendation receives further support, when it is considered that in the following sutras of the chapter particles like case-suffixes and sariyai (empty-morphemes) are listed, and the sandhi transformations they undergo are detailed. Thus the emended sutra could be linked appropriately both with the preceding and the following sutras in the chapter, and its presence there could more convincingly be justified.

The emended version of the sutra reads as follows:

> niṟutta colluṅ kuṟittuvaru kiḷaviyu
> miṭayotu tōṉṟiṉum puṇarnilaik kuriya.

The word in position and the one that follows it are eligible for sandhi transformations, even when they appear with particles.

[5] Ibid., sutra 250.
[6] Ibid., sutra 297.

THE WORD PŪCAI IN TAMIL

R. Radhakrishnan

H. W. Bailey in his *Cognates of Pūjā*[1] has shown the Indo-European origin of the word *pūjā*. Though, in his own words "the base *pūj*- stands as an isolated peak rising out of the Indo-Aryan plain".[2] Because of this distinguishing peculiarity the problem of the origin of *pūjā* is posed as unresolved, and a double origin is sometimes suggested. That is, a Tamil (Ta.) origin is posited yielding Ta. *pūcay*, which was subsequently identified with Sanskrit (Skt.) *pūjā* for obvious reasons, both linguistic and ritualistic. Before Bailey's evidence was forthcoming the Skt. form was considered by some as a borrowing from Ta. Below I show that both these standpoints are untenable.

Bailey lists three proposals[3] that trace the word *pūjā* to Ta. origin: Ta. *pū* 'flower' plus *cey* 'do' resulting in *pūcey;* Ta. *pūcu* 'smear' and *pōṯṯu* 'cherish'. Obviously all these three forms could be connected with *pūjā* in ritual contexts. But, however, not all the three could be matched readily with the Skt. form on immediate semantic grounds. It is quite evident that Ta. *pōṯṯ* — and Skt. *pūj*- 'to honour' would qualify for such a matching. Note *pōṯṯu* means both 'to cherish' and 'to honour', whichever might have been its primitive meaning. *pūcu* and *pūcey* could not thus be readily matched, unless the special contexts of rituals are taken into account. To prove Skt. *pūjā* and Ta. *pūcey* could have had their origin in the Ta. forms listed above, the formal aspects must also be considered.

It could be shown that Skt. *pūjā* could not be a borrowing from Ta. by checking the morphological structure of Ta. words suggested as possible sources, and by comparing their supposed assimilated Skt. forms (here only *pūjā*) with assumed Dravidian borrowings in Skt. for phonological adoptions. Here it is assumed that words, if they were, were borrowed in their entirety. The possibility of adding appropriate endings to borrowed stems is not considered relevant here, as it was felt this possibility was unlikely with *pūjā* and other examples cited. When such

[1] H. W. Bailey, "Cognates of Puja", *The Adyar Library Bulletin,* XXV, pp. 1-12.
[2] Ibid. p. 1.
[3] Ibid. p. 1., footnote 2.

endings or other elements other than those that are compared are suspected they are enclosed in brackets. Burrow's[4] was consulted for this purpose.

First, let *pōṯṯu* be examined as a possible source for Skt. *pūjā*. There is no evidence for Ta. -ṯṯ- cluster being adopted as Skt. -j-. On the other hand, Ta. -ṯṯ-: Skt. -tt-, which is phonetically more plausible, finds an example in Ta. *puṯṯ(u)* Skt. *putt(ika)*. Also note in this connection that Ta. -ṯṯ- is -tt- in most dialects of spoken Ta. Also there is no evidence for Ta. -ō- being adopted into Skt. as -ū-. One seeming exception, that too for the short vowel, is Ta. *koḻ* 'horsegram': Skt. *kul(atta)*. Either originally the present Ta. *koḻ* was derived from an older form **kul*, or the suggested Dravidian origin for Skt. *kulatta* is dubious, since this will be a lonely instance where there is a correspondence between Ta. -o- and Skt. -u-, whereas instances of Ta. -u-: Skt. -u- are numerous. Alternatively, the Skt. form could have been borrowed from some other Dravidian language.[5] So, Skt. *pūjā* could not formally be an adoptation of Ta. *pōṯṯu*.

Now, *pūcey* and *pūcu*: -c- in both these items could have possibly been rendered in Skt. as -j-. Cf: Ta. *muracu*: Skt. *muraja*. But it should be pointed out that Ta. -c- occurs in other borrowings of Tamil words into Sanskrit. Also possible is Ta. -u: Skt. -a, but not Ta. -ey: Skt. -a, though many instances are available for Ta. -ai: Skt. -a. It might be argued that Skt. form was derived from or identified with the Ta. form *pūcey* after it yielded Ta. *pūcay*. But there is no evidence within Tamil to derive -ai from -ey, either historically or morphonemically. Thus, on the phonological plane, *pūcey* does not lend itself as a source for borrowing or for identification for the Skt. form. However, *pūcu* presents itself as a possible source, if the phonological adoptations alone are considered.

It is more appropriate to consider that Skt. *pūja* was borrowed as a noun, if it was. On this count Ta. *pūccu*, the noun form, qualifies better as a source. There are no instances where Ta. -cc- was adopted in Skt. as -j-. Also Ta. *pōṯṯu* above, which is not a noun, could not be considered a source for Skt. *pūjā* at the grammatical level. Regarding Ta. *pūcey*, note that there are no compund nouns in Ta. where a noun is followed by a verb stem without a nominalising suffix at the end. Thus, *pūcey*, if it must be considered a compound noun for the sake of deriving the present Ta. *pūsa(y)*, would prove to be an unique case.

It was shown above, both at grammatical and phonological levels, that none of the Ta. words suggested could be a source for the Skt. form. Below it is examined whether Ta. *pūcay*, or in colloquial speech *pūsa(y)*,

[4] T. Burrow, *The Sanskrit Language*, pp. 373-388.

[5] Cf. T. Burrow and M. B. Emeneau, *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*, etyma grouped under 1790.

could be a genuine Ta. word; that is, could it be derived from *pōṯṯu*, *pūcu* or *pūcey*.

Already it was pointed out that *pūcey* could not be considered a properly constructed compound noun in Tamil. The other two are not nouns. There are no reasons, applicable in particular to these forms, or applicable in general to grammatical categories to which these forms belong, to consider these forms were ever nouns in Tamil. And there are no reasons either to trace historically the present Ta. nouns to earlier non-noun categories. So at the grammatical level it is incompatible to assume that any one of these forms could have given rise to the present day Ta. *pūcay*, or *pūsa(y)*.

At the phonological level, to derive Ta. *pūcay* historically from Ta. *pōṯṯu*, three sound-changes have to be accounted for. 1. CōC resulting in CuC; 2. -ṯṯ- resulting in -c-; and 3. -u resulting in -ai. In deriving Ta. *pūcay* from Ta. *Pūcu* the sound-change -u giving rise to -ai is implicated. In deriving Ta. *pūcai* or *pūcay* from Ta. *pūcey*, the change -ey to -ai or -ay is assumed, particularly the change in vowel quality. None of these sound changes required above to derive Ta. *pūcai* from a Ta. source are attested for Tamil. Thus at the phonological level too the assumption that *pūcai* is a Tamil-derived word is fallacious.

An independent evidence for denying the Ta. origin for *pūcai* is its renditions in the dialects. Notice that all occurrences of Old Tamil VcV are in Modern Tamil VsV. None of these of Dravidian origin tolerate a free variation, or admit regional and class dialectal alteration between VsV and VjV. Whereas, *pūcai* is pronounced as *pūsa(i)* or *pūja(i)* depending on the dialect spoken, or as free-variants.

A consideration of the form *pūcāri* or *pūjāri* 'one who performs puja' is useful here. The construction of this form is more readily explained in Skt., possibly, as root *pūj-* followed by -ar- and the suffix -i (-i?). This would still leave the lengthening of the thematic vowel unexplained. In this connection, however, see the Hindi form *pujari*.[6]

Thus the cumulative evidence not only disapproves tracing Skt. *puj-* to Tamil source, but also indicates that it was borrowed into Tamil.

[6] *Student's Practical Dictionary: Hindi-English*, Ram Narain Lal, Allahabad, 1949.

TRANSLITERATION OF TAMIL — A NEW SYSTEM[1]

RAMA SUBBIAH

In the transliteration of Tamil, one faces two major problems:

(i) the large number of variations, for the Tamil letter, used in different systems, and

(ii) the diacritical marks.

CONSONANTS

The Table below sets out the transliteration symbols used by various scholars or authorities for the Tamil Consonants. The Table is divided into two parts; the first part shows very little difference in the symbols used and the second part is full of variations.

	TL	TPM	*DED*/ British Museum	Meile	Pope	Jones	*TC*	Lap	
க்	k	k	k	k	g, k	k	k	g, k	**Part I**
ச்	c	c	c	c	ç	c	c	s	
த்	t	t̲	t	t	th, t	t	th	d, t	
ந்	n	ṉ	n	n	n	n	nh	n	
ப்	p	p	p	p	b, p	p	p	b, p	
ம்	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	
ய்	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	
ர்	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	l	
ல்	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	
வ்	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	
ங்	ṅ	ṅ	ṅ	ṅ	ṅ	ɳ	ng	ng	**Part II**
ஞ்	ñ	ñ	ñ	ñ	ñ	ny	nj	gn	
ட்	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ʈ	t:	th, dh	
ண்	ṇ	ṇ	ṇ	ṇ	ṇ	ŋ	n:	nh	
த்		t̲							
ந்		ṉ							
ழ்	ḻ	ḻ	ṟ	L	ṛ	ɹ	l-	j, lh	
ள்	ḷ	ḷ	ḷ	ḷ	ḷ	ɭ	l:	lh	
ற்	ṟ	t	ṟ	R	ṟ, t̲t̲		t	rh	
ன்	ṉ	n	ṉ	N	ṉ	n(?)	n	n	

[1] I am grateful to Dr. R. E. Asher, Prof. M. B. Emeneau, Prof. F. B. J. Kuiper, Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaran, Dr. M. Shanmugam Pillai and Prof. M. Varadarajan, for their views on the present proposed system.

In part I there are only two instances of disagreement. The first is the use of ṯ and ṉ by TPM[2] for த் and ந்; the second is the use of ç by Pope for ச். It is also interesting to note that Pope gives the voiced ("sonant or soft") allophones for க், த் and ப், which are g, th and b respectively.

It is in part II, that one finds the problem. *TL*, *DED*, TPM, Meile, BM and Pope agree on the symbols used for ங், ஞ், ட், ண் and ள் which are ṅ, ñ, ṭ, ṇ and ḷ respectively.

Jones and *TC* differ quite distinctly, even though *TC* uses the "diacritics" at the side.

In the case of த் and ந் all agree on t and n, except TPM and *TC* who use ṯ, ṉ and th, nh respectively.

The greatest number of variations is seen with ழ் and ற். There are six different symbols for ழ், which are ḻ, l-, L, ṛ, ṟ and ɹ;[3] and four for ற், which are ṟ, R, t, tt.

If the symbols used by Lap are included, it confuses the issue more and hence they are not considered in the discussion.

The various systems discussed here do not agree on one symbol for any one of the Tamil letters in part II.

No scholar or authority except *TC*[4] has given the reasons for choosing a particular symbol, though, no doubt, there will be legitimate and strong reasons for doing so.

[2] *TL* — *Tamil Lexicon*, published under the authority of the University of Madras, 6 vols. and supplement, Madras 1924-39.

TPM — T. P. Meenakshisundaran, *A History of Tamil Language*, Poona, 1965.

DED — T. Burrow and M. B. Emeneau, *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*, Oxford, 1961.

Meile — Pierre Meile, 'La Srtucture du Tamoul', *Extrait des Conferences de l' Institut de linguistique de l' Universite de Paris*, XI, 1952-53.

Pope — G. U. Pope, *A Handbook of the ordinary Dialect of the Tamil Language*, Oxford, 1911.

Jones — D. Jones, *The Problem of a National Script for India*, London (?) 1942.

TC — A Senthamilan, 'Transliteration of Tamil in Roman Characters and Vice Versa.' *Tamil Culture*, vol. 4, no. 1, Jan. 1955.

BM — British Museum System. This system is identical to that of *DED*. I am grateful to Dr. Albertine Gaur of the British Museum for making this system available to me.

Lap — Lap. P. *Abrege de la Grammaire Francaise-Tamoule*.

[3] Dr. M. Shanmugam Pillai, in a private communication, prefers Ẓ to all the others.

[4] "In devising therefore a system of transcription for Tamil sounds, it would be just as well to keep the above principles (i.e. the principles of the International Phonetic Association) in mind, if the system is to be of real assistance to foreign scholars. ... Further, if the use of new letters outside the Roman alphabet could be avoided and if the diacritic marks used are such as to be found in an ordinary English typewriter, the work of scholars preparing manuscript copy will be greatly simplified." *TC*. p. 60.

When this paper was discussed, Prof. Emeneau mentioned that there was no special reason for the choice of symbols used in *DED*.

It is against this background that we have to see the Tamil student's difficulty in adopting a particular system, and a good student of Tamil has to be familiar with all the systems.

THE DIACRITICAL MARKS

The use of diacritical marks has been denounced by various scholars, among whom Jones may be quoted here:

> "The plan of using diacritics has been shown to be defective from both the typographical and psychological points of view. Diacritics are psychologically unsound for the following reasons. For writing to be clearly legible, every written word should have a definite and distinct form; it should have a sort of outline ... when detached accents or other marks are used, the forms of words are less legible — their outlines are to some extent blurred."[5]

The diacritical marks are not only a strain on the eye but also a nuisance. When writing, many people do not take the trouble to put them and even if they do, the dots and dashes may not come out distinctly. There is also the additional danger of a dot being written as a dash (and sometimes vice-versa), especially in fast writing.

The systems analysed here show five n's, three l's, 2-3 t's and 2-3 r's, with diacritical marks. From a student's point of view the dots and dashes are a real confusion; even though they may be familiar with the marks, in their excitement and hurry in the examination hall, they forget or misplace them which leads to a poor scoring of marks and perhaps a failure.

The method introduced in *TC* brings in further difficulties because of placing the marks at the sides. The difficulty may be brought out well by using the *TC* system in a discussion of morphology of Tamil words. When the different morphemes are to be shown, hyphens are generally used to separate them, exx. dog-s. cat-s, go-ing etc. If hyphens are used in the *TC* system, the result would be:

va:l-nhtha:n வாழ்ந்தான் va:l--nhth-a:n
tot:t:a:n தொட்டான் tot:-t:-a:n

The confusion which arises is obvious.

VOWELS

Except *TC* almost all use the bar over the vowels to show length. *TC* uses a colon at the side.

[5] Jones, op. cit. p. 10.

AAYTAM

For *aaytam* (ஃ) the following symbols are used:

k̲ by *TL, DED,* and TPM.
h by Meile.

THE PROPOSED METHOD

Considering all the problems, a new method of transliteration seems desirable. In this paper it is proposed to use the following symbols.

VOWELS

அ	ஆ	இ	ஈ	உ	ஊ	எ	ஏ	ஐ	ஒ	ஓ	ஔ	ஃ
a	aa	i	ii	u	uu	e	ee	ai	o	oo	au	h

CONSONANTS

க்	ங்	ச்	ஞ்	ட்	ண்	த்	ந்	ப்	ம்	ய்	ர்	ல்	வ்
k	ŋ	c	ɲ	ʈ	ɳ	t	n	p	m	y	r	l	v
ழ்	ள்	ற்	ன்										
ɹ	ɭ	ɽ	n										

The new symbols, for the most part, are based on the system proposed by Jones.[6] These are not chosen arbitrarily, but they are based on the phonetics and phonology of the Tamil language.

It is an accepted fact that modern language teaching is for the most part linguistics orientated and as such the language teaching programme includes right at the beginning a short introduction to the phonetics of the language. Hence using symbols which are found in the International Phonetic Association chart seems to serve two purposes — for a clear method of transcription and for simplicity of teaching the phonetics of the language.

The proposed system differs from that of Jones in some ways. While Jones does not give special symbols for ற் and ன், the present system does. Jones uses ny for ஞ் whereas ɲ is used here.[7]

It is surprising that Jones has used the same symbol r for ற் and ர், and in a footnote says "It does not appear necessary to make any distinction between the first and second r- sounds in such words as a ammarattiruku". While this is true of the spoken Tamil, it is very important to distinguish ற் and ர் as two distinct letters in the writing system, exx.

மரம்	மறம்
a tree	valour

[6] The symbols discussed by Jones are based on the scheme evolved by Prof. J. R. Firth. Jones, ibid., p. 11.

[7] It may be because Jones is trying to accomodate all the symbols within the All-India Alphabet.

"What Mr. Firth has done is to devise a consolidated All-India Alphabet from which is drawn whatever is necessary for writing each language." Jones, ibid., pp. 11-12.

அரம்	அறம்
a saw	virture
கரி	கறி
pepper	meat
பரி	பறி
a horse	to pluck

It may be noticed the distinction between ற் and ர் is basic to the Tamil writing system; hence the present system uses ṯ for ற் and r for ர்.

Jones uses ny (a digraph) for ஞ். In the new system ɲ is used. ny may give rise to ambiguity as two separate letters, e.g. ஞாயிறு will be transliterated as nyaayiru; this may very well be transliterated back into Tamil as ந்யாயிறு. Further, ny does not fit into the phonological system of Tamil.

Finally, in the system of Jones, there is no symbol given for ன். But from the specimen transcription, it may be found that ன் is represented by n.

In the present system no two letters are identical except for n which represents both ந் and ன். Structurally this may be justified. ந் occurs initially or with த் and is never found to occur by itself (ந்) or doubled (ந்ந்) medially, exx.

நாம்	naam	பந்து	pantu
நாடு	naaʈu		

ன் occurs finally, or with ற் and may be found by itself ன் or doubled (ன்ன்) medially, exx.

அவன்	avan	மனம்	manam
கன்று	kanṯu	கன்னம்	kannam

There are two roots, however, in caŋkam literature where ந் is used finally. There are பொருந் and வெரிந், and their derivatives (where ந் would be used by itself medially). வெரிந் is rarely used and பொருந் is found mostly in its derivative பொருநன். These two words have to be transliterated as verin and porunan and the Tamil form has to be given in brackets. The economy of the system by the use of one symbol for two Tamil letters and the very restricted number of lexical items justify the use of n for ந் and ன்.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE "PRACTICAL PROBLEMS"

It is not necessary to use capital letters in Tamil and hence a capital letters series, as Jones uses, is not of any use.

It has been pointed out that typewriters do not have these symbols. But this objection is true of the diacritical marks as well. If diacritics

[8] Jones, ibid., p. 15, fn. 2.

are used, one would need 2½ keys for the five symbols, viz. a dot over, a dot under, a dash under, a dash over and a tilde. If the proposed symbols are used 3½ keys would be needed, i.e. for ŋ, ɲ, ʈ, ɳ, ɭ, ɹ and ɽ. Any standard typewriter could accomodate these symbols without much difficulty.

Printers do not have any difficulty whatsoever because they can get a new set of matrices and cast their own types.[9]

Finally students of Tamil find this system easier to follow and remember.

[9] Full sets of phonetic symbols and diacritic marks are available for use on the Monotype, Linotype and Intertype composing machines from the respective manufacturers.

MALAY WORDS IN TAMIL SPEAKERS

RAMA SUBBIAH

This paper sets out the findings made during a preliminary survey on the amount of Malay words used by Tamil speakers in their everyday speech. The findings are based on material obtained from four speakers,[1] whose mother tongue is Tamil, and who use English and Malay fluently.

The total number of individual Malay items obtained from all the speakers is 127.[2] These words are grouped into three word-classes, viz. nouns, verbs and adjectives, and eight categories. The breakdown is given below:

CATEGORIES	Total	LN	AC	SS	RG	Common vocabulary to all Speakers	Common vocabulary to 3 Speakers	to 2
House	33	29	13	20	18	9	6	7
People	17	8	4	8	7	1	0	3
Place	10	6	5	9	7	4	1	3
Dress	7	4	2	5	3	1	3	0
Common Nouns ..	10	8	5	5	5	4	1	1
Verbs	24	16	3	2	15	1	3	3
Adjectives	17	12	5	5	7	2	1	2
'One word'	9	7	0	3	3	0	1	2
	127	90	37	57	65	22	16	21

[1] I am very grateful to the following, who were my informants for this study.
(1) Miss Loganayagy Nannithamby, born and educated in Kuala Lumpur (abb. LN);
(2) Mrs. Annapoorni Chandra, born and educated in the State of Johore (abb. AC);
(3) Mrs. Saroja Subbiah, born and educated in Singapore (abb. SS);
(4) Mr. Raju Govindasamy, born and educated in Singapore (abb. RG).
I am also very grateful to Che Asmah binte Haji Omar, of the Department of Malay Studies, University of Malaya, for her help on the Malay phonology and her useful comments.

[2] In a study carried out in the estates in Lower Perak (see R. SUBBIAH, *A Lexical Study of Tamil Dialects in Lower Perak,* Department of Indian Studies, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, 1966) only 29 Malay words were found to occur (see Appendix B) with a total number of 46 informants. As the study was concerned only with Tamil dialects, it may be possible that a few words have been left out. However, it is the writer's belief that even if a special study is made of only the Malay words, they may not exceed forty to fifty.

From the above figures it may be found that LN uses 71% of the total vocabulary in her speech and AC only 29%. SS and RG who have 44% and 50% respectively seem to be the average.

The vocabulary common to all speakers is 17% of the total vocabulary, to three speakers 13% and to two speakers is 17% which adds up to 47%. The other 53% occurs only with one speaker, i.e. it is not common to any two or more speakers.

The occurrence of individual items only with one speaker is given below:

CATEGORIES	Total	ONLY WITH LN	AC	SS	RG	% occurrence with any one speaker only
House	33	8	1	0	0	27
People	17	4	0	5	3	70
Place	10	0	0	2	0	20
Dress	7	0	0	3	0	50
Common Nouns	10	3	1	0	0	40
Verbs	24	9	0	0	8	75
Adjectives	17	6	1	0	1	50
One word	9	5	0	0	1	33
	127	35	3	10	13	
Individual % of the total ..		27	2	8	10	

The last column above indicates the percentage of items which occur with individual speakers — i.e. items which are not common to two or more people. It may be noticed that the categories which are shared by most speakers are: House and Place. The categories where individual speakers stand out with 'special items' are Verbs and People.

LN uses 28% of 'special items', RG 10%, SS 8% and AC 2%.

In this analysis the Malay words which occur in Tamil as well as the English speeches of the speakers are taken into account (abb. *TS* and *ES*) and the occurrence of the loan words in the two speeches is given overleaf.

It may be observed that again LN uses 36% of her vocabulary in her *ES* whereas SS uses only 2%. It is surprising to note that AC uses 11% of her vocabulary, which is only 29% of the total number of items in all the speakers.

Only 2 words are common both in *TS* and *ES* of LN and RG; with AC it is only one item and with SS no word is common in both her speeches.

The following chart sets out the total number of nouns, verbs and adjectives and the breakdown for each speaker.

	Total	LN	AC	SS	RG
Nouns	87	55	29	47	40
Verbs	24	16	3	2	15
Adjectives	19	12	5	5	7

CATEGORIES	LN Total	LN Tamil	LN English	AC Total	AC Tamil	AC English	SS Total	SS Tamil	SS English	RG (Total)	RG Tamil	RG English
House	29	22	5(1)	13	11	2	19	19	0	17	17	0
People	8	6	2	4	4	0	8	8	0	7	7	0
Place	6	5	1	5	4	1	8	7	1	6	6	0
Dress	4	4	0	2	1	0(1)	5	5	0	5	5	0
Common Nouns	8	7	2	5	5	0	5	5	0	5	5	0
Verbs	16	6	9(1)	3	2	1	2	2	0	15	11	2(2)
Adjectives	12	5	7	5	5	0	5	5	0	7	7	0
One word	7	1	6	0	0	0	3	3	0	3	3	0
	90	56	32(2)	37	32	4(1)	55	54	1	63	58	3
English Speech %			36			11			2			5

Figures in brackets represent the occurrence in both speeches.

PHONOLOGY[3]

While in Tamil, one finds retroflexes, 'doubling' of consonants and the length distinction in vowels, these are absent in Malay. On the other hand, in Malay, one finds non-released final stops, glottal stops and voiced-voiceless distinction in plosives, which are absent in Tamil.

VOWELS

In Malay words no vowel distinction operates before borrowing, but once these words are borrowed, this distinction begins to operate.

(a) All di-syllabic words containing -a in the second syllable have their vowels lengthened both in the first and second syllables, exx.

MALAY	TAMIL
jaga	jaagaa
sewa	ceevaa (The phonetic value of Malay s and Tamil c is [s].)
gila	giilaa
kawan	kaavaan
nanas	naanaacu

(b) All di-syllabic words closing with the velar nasal have their vowel in the second syllable lengthened, if there is a consonant cluster in the word or if the consonant is doubled, once the word is borrowed, exx.

lontooŋ	lontooŋ
loŋkaŋ	loŋkaaŋ
tukaŋ	tukkaan[4]
kacaŋ	kaccaaŋ[4]
sinaŋ	cinnaaŋ

The only exception seems to be panjaŋ which becomes paaɲcaaŋ where both vowels are lengthened. The following set of words illustrate the lengthening of both vowels, exx:

sayaŋ	caayaaŋ
saroŋ	caarooŋ
pisaŋ	piicaaŋ
paraŋ	paaraaŋ

(c) Words containing -a in the first of the two syllables of a word have that vowel lengthened, exx:

malu	maalu
baŋku	vaaŋku

[3] For a brief discussion of Tamil phonology see R. SUBBIAH, *A Syntactic Study of Spoken Tamil*, Ph. D. thesis presented to the University of London, 1965.

[4] These are forms found when they are suffixed.

nasi	naaci
sapu	caappu
laci	laacci

There are four exceptions to this:

alur	alluuru
mati	matti
sambal	cambal
bakul	vakkuḻ

(d) Words ending in -r or -s take a final -u, exx:

alur	alluuru
səluar	cəluvaaru
sayor	caayooru

CONSONANTS

(a) The final h or the glottal stop is dropped and the final vowel is generally lengthened. However the length of the vowel is not as long as that of the same vowel either initially or medially, exx:

gətah	gəttaa
salah	caalaa
kotaʔ	koottaa
botaʔ	boottaa
maboʔ	maabo

These types of words may be considered under Vowel (a) as well.

(b) The central vowel in the initial syllable tends to become one of the following:

(i) retained;
(ii) dropped;
(iii) becomes a different vowel, exx.

kərəsaŋ	kəroosã
gətah	gəttaa
kəras	kraacu
bəlacan	blaccã
sənaŋ	cinnaaŋ
səpatu	cappaattu

The central vowel becomes a different vowel only when it is followed by a consonant which is doubled when borrowed, as illustrated in the last two examples.

(c) The final nasals are generally dropped and the preceding vowel is nasalized, exx.

tukaŋ	tukã
bəlacan	blaccã
panjan	paaɲcã (The phonetic value of Malay nj and Tamil ɲc is [ndʒ].)

(d) The final -l remains the same or becomes retroflexed, exx.

sambal	campal
bakol	bakuɭ/vakkiɭ

(e) The intervocalic voiceless stops become 'doubled', exx.

tukaŋ	tukkã
sapu	caappu
mati	matti
laci	laacci
makan	maakkaan

There are a few exceptions, exx.

nasi	naaci
kosoŋ	koocã

(f) initial b- becomes either v- or m-, exx.

bakol	vakkiɭ
baŋku	vaaŋku
bənaŋ	minnaaŋ

However, the initial b- of bota and bəlacan remain unaltered.

(g) the voiceless plosive in a nasal-plosive complex becomes voiced, exx.

[baŋku]	[vaːŋgɯ][5]
[kampoŋ]	[kɐmbõ]

(h) w becomes v, exx.

kawan	kaavaan
sewa	ceevaa

GRAMMAR

The borrowed Malay words fall into three major word-classes: nouns, verbs and adjectives.

NOUNS

Nouns generally take almost all the Tamil nominal suffixes.

[5] The phonetic forms are given in square brackets.

HOUSE[6]

bakol[7]: Each speaker has a slightly different form. LN: bakuḷ; AC: vakkïl; SS: vakkïḷ; RG: vakkuḷ. This word takes all the nominal suffixes. When -le is affixed, the lateral becomes retroflexed as well, with all except AC.

sambal: While this word occurs with all the lady speakers as campal, RG uses the form campaal. LN uses this word with all the nominal suffixes. SS uses this always with another word, i.e. campal is used either as a modifier or as a modified, exx.

campal blaccã
campal tumis
tiimun campal
nettilikkaruvaaṭu campal

udaŋ: This word occurs as uuṭã with SS and RG but with LN and AC both uuṭaaŋ and uuṭã occur. There does not seem to be any system involved in the choice, exx.

uuṭaaŋkooṭe camekkalã/uuṭaanooṭe camekkalã (LN)
uuṭaaŋ poriyal (LN)
uuṭaaŋ vaaŋkiṭṭu vaa (AC)
uuṭã vaaŋkiṭṭu vaa (SS, RG)

When this word occurs as a modifier, modifying a word with a velar plosive initial, the form is found to be uuṭaaŋ, exx.

uuṭaaŋ kari (LN, SS, RG)

timun: This word takes all the nominal suffixes and occurs as a noun as well as an adjective. SS uses tiimaŋkaa (suffixed with Tamil kaay, 'unripe fruit') in all contexts except when it occurs as a modifier, modifying campal. The form thus obtained is tiimun campal. LN uses timun while all the others use tiimun. This is one of the words where the final nasal is not lost.

manko[7]: maŋku occurs with all the speakers, and it takes all the nominal suffixes. However, RG uses this only in taṭṭe maŋku. AC uses this form only to her servant.

kacaŋ: Except LN, who uses kaccaŋ, all the others use kaccã. AC uses [katʃa:n] in her *ES*.

pisaŋ: This occurs as piiccaaŋ only with LN. With the others it occurs with gooreŋ. AC, SS and LN piicaaŋ gooreŋ (the first in her *ES* and the others in their *TS*); RG uses goorẽ piicã. Malays use the form gooreŋ pisaŋ.

Other common words used by all are: mii gooreŋ and kaṭṭi.

[6] 'House' includes household things, food, etc.
[7] The Malay forms are given here and italicised.

makan: In Malay makan is a verb and the noun is makanan. But the Tamil speakers use makan as a noun. Both in *TS* and *ES* of all the speakers, except SS, who does not use this form at all, only maakkaan occurs, and not maakkã, as one would expect. RG and AC use this only in their *ES* as in 'Let's go for makan' (RG) and 'Let's have makan' (AC). LN uses this word in both her speeches,

exx. finished your makan?
maakkaan muṭinciṭṭaa

pulot: The form pulot occurs only with LN who uses it in both her speeches. SS and RG use the form puulooru with all the nominal suffixes. puulooru occurs as a modifier with SS only in one context where the form is slightly different, viz. puuloo uuraap vaaŋkiṭṭu vaa.

baŋku: While LN uses baŋku, with the voiced bilabial plosive SS and RG use vaaŋku. This word occurs with all the nominal suffixes.

bəlacan: blaccã is the form found with LN and RG while with SS blaaccã occurs. SS uses this form only as a modifier in blaaccã campal.

nanas: This occurs as nanas in the *ES* of LN. With RG and AC it occurs as naanac and nanac in their *TS*.

jambu: LN and RG use jampu while SS uses jampukkaa. It is noticeable that SS always suffixes the Malay words referring to fruits or vegetables with kaa (<Tamil kaay), perhaps to be analogous with veṇṭikkaa, kattarikkaa, etc.

Other forms which occur with three speakers are: naaci gooreŋ and naaci limaa.

sayor: In Malay sayor is any vegetable but in the Tamil speakers caayoor refers to only green leaf vegetable and occurs only with LN and AC. LN uses this in her *ES* as 'You are cooking sayor today?' AC uses it as an adjective in 'caayoor caavi vaaŋkiṭṭu vaaŋka'; she uses it only to her servant.

inti: This occurs only with SS and RG; with the former the form inti is found and with the latter iṇṭi.

jagoŋ: jagoŋ occurs in the *ES* of LN and as jaagooŋkaarã with RG.

Other words which occur with two speakers are paaraaŋ, buboutʃatʃa and kuttupaaḷ.

The words which occur with only one informant are: kwaali, piilic, gantã, batu in ice batu (in *ES*), ikan, aaraaŋ (in *ES*), reṇṭaaŋ and laaci. All these forms are found in the speech of LN. lontooŋ and kəḷappa are found in the speech of SS and AC respectively.

[8] In the English examples the Malay forms are given. Special features are brought out by giving the form in phonetic script.

PEOPLE

Many words in this section take the suffix -kaarẽ which is very common in Tamil. Most nouns in Tamil may be affixed with this suffix, and made to refer to a human being, exx.

toṭṭam	tooṭṭakkaarẽ
kaaval	kaavakkkaarẽ
vaṇṭi	vaṇṭikkaarẽ

Similarly, this suffix may be affixed to English loans as well, exx.

taxi	[tæksikka : rẽ]
car	[kɑ : rkka : rẽ]

This sort of suffixing seems to be predominantly common in SS and RG.

jaga: Only jaagaa occurs with all the speakers, and with LN and AC it is found to occur both as a noun and as a verb, exx.

noun: jaagaakku koṭuttru (LN)
jaagaa nikkrã (AC)
verb: jaagaa paṇriyaa (LN)
That man is jagaing the house (AC)

With RG it is found only as a noun. Besides this form he uses jaagaa veele which also occurs with SS, who in turn uses jaagaakkaarẽ as well.

tukaŋ: In Malay, tukaŋ refers to any artisan and always occurs with another noun, exx. tukaŋ kayu, tukaŋ əmas etc. The Tamil speakers use just tukaŋ to refer to the carpenter. LN uses tukkã in this sense. SS uses it as a modifier to modify veele (cf. jaagaa veele above). The verb used with this noun by SS is paakkrã as in:

avẽ tukkã veele paakkrã
avẽ jaagaa veele paakkrã, etc.

gummu occurs with LN and AC; and bottaa with LN and RG. LN uses bota in her *ES*. paaɲcã occurs with AC and RG.

SS and RG use a number of words (nouns) referring to people affixed with -kaarẽ. With SS the following nouns occur:

caṭṭi bəlaaŋkaakkaarẽ
naaci gooreŋkaarẽ
minaaŋjaarooŋkaarẽ
kaccãpuutteekkaarẽ
miigooreŋkaarẽ

With RG jaarooŋkaarã, nanaackaarã and jaagoonkaarã occur. LN uses only one word affixed with -kaarẽ, which is maccamaccakkaarẽ.

LN uses three other words which are found only in her speech. These are maattaa, kaavaan and bodo (in her *ES*).

PLACE

Except for two items, which are piili and vaŋcaakkaṭe,[9] which occur with SS, all other items occur with two or more speakers.

alur: alluurru occurs as an adjective in alluurt taṇṇi with LN. All others use it as a noun, and it takes all the nominal suffixes. LN and AC use this to refer to the drain around the house while SS and RG use this for any drain.

kampoŋ: Although this form occurs with all the speakers, there seems to be heavy restrictions. AC uses this term only to her servant and SS uses this only when teasing someone, e.g. avẽ kampattle porantavẽ, meaning 'he is not polished in his manners'.

The form kampoŋ occurs in the *ES* of SS and AC. kampã is found in the *TS* of all the speakers except for LN who has kampoŋ also in her *TS*.

LN's use of kampã and kampoŋ are predictable only to a certain extent in that one or the other occurs only with certain nominal suffixes. With other nominal suffixes these may occur in free variation, exx.

ava kampooŋ pooyrukkaa
kampooŋleeruntu vaaŋkiṭṭu vantaa
kampooŋkup pooyrukkaa/kampattukkup pooyrukkaa[10]
kampattukkuḷḷe pookaṇũ/kampooŋkuḷḷe pookaṇũ
kampattukkuḷḷe paattiyaa
kampattle irukkaa

pasar: This occurs as pacaaru with all. AC, once again, uses this form to her servant, and with RG this may occur as an adjective as well, e.g. pacaaru vakkuḷu.

This word also occurs in *pasar malam* in the speech of SS and RG. The form found with these speakers is paacaa maalam. This is capable of taking the nominal suffixes and when the suffixes are affixed the form remains unchanged unlike kampã, exx.

paacaa maalamle vaaŋkalã
paacaa maalamkup pookalã

paacaakkaṭe:[11] This occurs as a noun with all the speakers; but with SS and RG it is found to occur as a modifier as well, e.g. paacaakkaṭe cuuraa.

jamban: Except AC all use this form. LN uses it in her *ES*. SS and RG suffix this word with kuuṭu; caamã kuutu is used by SS and jaamã kuuṭu by RG.

loŋkaŋ: loŋkaaŋ is used by LN and AC and refers to the drain along the road.

[9] Cf: R. SUBBIAH, *A Lexical Study of Tamil Dialects in Lower Perak*.
[10] The first example is the preferred one but both may be found to occur.
[11] This is the form which occurs in Tamil. Cf: R. SUBBIAH, ibid.

DRESS

Except for eelaa, no form is used by all the four speakers.

səluar: LN and SS use cəluvaaru which is closer to the original than culuvaaru which is used by RG.

saroŋ: With RG, this occurs only in two contexts:

(i) in his *ES*, only when he speaks to his Chinese friends, e.g. You also got a saroŋ aa?
(ii) in company with another word, viz. kəbaayaa as in ciinaccillã caarooŋ kəbaayaa pooṭṭup pooraa.

AC uses it in her *ES* as well as *TS*, while LN uses it only in her *TS*. All three speakers use caarooŋ and not caarõ as one would expect.

səpatu: cappaattu is found with SS and RG while LN uses tʃappaattu.

SS uses three other words which are not used by others:

> reeṇṭaa, sleendaaŋ and kəroocã. The frequency of occurrence of the last two words is very low.

COMMON NOUNS

Nouns which could not be classified under any of the above categories have been brought under this heading.

sewa: ceevaa occurs both as a noun and as an adjective. LN and AC use it only as a noun (when the nominal suffix -e is affixed the junction is characterized by a y-prosody in the speech of LN)[12] but RG uses it as an adjective as well. SS uses it only as an adjective, exx.

> ceevaak kaacu
> ceevaak kaaṭi
> ceevaa viiṭu

RG and SS who use ceevaak kaaṭi to refer to 'taxis' and pakkə kaaṭi to refer to "pirate taxis".

surat: cuuraa occurs with all speakers; however, SS uses it mostly in poranta cuuraa, 'birth certificate'.

kota:[13] This word koottaa is used to refer only to the cigarette boxes. LN uses this in her *ES*, AC does not use this form at all.

gətah: gəttaa is found to occur with all, but LN uses it only in her response when this word has already been used by the other speaker. LN and RG use this form for 'rubber bands' while SS and AC use this to refer to 'rubber trees'. SS uses it for 'elastic band' as well.

masaʔ masaʔ: maacaa maacaa is used by SS and RG while LN

[12] For a discussion of junctional prosodies in Tamil see R. SUBBIAH, *A Syntactic Study of Spoken Tamil.*

[13] Koottaa may also refer to boxes, cartons, etc.

uses maacaak kari. All use the same verb, exx.

maacaa maacaa } veḷayaaṭalã
maacaak kari }

LN uses two other words, not used by others. They are: lobaŋ (in her *ES*) and cukkaa; AC uses kuɲci which has a very low frequency of occurrence.

VERBS

All words which occur with the verbal root paṇ-are treated as verbs in this analysis. In Tamil this root occurs mostly, only in the sentence avan enna paṇraan. But this verb occurs very frequently with English loan words, exx.

avẽ draiv paṇrã, he is driving
avẽ kuk paṇrã, he is cooking
avẽ bild paṇrã etc., he is building

This happens with the Malay loans as well, exx.

bonkuc paṇṇik koṭu
kaccoorup paṇrã
tare harga paṇṇaateeyuŋkoo
tʃaboot paṇṇittã
avẽ jaagaa paṇrã

The above verbs occur with two or more speakers. boŋkucu occurs as a noun as well with SS.

Other verbs found in the *TS* are:

with LN: nii avanukkut toolõ paṇriyaa
kayyep pottoŋ paṇṇiṭṭã
cimpaayã paṇṇap pooriiŋkaḷaa
iteyũ ateyũ tʃampooru paṇṇiṭaateeyuŋkoo
with RG: pantu veḷayaaṭle naaŋka caappu paŋŋiṭṭõ
rompa neerã pakke paṇrã
avã laicencu gantõŋ aayiṭṭu
innakki avã kinnaa
avã chuulu ponteŋ paṇṇiṭṭã
paattannaa avane gaacaap paṇṇiṭuveeṇṭaa

In the *ES* of all the speakers except SS, one finds a large number of loans as well. The loans are capable of behaving like the English verbs, exx.

with LN: you [tʃu:rid] my pencil
he [lʌŋgɑd] his car
you [sʌpu:d] all that

with AC: he [tʃʌboutid]
he's [jɑgɑ-iŋ] the house

The verbs which occur in their original forms are:

with LN: Don't kachau me at this time
Can I pinjam your rubber?
Your utaŋ me two rubber-bands
You mati today
You belanja today
with RG: Today you belanja-laa
Brake ta makan
Sure picah-laa
Sure gasah-laa

ADJECTIVES

In this section words which are suffixed with -aa and those which occur in the *ES* are discussed. The nouns which function as modifiers are already discussed under Nouns. These adjective forms co-occur with the verbal root iru- for the most part, exx.

atu kəraacaa irukku (SS)
[tin] koocamaa irukku (LN)
rompa cinnaaŋkaa rukku (RG)
naattã buucoovaa rukku (only with AC)
caṭṭe loŋkaara rukku (only with RG)
avã paaɲcaanaa rukkã (AC)

Another verbal root which co-occurs with the adjectival forms is poo-.

kaaru mattiyaap pooccu
anta dappi koocamaap pooccu } (SS)

Only two adjectives occur with all the speakers and these are: kəraacaa; and cinnaaŋkaa.

LN uses a number of words in her *ES* as modifiers:

You are a real bodoh
He is real panjaŋ
He must be real mabo
Hell of a samboŋ
Hell of a pandai
This is beŋko

caalaavaa and gummuvaa occur with two speakers each.

'ONE WORD' ITEMS

Except for caayaaŋ which occurs with three speakers, and laavaa

and maalu with two speakers, others all occur with only one speaker each. These are cante, jato, siyal, bagus, and babi. All these are found in the speech of LN; tʃuum occurs with RG.

REGIONAL VARIATIONS

Even from this limited data it is possible to distinguish regional variations. SS and RG (from Singapore) have marked distinctive forms from LN and AC (from Malaysia). If more material is available it may be possible to distinguish regional variations at State level.

APPENDIX A

FULL LIST OF MALAY WORDS FOUND TO OCCUR IN TAMIL SPEAKERS IN URBAN AREAS

HOUSE

bakkuḷ	basket
batu	along with 'ice'; ice cubes
blaccã	
bubou	
bubou tʃaatʃaa	
caayoor	green vegetables
cambal	
gantã	a measure
ikan	fish
iṇṭi	
jagoŋ	maize
jaagooŋkaarã	a maize-seller
jampu	a fruit
kaccaŋ	nuts
kaccaŋ goreŋ	fried nuts
kəḷappaa	coconut
kuttuppaaṭ	
kwali	frying pan
laacci	a drawer (of a table)
lontooŋ	
maakkaan	food
maŋku	a plate
mii goreŋ	fried 'mee'
naaci lima	
naaci goreŋ	fried rice
nanac	pineapple
nanackaarã	one who sells pineapples
paaraaŋ	a big knife
piicaaŋ	banana
piicaaŋ goreŋ	fried banana
piilic	pipe

pulooru	sticky rice
timun	cucumber
tiimaŋkaa	cucumber
uudaan	prawn
vaaŋku	a bench
kaʈʈi	a measure

PEOPLE

boottaa	a bald-headed person
caʈʈi bəlaaŋkaakaarẽ	one who sells pots and pans
gummu	a fat person
jaagaa	a watchman
jaagaakkaarẽ	a watchman
jaaroŋkaarã	one who sells needles, thread etc.
jaagoŋkaarã	one who sells maize
kaavaan	a friend
maattaa	a policeman
matʃam matʃakkaarã	one who sells odds and ends
mii goreŋkaarẽ	one who sells fried mee
minaaŋ jaarooŋkaarẽ	one who sells needles, thread, etc.
naaci goreŋkaarã	one who sells fried rice
naanackaarã	one who sells pineapples
paaɲcã	a tall person
tukkaan	a carpenter
kaccãputekkaarẽ	one who sells nuts

PLACE

alluuru	a drain
caamãkuuʈu	toilet
jampaan	toilet
kampã	a small village
loŋkaaŋ	a drain
paacaak kaʈe	a pawn shop
pacaaru	a market
paacaa maalam	evening bazaar
piili are	bath room

DRESS

caarooŋ	sarong
caarooŋ kəbaayaa	Malay dress
cappaattu	shoes
cəluvaaru	trousers
kəroosa	
reeɳʈaa	lace work
sleendaaŋ	shawl

ORDINARY NOUNS

aaraaŋ	coal
bəlaaɲcaa	a treat, to give a treat
buŋkucu	a packet
ceevaa	rent
ceevaak kaaʈi	taxi
cukka	desire
cuurra	letter; certificate
giilaa	madness
gəttaa	rubber-band; rubber tree; elastic band.
koottaa	a cigarette box
lobaŋ	a hole
maacaak kari	a children's game
maacaa maacaa	a children's game
paaci	a flower pot
pakkə kaaʈi	a 'pirate' taxi

VERBS

bəlaaɲcaa	to spend
boŋkuc	to wrap
caalaa	fault
caappu	to sweep
jaalã jaalã	to go for a walk
habes	to finish
jaagaa	to watch
kaccooru	to quarrel
kappoor	
katʃau	to disturb
koŋsi	join together
laŋgaad	knocked
pakke	to dress
pinjam	to borrow
pottoŋ	to cut
tare harga	
tʃampooru	to mix
tʃabooʈ	to run away
toolɔ̃	to help
churi	to steal
utaŋ	to owe

ADJECTIVES

beŋko	bent
bootaa	bald-headed
caalaa	fault
cinnaaŋ	easy
gaji	pay
giilaa	mad
gummu	fat
kocam	empty
kəraacu	hard
loŋkaar	loose
maabo	drunk
matti	dead
pandai	clever
panjaŋ	tall
samboŋ	proud

'ONE WORD'

baabi	pig
bagus	well done
caayaaŋ	
ciyaal	
jato	fall
laavaa	
maalu	shame
tʃante	beautiful

APPENDIX B

MALAY WORDS FOUND TO OCCUR WITH THE TAMIL SPEAKERS IN THE ESTATES

No.	Word	Meaning
1.	attaappu	
2.	baadʒu	a shirt
3.	blaaɲcaa	advance (of salary)
4.	bukkaa	to open (a section of a rubber estate)
5.	sambã	a boat
6.	ceevaa	rent
7.	ciluvaaru	trousers
8.	ciilaappu	fault
9.	eelaa	a yard
10.	giilaa	mad
11.	iitte	a duck
12.	kaaʈi	a car, a bullock-cart
13.	kappaɭaa	a headman
14.	kittakkaaʈu	a rubber estate
15.	kraacu	hard
16.	maŋku	a plate
17.	pakke	to dress
18.	pakkooru	
19.	paɲcooru	
20.	paacaakkaʈe	a pawn shop
21.	paaraaŋ	a big knife
22.	piili	pipe
23.	praaɲcaa	a bench
24.	taaŋkaappaʈi	steps
25.	tiimpaaru	a store
26.	toŋgã	a boat
27.	tukkã	a carpenter
28.	vakkuɭu	a basket
29.	veɳʈaan	rice field

SOME SENTENCE TYPES AND SENTENCE STRUCTURES IN BESCHI'S paramaaṟta kuruvin katai[1]

RAMA SUBBIAH

In this paper some interesting sentences types and some structures found in the famous satirical work of Beschi are discussed.

A. SENTENCE TYPES

I. "AAKKUM" SENTENCE TYPE

Sentences belonging to this type contain the word "aakkum". This word may occur either finally or medially in the sentence.

(a) "aakkum" finally in the sentence:

என் பாட்டன் வெகு வியாபாரி ஆக்கும்
குதிரையேறித் திரியவெனக்கு யோக்கியமில்லை ஆக்கும்.
பன்னிரு சமையங்களில் அகப்படாத பூசையாக்கும்.

(b) "aakkum" medially in the sentence:

வெகு வித்தை படித்தவன் ஆக்கும் என்றான்
யிதிலே யாக்கும் இந்த வித்தை ஒட்டியிருக்குது
நாங்கள் கணக்கேற்றினவகை இது ஆக்கும் என்றான்
இனி எச்சரிக்கை ஆக்கும் வேண்டியது.
இங்கே வாராதவன் ஆக்கும் என்று...
ஆசனங் குளிர்ந்ததோடே சாகக் காலம் கிட்டினதினாலாக்கும் இதெல்லாம் ஆகுதென்று நிச்சயித்தார்.

All the examples found in the text are listed above.

The sentences may be grouped into:

(i) equational bipartite sentences;
(ii) major complex sentences (i.e. with a finite and a non-finite verb);
and (iii) nominal groups.[2]

In all these sentences ஆக்கும் "aakkum" is only an optional element

[1] For the complete text see my 'Beschi's paramaartta kuruvin katai' in *Tamil Oli*, vol. 5, 1965-66, pp. 105-127.

[2] For the terminology used in this paper, see my *A Syntactic Study of Spoken Tamil*. Thesis submitted for the Ph. D. degree of the University of London, 1965.

and may either be dropped without affecting the meaning or replaced by தான் "taan", the emphatic particle, exx.

என் பாட்டன் வெகு வியாபாரி (dropped)
என் பாட்டன் வெகு வியாபாரி தான்.
யிதிலே இந்த வித்தை ஒட்டியிருக்கிறது (dropped)
யிதிலேதான் இந்தவித்தை ஒட்டியிருக்குது.

In his *Grammar*, Beschi writes: "ஆக்கும். This is a word, which if it be put after the sentence, is equivalent to the word, *perhaps*: thus திருட வந்தானாக்கும், perhaps he has come, that, he may steal . . . But if this word is interposed in the sentence, it removes all doubt, and affirming emphatically, is equivalent to the word *surely, certainly, indeed;* thus திருடவாக்கும் வந்தான், he has come indeed, that he may steal".[3]

This definition does not apply to the examples taken from the *katai*. In I (a) the first and the last examples are positive statements and this is clear from the context. Hence they cannot be interpreted as "perhaps . . ." sentences.

Similarly in I (b) some sentences do not conform to the definition given by Beschi.

In modern colloquial Tamil (CT), too, ஆக்கும் occurs but not in the way Beschi has used it. Whenever ஆக்கும் occurs it translates as "I suppose". This may best be illustrated through a conversation:

A: (narrating an event) நான் அவன் வீட்டுக்குப் போயிருந்தேன். அவன் வீட்டில் இல்லை.

B: உடனே திரும்பிவந்துவிட்டாய் ஆக்கும்.

Here B says "I suppose you returned immediately" (rather than waiting for him).

II. "IMPERATIVE" SENTENCE TYPE

In this type of sentences the 'imperative' form of the verb occurs finally. The 'imperative' form is identical to that of the infinitive form. All the examples from the text are given below:

(a) உன்னூற்று முழுதும் வற்றிக் காய
உன்னடி மணலிலே சானல்ப் பாய
உன்னலைகளை யக்கினிமேய
உன் வயிறழன்று வறள.
. . . வெந்து கிடக்க
உன் பள்ள முள்ளாலே நிரம்ப.
(b) என்னாளிலே நடந்தது கேட்க
நன்றாய்க் கேட்க
அவனைக் காட்டச் சீக்கிரமாய்க் காட்டவென்றான்
மிகவு நீதிஞாயங்கொண்ட வனிட்ட தீர்வை கேள்க்க.

[3] C. S. BESCHI, *A grammar of the common dialect of the Tamul Language*, translated by G. W. Mahon, Madras, 1848, p. 105.

The sentences in section (b) are more of the true imperative type of sentences than those in section (a), exx.

என்னாளிலே நடந்தது கேட்க. "listen to what happened in my days"

நன்றாய்க் கேட்க. "listen well".

The sentences in section (a) may be translated as "may ...", e.g. உன்னலைகளையக்கினி மேய, "may the fire consume your waves". In modern CT, one finds this type of sentences when people scold or curse others, exx.

உன்னைப் பாம்பு கடிக்க.
அவன் தலையிலே இடி விழ.
நீ செத்துப் போக.

Under "imperatives" Beschi writes: "Again an elegant form of the imperative, in all the persons, is to use the word of the Infinitive, e.g. இருக்க, போக, சொல்ல &c. And they use this method especially when they speak with a highly noble personage, with a king, a priest &c. to whom they would not seem to speak imperatively; they do not say, e.g. தேவரீரெழுந்திரும்; but as if asking தேவரீரெழுந்திருக்க and so not கேளும், but கேள்க்க &c."[4]

III. 'INTERROGATIVE' SENTENCE TYPES

There is only one example of this type of sentence which is தேவ திருவுளத்துக்கென்ன செய்ய.

In modern CT such interrogative sentences do occur but there are certain restrictions. The structure of such a sentence may only be N_1N_2V, where N_1 may only be filled by the first person pronouns and N_2 by the interrogative adjectives and V by "personally restricted verbs" whose form is identical to the infinitive forms, exx.

naan/entac caṭṭayep/pooṭṭukka, which shirt shall I wear?
N_1 N_2 V
naan/enna/ceyya, what shall I do?
(naan)/evvaḷavu/koṭukka, how much shall (I) give?

B. SOME STRANGE SENTENCE STRUCTURES

Three sentence structures are discussed here, and these are termed "strange" because of their irregularity.

1. கரை மேலிருந்த மண் குதிரையைச் சீலையாலே மறைக்க <u>நீருட் குதிரையு மறைந்து காட்டி</u>
அந்த மயக்கத்தை நீக்கினான். (i)

[4] Ibid., p. 52.

The structure of the sentence is: infinitival dependent clause — completive dependent clause — independent clause. This structure is quite a common one in Tamil, e.g.

cooṛu caappiṭa/viiṭṭukkuk kuuṭṭic/cenṛaan.
inf. dept. cl. comp. dept. cl. indept. cl.

It may be noticed that there is only one nominal head (not present in the sentence) and one finite verb (cenṛaan).

In Beschi's sentence there are two nominal heads (i) அவன் (not present) and (ii) குதிரை. Besides மறைக்க may only be translated as "in order to hide" and so the meaning of the whole sentence, except for the underlined clause, may be given as "He removed the illusion in order to hide the clay horse on the shore with a cloth."

The clause நீருட் குதிரையு மறைந்து காட்டி as it stands requires a finite verb of its own, perhaps சென்றது, ஓடிற்று etc., to make sense.

The structure of the sentence would be normal and acceptable if மறைந்து is changed into மறைந்தது, i.e. the completive dependent clause containing மறைந்து should be changed into a nominal group with மறைந்தது. So the sentence would read

கரைமேலிருந்த மண் குதிரையைச் சீலையாலே மறைக்க
<u>நீருட் குதிரையு மறைந்தது காட்டி</u>
அந்த மயக்கத்தை நீககினான். (ii)

Though the general structure of Beschi's sentence is acceptable, the structure of the completive dependent clause makes it "strange", as this dependent clause contains a second nominal head.

2. துக்க வாதைகளை
<u>நினைக்க நினைக்க</u> (iii)
வெகுமனக்கிலேசப்பட்டுக் கொண்டிருந்தார்.

The underlined piece contains two infinitival clauses (i.e. two infinitives, here).

The dependent clauses do not fit into the structure of the sentence. The sentences below contain infinitival dependent clauses and we may compare their structure with that of Beschi.

காசு
<u>வரவரச்</u>
சிலவழித்துக் கொண்டிருந்தான். (iv)
நான்
<u>கூப்பிடக் கூப்பிட</u>
அவன் போய்க் கொண்டிருந்தான். (v)

In the above examples the infinitival dependent clauses have a subject, viz. காசு and நான் respectively. In Beschi's example the subject for both the dependent clause and the independent clause is the same, viz. அவர்.

If the structure of Beschi's sentence is to be accepted the tense in the independent clause has to be changed to future, i.e.

துக்க வாதைகளை
நினைக்க நினைக்க (vi)
வெகுமனக்கிலேசப்பட்டுக் கொண்டிருப்பார்.

This obligatory tense feature does not apply to (iv) and (v) above.

Alternately, the independent clause may be retained, if the dependent clause is changed into a completive dependent clause, i.e.

துக்க வாதைகளை
நினைத்து நினைத்து
வெகுமனக்கிலேசப்பட்டுக் கொண்டிருந்தார். (vii)

3. முசல் போய்க்
கண்ணிலே சந்தியாமலொளித்து
வெகுதூர மோடிப் போச்சு. (viii)

In this sentence also, there is only one subject, viz. முசல். ஒளித்து is a 'transitive' verb and requires an object, exx.

அவன் புத்தகத்தை ஒளித்து வைத்தான். (ix)
அவன் நகையை மறைத்து வைத்தான். (x)
அவன் செடியை வளர்த்தான். (xi)

These 'transitive' forms have a parallel 'non-transitive' form as well, which do not require any 'object', exx.

அவன் ஒளிந்து ஓடிப் போனான். (xii)
அவன் வீட்டிலிருந்து மறைந்தான். (xiii)
அவன் என் வீட்டில் வளர்ந்தான். (xiv)

Hence, if ஒளித்து is to be kept in (viii), it should take an object. To make Beschi's sentence (viii) acceptable the verb in the dependent clause should be changed to ஒளிந்து.

The word சந்தியாமல் seems to be a bad choice because one usually finds

கண்ணிலே படாமல்
கண்ணுக்குத் தெரியாமல், etc.

where சந்தியாமல் is used by Beschi.

சந்தி occurs only as a transitive verb, as in
அவனைச் சந்தித்தேன் (xv)
அவனைச் சந்திக்காமல் சென்றேன். (xvi)

Besides this, சந்தி seems to have been assigned to a wrong class of verb, and as a result the form சந்தியாமல் has been obtained instead of சந்திக்காமல்.

THE DRAVIDIAN ORIGIN OF SUMERIAN WRITING

A. SATHASIVAM

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 THE OBJECT

The object of the present paper is to establish that:

(a) The Dravidian languages of Greater India as well as the ancient Sumerian language of Babylonia descend from a common language (about 4000 B.C.).
(b) The early Sumerian vocabulary, both of the Archaic (3500-3000 B.C.) and the Pre-Gudean (3000-2400 B.C.) periods is Proto-Dravidian.
(c) Phonetic and semantic values attributed to the same Sumerian sign, sound-value, or word in the early Sumerian language (3500-2400 B.C.) may also be attributed to the Dravidian cognates.

1.2 SUMERIAN

The term 'SUMERIAN' is derived from šumer < Kumer meaning 'land', 'cultivated land'. Originally, it probably designated the region around the city of Nippur in Southern Babylonia and in later times it was used for the entire country from the Persian Gulf to Babylon.[1] With šumer may be compared item No. 1448 in the *Dravidian Etymological Dictionary* (*DED*).

TAMIL (*Ta.*) — Kumari 'cultivation in hills'.
KANNADA (*Ka.*) — Kumari 'a piece of ground in a jungle'.
TULU (*Tu.*) — Kumēru 'a waste land cleared for cultivation'.

Probably the Tulu meaning 'a waste land cleared for cultivation' represents the original significance of the term. Compare the Semitic loan-word šumēru[2] with Tulu Kumēru; the former is a palatalized form (K > š) of the latter.

Thus the term 'šumer' originally denoted 'the waste lands cleared

[1] STEPHEN LANGDON, *A Sumerian Grammar and Chrestomathy*, Paris, 1911, p. 2.
[2] Ibid., p. 3.

for cultivation' and extended its meaning to refer to the people who inhabited the lands of Southern Mesopotamia. The language spoken by the people of śumer is called 'Sumerian' (śumerian).

1.3 DECIPHERMENT OF SUMERIAN

Unlike the Indus script, the Sumerian script had been deciphered accurately during the course of the latter half of the 19th Century. "The decipherment of Sumerian actually came about through the diciphernment of Semitic Akkadian, known in earlier days as Assyrian or Babylonian, which like Sumerian, is written in cuneiform script."[3] The discovery of the trilingual inscriptions of King Darius, written in Akkadian, Elamite and old Persian about 700 B.C., made it possible to render the phonetic and semantic values of the cuneiform script with thorough accuracy.

Sumerian as a distinct language from Akkadian had not been treated until 1868. In that year, Jules Oppert correctly named the non-Semitic people who invented the cuneiform script and their language as 'Sumerian', basing his conclusions on the title 'king of Sumer and Akkad' found in the inscriptions of some of the early rulers.[4] The period 1869-1940 marked the unearthing of Sumerian inscriptions in Southern Babylonia, and up to now more than 3000 clay tablets have been unearthed under the sandy mounds in the modern state of Iraq. Some of the stone inscriptions of the earliest Uruk period (3500 B.C.) are still undeciphered.

1.4 SUMERIAN WRITING

The oldest written documents of the Sumerian people come from the city of Uruk and are dated about 3500 B.C.[5] The following observations of Stephen Langdon as regards the Archaic Sumerian writing are of great interest:

> "In the Jemdet Nasr* tablets we possess the earliest large collection of tablets made by the people who invented the originally pictographic script used by the Sumerian people.
>
> As to the racial character of the people who invented the Sumerian script, as it appears in the earliest known stage of development on the Jemdet Nasr tablets, and on a certain few archaic stone tablets of the same period from Nippur, Kish and other unknown sites, I express the opinion that they are Sumerian. In any case the language of these texts is Sumerian, although the grammar is in such a primitive state that the

[3] SAMUEL NOAH KRAMER, *The Sumerians, their History, Culture and Character*, Chicago, 1963, p. 6.

[4] Ibid., p. 21.

[5] STUART PIGGOT, "Chronology of Prehistoric North-west India", *Ancient India*, vol. I, 1946, p. 19.

* This site is situated 17 miles North-east of Kish.

> verbal system of Sumerian had not yet been attained. The signs have the same sense as in the later Sumerian texts.
>
> A good many new signs, unknown in later Sumerian, are present in this archaic script, and some of them are identical with signs of the Indus valley script."[6]

The Sumerian pictographic script of the archaic period ran from right to left as in the case of the Indus script, and the pictographs stand upright and in a natural position.[7] These characteristics are seen on the earliest of all known survivals of writing the pictographic stone tablet of Kish. Later Sumerian writing clearly shows the script turned 90 degrees to the left. This was done to facilitate rapid writing from left to right, whereas the original pictographs were written from right to left in perpendicular position.[8]

1.5. SUMERIAN SCRIPT

The earliest known Sumerian script of the Uruk period (3500 B.C.) is pictographic. These pictographic scripts are rude outlines of physical objects of the natural world such as sun, moon, stars, mountains, water, trees, reeds, man and his bodily organs, birds, fishes and other animals as well as artificial products of human activity such as houses, nets, knives, bows, vessels and implements of various kinds.[9] Sentences in the earliest period were formed by arranging these pictures of objects one above the other in perpendicular columns. Approximately nine hundred different symbols were recorded in the earliest stage of the Uruk period.[10]

This, the earliest known stage of Sumerian writing is called 'logography' or word-writing. The earliest word-signs were limited to the expression of numerals, objects and personal names.[11] The main drawback in this system of writing is its inability to express many parts of speech and grammatical forms. However, the intended meaning was understood through the 'context of situation'.[12]

The second stage of Sumerian writing is called 'ideography'. Originally only concrete words were expressed through pictures, such as a sheep by a picture of a sheep, or the sun by a picture of the sun. But soon ideas associated with particular pictures were also expressed through those pictures. For example, in the secondary stage a picture of the sun represented the words 'bright', 'white' and later also 'day'. Two

[6] STEPHEN LANGDON, "The Indus Script" in *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization* by Sir John Marshall, London, 1931, vol. 11, p. 453.
[7] Ibid, pp. 427-454.
[8] Ibid., p. 454.
[9] C. J. BALL, *Chinese and Sumerian*, Oxford University Press, 1913, p. vii.
[10] DAVID DIRINGER, *Writing*, New York, 1962, p. 36.
[11] I. J. GELB, *A Study of Writing*, The University of Chicago Press, 2nd edn. 1963, p. 65.
[12] Ibid., p. 66.

pictures of women facing each other stood for the expression 'quarrel'. Similarly ideas were expressed also by combining pictures in whole or in part.

The third stage of the Sumerian writing is known as the 'syllabic' stage. During the Pre-Gudean period of Sumerian linguistic history (3000-2400 B.C.), original ideograms were conventionalized by the addition of few strokes to express phonetic complements. The script became cuneiform (from Latin *cuneus* 'wedge' and *forma* 'shape') or wedge shaped as it was written in clay. The following are the three main types of the Sumerian syllables:

(1) VC (vowel + consonant)
(2) CV (consonant + vowel)
(3) CVC (consonant + vowel + consonant)
Separate signs were used in Sumerian for the vowels (V).

In this syllabic system of orthography the vowel is as unchanging as the consonant, a feature that distinguishes the Sumerian language from Semitic languages in which the stable element is the consonant, while the vowel is extremely variable.

The Sumerian Syllabary and the systems derived from it consist of signs which usually represent monosyllables ending in a vowel or a consonant, more rarely disyllables of the same structure. The following 18 characters are derivable from the Sumerian syllables:

vowels: 4: a, u, i, and e.
consonants: 14: k, g, ġ, :t, d, p, b, m, n, r; l; š; s; z.

1.6 SUMERIAN PHONETICS AND PHONEMICS

Vowels: Stephen Langdon defines the four Sumerian vowel sounds as follows:

> "The script evolved by the Sumerians has the capacity of writing but four vowel sounds low back ā, high back ū with labial rounding, mid-palatal ē and front palatal ī. It is probable that when a separate vowel sign was employed for any of these vowels, the *long* vowel was intended. To express any of these sounds in combination with consonants separate syllabic signs had to be chosen."[13]

There was no contrast in vowel-length in Sumerian. The main feature of the history of Sumerian language is seen in the change of back vowels

[13] STEPHEN LANGDON, *A Sumerian Grammar and Chrestomathy*, pp. 33-34.

C
Birds and Parts of Birds

	No	Pl.		No.	Pl.
	85, 486	21, 22	Chick emerging from egg	80	20
	83	21	Bird eating grain	326	86
	88	23, 156			
	128a	31	A wing	311	81

D
Fishes and Parts of Fishes.

	No.	Pl.		No.	Pl.
	525	132	Fish in an enclosure.	473	118
	303	78			
	94	25, 157	Fish's mouth eating something?		
Fish split open (?)	363	95	= ?	565	140

E.
Insects.

A locust, bee, or a larva.	No.	Pl.		No.	Pl.
				390	100
	364a	169		355	93
	387	99			

From George A Barton's, *The Origin and Development of Babylonian Writing*, p. 177.

into mid-palatal and front palatal.

Exx: a > e/i
u > i/e

Scribes of the later periods usually write 'e' for 'i' and vice versa.

Consonants: It is difficult to characterise the Sumerian consonants in modern linguistic terminology. What E. Norris had said of the cuneiform script of the Behistun Inscriptions may be partly applicable to Sumerian as well. He says:

> "In one or two points of phonography this alphabet resembles that used by the Tamils: there is no distinction made between the surd and sonant consonants at the beginning of a word, and in the middle of a word the same consonant must have been pronounced as a sonant when single and a surd when double."[14]

Thus $/p/ \begin{cases} b \\ p \end{cases}$, $/t/ \begin{cases} d \\ t \end{cases}$, $/k/ \begin{cases} g \\ k \end{cases}$

The language possesses at least three cerebral consonants in word-final position: These are d(ḍ) r(ṛ), and I(Ḷ).[15] ġ and ś are peculiar Sumerian consonants and some times inaccurately rendered by h and sh respectively.

2. SUMERIAN AND COMPARATIVE DRAVIDIAN

Data: In this section an attempt is made to compare the phonetic and semantic values of fourteen Sumerian signs with Dravidian cognates. There were about 366 Sumerian signs in use during the Pre-Gudian periods of Sumerian linguistic history. Some of these signs have preserved their earliest version, i.e. rude pictures of objects. The following fourteen signs selected for detailed analysis may be considered as representative of the entire signs.

An important feature of the Sumerian writing is "polyphony", that is, that one and the same sign could stand for more than one sound or value. There is no way of testing this "polyphony" nature of the primitive Dravidian writing, as no Dravidian language has preserved any records prior to 3rd century B.C. But the data assembled below shows that the same writing system was in operation during the earliest period of Dravidian lingusitic history. The Sumerian language became a dead language by about 1800 B.C., consequently, unlike the living languages of the family, Sumerian had not changed since then.

[14] E. NORRIS, "Memoir" on the Scythic version of the Behistun Inscriptions, *J.R.A.S.* (G.B.), vol. 15 (1852), pp. 6-7.

[15] STEPHEN LANGDON, *A Sumerian Grammer and Chrestomathy*, p. 40.

The Sumerian signs and values presented here are drawn from the pages of *The Origin and Development of Babylonian Writing* (*ODBW*) by George A. Barton, and bear the serial numbers of the signs in that work. The following signs are selected for analysis: Signs Nos. 244; 281; 322; 131; 351; 88; 364a; 149; 180; 182; 37; 80; 387 and 531. The Dravidian items are drawn from *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary* (*DED*) by T. Burrow and M. B. Emeneau and the item numbers refer to the serial numbers in that work.

2.2 **Sign No. 244: The original picture represented a net, plus a motif for spread out.**

Sum:	par — spread out (B. 5531); tear down (M. 3872).
	par — a net (B. 5532).
	bara — spread out (B. 5534); extend (M. 3873).
(1) *Sum*:	Par — a net.
Ta:	valai — net; *DED*. 4326. *Ma*: vala — net; *Ko*: val; *To*: pal.
Ka:	bale — *Kod*: bale; *Tu*: bale.

Among the Dravidian languages Toda alone has preserved the initial p; cf. *Sum*: par with *To*: pal 'a net', par > pal.

(2) *Sum*:	par, bara — spread out; extend.
Ta:	para — spread; expand; extend *DED*: 3255. pār — expanse; pāṟu — spread; *Ma*: parakka — to spread; *Ko*: part; *To*: par.
Ka:	pare; *Kod*: para; *Tu*: parapuni; *Te*: paravu, paru.
Go:	parhānā.

It is likely the primitive root of the form păr — 'spread', 'extend is pā — 'spread', 'expanse', a form still in use in Tamil.

(3) *Sum*:	par — tear down.
Ta:	pari — cut asunder, separate; break off; *DED*. 3267.
Tu:	paripuni — to tear; rend; parte — tear; *Te*: pariyu.
Kol:	part; *Pa*: parng; *Kui*: paja; *Kur*: paṛa; *Malt*: parge.
Ta:	paṟi — torn apart; *DED*. 3317. *Ma*: paṟi — tearing off.
Ka:	paṟi — tear asunder.

Sum: par — 'tear down' is represented in the other Dravidian languages by pari/paṟi. The phonetic values par/bara of the same sign No. 244 clearly prove that there was hardly any difference between p/b in the parent tongue. The same may be said of k/g and t/d. Therefore the terms for net par/pal/bal and val may be said of regional or dialectal varieties.

That fact that par means 'spread out' and 'teardown' and both these meanings are expressed by the same sign prove that there was only one system of writing for the entire family during the primitive period.

2.3 Sign No. 281: The sign is a picture of a house.

E. — house (B. 6238).
bid — house (Bîtu in Akkadian).

According to Mercer[16] the phonetic values for the pictogram — house are bit/ṭ, pit and e. Then four forms bid/bit/biṭ and pit are recorded as variants.

Sum: bid/bit/biṭ/pit — house.
Ta: vīṭu — house, habitation, abode, *DED* 4419. *Ma*: vīṭu — house; *Ka*: bīḍu; *Kod*: bu·ḍi; *Tu*: bīḍu, būḍu.

It is important to note that Sumerian orthography possesses a special character ṭ as seen in biṭ — house. cf. *Sum*: bid/biṭ with *Sum*: Ud/ *Ta*: uṭan 'at once' d > t (Ud/Uṭan).

2.4 Sign No. 322: The sign is clearly a series of mountain peaks.

Sum: kur — mountain (M. 7396),
kur — earth; land (B. 7392); country (B. 7394),
kur — horse (M. 5359).

(1) *Sum*: kur — mountain; land; country.
Ta: kuṉṟu — hill; mountain, *DED*. 1548. *Ma*: kuṟu — hill.
To: küḍs — large rock; *Ka*: koṇḍa — hill; *Kod*: kundi — mountain.
Go: kuṛu — hill; *Ta*: kuṟiñci — hilly tract; *DED*. 1530. kuricci — village in the hilly tract; *Ma*: kuṟicci — hill country. Original kur develops into kuṛ-/ kuṟ-/ kuṉṟ/and kund-;

r > ṛ > ṟ /ṉṟ,/nd.
r > d̲s̲

The semantic values 'earth' and 'land' are derived from the original 'hilly tract' as seen in *Ta*: kuṟicci — 'village in the hilly tract'.

(2) *Sum*: kur — horse.
Ta: kutirai — horse *DED*. 1423; *Ma*: kutira; *Ko*: kudyr.
Ka: kudire; *Kod*: kudire; *Tu*: kudure, *Te*: kudira, guṟṟamu.

[16] A. B. Mercer, *Sumero-Babylonian Sign List*, New York, 1981, p. 5.

Kol: gurram; *Nk*: ghurram; *Pa*: gurrol; *Konda*: gur̲ram.
Kuwi: gūrumi, gurrom.

kur̤ has the following variants in the Dravidian languages:

kur > kut-/kud-/gur-/gur̲/gūr/ghur-.

The following observations of C. J. Ball has relevance for the Dravidian languages also:

> kúr (from Gur) — horse, written phonetically with last character (kur — mountain; hill, land, country, inhabited place). (*CS.* p. 96.)

If kur develops from Gur, as Ball suggests, then the *Te-Kol-Nk-Pa-Konda-Kuwi* group of the central Dravidian languages have preserved the earlier form with initial g-. Barton records the value 'mad' also for this mountain sign (*ODBW.* p. 167): compare mad with *Go*: maṭṭā — mountain, *DED.* 4151. *Kol*: meṭṭā — hill; met — mountain; *Nk*: meṭṭ — hill, mountain.

The archaic character of the sign shows that the picture is really a hilly tract. It is interesting to note that the same sign denotes both the mountain and the horse. The horse was considered a mountain animal. The fact that there are no mountains in Babylonia and the horse was not indigenous to that country suggests that the term 'kur' meaning mountain and horse, may have been brought by the Sumerian settlers from their place of origin. (Ball. *CS.* p. xi.)

2.5 **Sign No. 131: The original picture represented a head surmounted by a cap of some sort.**

Sum: muĝ — top (B. 3667).
Ta: muṭi — crown of head; top as of mountain *DED.* 4030.
Ma: muṭi — top knot; hair of head. *Ko*: mur̤y — hair, knot.
To: mur̤y — beautifully shaped top. *Ka*: muḍi — braid of hair.
Kol: muḍi — knot; *Br*: muṭṭuḵh — knot.

Tamil has retained the original signficance of the pictogram, i.e. 'crown of head' and 'top'.

> ĝ develops into r̤, ṭ and ḍ. cf. *Sum*: taĝ — strike; *Ta*: taṭṭu; *DED*: 2466; *Ka*: tāṭu, *Kur*: tar̤nā, *Malt*: tar̤ce.

2.6 **Sign No. 351: The original picture represented a two-handled jar or jug.**

Sum: mud — a kind of vessel or jug (B. 8192; M. 6111).

Ta: muṭṭi — small earthen pot. *DED*. 4040. *Ma*: muṭṭi — a vessel.
Tu: muṭṭi — earthen pot.

The Sumerian word-final d is represented in the other Dravidian languages by ṭ, ṭṭ, ṛ or ḍ; exx.

Sum: kad — bind; *Ta*: kaṭṭu; *Ko*: kaṭ; *Sum*: kud — add.
Ta: kūṭu, kūṭṭu; *Ko*: kūṛ-, kūṭ; *Ka*: Kūḍu.

2.7 Sign No. 88: (See the pictographic script on p. 677.) The picture represents a bird sitting on an egg, or a bird and an egg, i.e. a nesting bird.

(1) *Sum*: mud — bear (B. 2273); bear, of children (B. 2274).
mud — enclosure; womb(?) (B. 2280).
mud — some sexual word (B. 2275).
mud — kin, family (B. 2276).
mud — be impetuous; strong (B. 2279).
mud — fright, terror (M. 1300); fear, be angry (B. 2272).
Sum: mud — some sexual word.
Ta: muṭṭai — egg: *DED*. 4048; *Ma*: muṭṭa — egg; *Ko*: moṭ; *To*: muṭy.
Ka: moṭṭe; *Kod*: muṭṭe — egg; testis.

It is important to note that none of the Sumerian values directly refer to 'egg', whereas the pictogram clearly shows an egg. Does this indicate that the Sumerian language has lost the original significance of the term 'mud'?

(2) *Sum*: mud — enclosure.
mud — shut in (Ball. *CS*. p. 107).
muru — enclosure (M. 4794), sign No. 296.
Ta: mūṭu — shut in; enclose, *DED*. 4132; *Ma*: mūṭuka — to be covered; mūṭa — foetus born with a covering; *Go*: muṛhu — to cover up. In Sumerian 'mud' and 'muru' are synonyms. Cf.
Sum: muru with *Go*: muṛhu.
Sum: mud/muru — enclosure; shut in.
Ta: muṟṟu — to surround; *Ma*: muṟṟuka; *Ko*: mut; *Ka*: muttu — to enclose; encompass; shut in; *Tu*: muttuni — encompass.
Te: muṭṭu — surround.

d/r > t/tt/ṭṭ/ṟṟ

(3) *Sum*: mud — strong.
Ta: muṟṟu — become hardened; muṟṟal — strength, *DED*. 4117.
Ma: muṟṟuka — grow perfect; *To*: mut — become strong.

d > t/ṟṟ.

(4) *Sum*: mud — kin; family.
Ta: muṟai — relationship by blood, *DED*, 4115; *Ko*: moyr — relationship between kin; *To*: mïṟ — relationship by blood or marriage; *Tu*: mude — consanguinity; *Konda*: mur — kinsman. Compare *Sum*: mud/muru — 'shut in', 'enclose' with *Sum*: mud.
Konda: mur — kin. kinsman; *Tu*: mude.

(5) *Sum*: mud — be frightened, be angry.
Ta: muṟukku — be angry; muṟai — haughty; *Ko*: murk — sulk, *To*: muṟ (murq) — to become angry; *Ka*: muṟuku — arrogance; *Tu*: murtāpa — haughtiness; *Kui*: mursa — be regardless of danger.

These values express the original significance of the pictograph. Haughtiness and anger are the characteristics of a nesting bird.

(6) *Sum*: mud — bear, bear of children.
Ta: mūṭu — origin, *DED*. 4133; *Ka*: mūḍu — originate, be produced; be born, come into existence; *Tu*: mūḍuni — be born.

2.8 **Sign No. 364a: (See the pictographic script on p. 677.) The picture is that of a grasshopper.**

Sum: mul — vermin, grasshoppers of the field (M. 6534).
muš — insect, fly (M. 6537)
sur — insect, fly (M. 6535)
sur — hole (M. 6536)
sur — dwelling (M. 6541)
sur — call, cry, (M. 6543)
kaz — cut, tear (M. 6540)

As Barton points out, the phonetic values of this sign are the following (a) mul/muš, (b) sur, and (c) kaz.

(1) *Sum*: mul — vermin, grasshopper.
muš — insect, fly.
mud — a kind of fly, cognate muš — green wood-fly, (M. 6537). (Ball. *CS*. p. 107.)
To: muṭṣṇ — grasshopper, *DED*. 3974; *Ko*: miṭḷ — locust; *Ka*: miḍice, miḍucu — grasshopper; *Tu*: moṇṭe — grasshopper; *Te*: miḍuta — grasshopper;

Kol: miṭṭe; *Pa*: miṭaka; *Ta*: viṭṭil — locust; *Ma*: viṭṭil, veṭṭil — grasshopper, locust.

Only Sumerian and Toda retain the primitive form with the medial vowel U. Cf. *Sum*: muš/mud/mul with *To*: muṭṣṇ. In the other Dravidian languages u > i. Cf. *Sum*: mul with *Ko*: miṭḷ. This implies that the vowel of the proto-Dravidian form is an umlaut (Ǘ).

(2) *Sum*: sur — insect; fly.
Ta: curumpu — bee; drone, fly, *DED*. 2215; *Kol*: curund — bee; *Nk*: surund; *Pa*: curud; curdi — bee.

Cf. *Sum*: sur > *Ta*: curumpu — fly;
Sum: Bir > *Ta*: virumpu — desire.

(3) *Sum*: sur — hole.
Ta: curi — hole, *DED*. 2212; *Ma*: curi — hole.

S > C.

(4) *Sum*: kaz — cut; tear.
Ta: kaccu — bite, *DED*. 920; *To*: koc — kaccu, karcu; *Tu*: kaccuni.
Kol: kacc; *Pa*: kacc; *Go*: kas; *Kui*: kasa; *Kuwi*: kacali; kaẓẓinai (ẓ = c) *Kur*: kassnā; *Malt*: qaswe — nip off; Compare *Sum*: kaz with *Kuwi*: kaẓẓinai.

kaz > kaz.

2.9 **Sign No. 149: The sign is a picture of three stars.**

Sum: mul — a star (B. 3855)
mulu — bright; shining (B. 3856)
mulu — sight; aspect (M. 2522)
mulu — seek (M. 2523)
mulu — perfect (M. 2529)
mulu — sprout; twig (M. 2535)
mulu — an expression applied to the heavens (M. 2540)
mulu — a sandal (M. 2536)
mulu — foot (M. 2537)
mulu — glow (M. 2534).

This sign provides certain clues for the reconstruction of the phonetic changes that occurred in the individual languages of the family.

(1) *Sum*: mulu — perfect.
Ta: muṟu — all; whole; muṟumai — perfection, *DED*. 4095; *Ma*: muṟu — whole.

Tu: murka — full, PDr; root appears to be mur (*Tu*: murka)

mur > mulu in *Sum.*
mur > muṟu in *Ta.* & *Ma.*
mur > murka in *Tu.*

(2) *Sum*: mulu — sprout.
Ta: muḷai — sprout; shoot, *DED.* 4100; *Ma*: muḷa; *To*: mïḷ, miḷ.
Ka: moḷe; *Tu*: muḷiyuni; *Te*: moḷaka; *Go*: moṛiyānā — to sprout. Probably the *Go*: form mor — is closer to the PDr. mur.

(3) *Sum*: mulu — glow.
Ta: muḷi — be scorched; burn, *DED.* 4099. mūḷ — to kindle; catch fire; stirred up, *DED.* 4143; *Ma*: muḷi *To*: müḷy.

In Tamil 'muḷari' means both lotus and fire; i.e. muḷ > muḷai — sprout, lotus; muḷ > muḷi — glow as fever or fire. muḷari — fire.

(4) SUM: mulu — sight; aspect; seek; bright; shining.
Ta: miṟi, viṟi — gaze, shine; *Ma*: miṟikka — to look at: cast looks; miṟi — eye.

Apparently mur > mir > miṟ > miṟi > viṟi.
Cf. *Sum*: mulu — sprout; *To*: mïḷ.
Cf. *Ta*: muṟunku > miṟunku > viṟunku — to swallow.
Cf. *Sum*: mul — grasshopper; *To*: muṭṣṇ; *Ko*: miṭḷ; *Ta*: — *Ma*: viṭṭil.

(5) *Sum*: mul — a star; mulu — bright; shining.
Go: miṛko, miḍkos — star, *DED.* 3994; mirsalnā, miṛkānā, miḍstānā — to flash; *Te*: miḍugu, miṇugu — to glitter.
Tu: miṇuku, minukuni — to shine; *Ka*: miṇa, mini — shining.
To: mi.n — star; mic-(mič-) — to flash; *Ko*: mi·n — star; minc — glitter; *Ta*: mīṉ — star; miṉ — flash; glitter.

mur > mir > miṟ > miḍ.

Go: forms mir-/miṛ-/miḍ — are interesting.
Cf. *Sum*: mul/ muš/ mud — grasshopper.
To: muṭṣṇ; *Ko*: miṭḷ.

u > i.

(6) *Sum*:	mulu — sky: heaven; mulu — bright; shining.
Ta:	meruku — glitter; lustre. *DED*. 4163; *Ka*: miṟugu — shine; miṟu/meṟe — shine. *Tu*: mereyuni — to shine; *Te*: meṟugu — shine.
Kol:	merp; *Nk*: merp; *Pa*: med: *Ga*: merc: *Kur*: merkhā — sky; heaven.

mur > mir > mer.

For u > e cf:

Sum:	tu, tug, tuk, tukul, te — cloth.
Ta:	tukil.

For tu > te cf:

Sum:	muqa — goat, (M. 8375); sign No. 496.
Ka:	mēke — she-goat, *DED*. 4174; *Te*: mēka — goat.
Kol:	me·ke — goat; *Ga*: mēge: *Go*: mekā.

For r > l cf:

Sum:	mili, mele — throat, neck.
Kur:	melkkā, *DED*. 4168; *Malt*: melqe
Ta:	miṭaru, *DED*. 3971; *Ma*: miṭila: *Ko*: miṟ.
To:	mīṟ; *Ka*: meṭre; *Te*: meḍa.

PDr. mur > miṟ in *Ko, To* etc. The analysis of this sign shows that u > i > e was a feature of the primitive Dravidian and also establish the regularity of phonetic change.

2.10 **Sign No. 180: The sign originally pictured a section of the stalk of a plant split apart.**

Sum:	tuĝ — open, of the mouth (M. 3013) du, tuĝ — split, tear asunder, (M. 3015), (B. 4488) du — press, with the hand, (M. 3018) du, tuĝ — be abundant, abundance (M. 3000) du — turn, of eyes, (M. 3009) du — lift up, of eyes, (B. 4484)
(1) *Sum*:	tuĝ — open.
Ta:	tiṟa — to open, tuṟappu — a key, *DED*. 2667; *Ma*: tuṟakka — open; *Ko*: terv-; *To*: teṟ-; *Ka*: teṟe; *Kod*: tora-; *Te*: teṟa; *Kur*: tisigna; *Malt*: tisge; *Br*: tuṟing-. tug > tuṟ- > tuṟa > tiṟa > teṟa; tuĝ > tura > tora.

Historically u > i is earlier than u > o. Sumerian retention of the form tuĝ clearly proves that the PDr. vowel was u pronounced ü.

u > i > e
u > o

Compare the other form for 'open'. *Sum*: taĝ, tab — open:
Go: tarītānā, *DED*. 2667; *Kui*: dari.

(2) *Sum*: du, tuĝ — be abundant, abundance.
Ta: tuku — gather in a mass, *DED*. 2861; *Ma*: tuka — sum, whole amount, collection; *Ta*: tuṟu — full; press or crowd, *DED*. 2770.
Ma: tuṟu — a heap; *Ko*: turg-; turk — to push through; *Ka*: tuṟugal — mass; tukku — to crowd; *Te*: tuṭṭe — heap; *Ta*: tiraḷ — abound, grow thick; *DED*. 2654; *Ma*: tiraḷ — mass; *Ko*: terṇ — become plump; *Ka*: tera — a mass; *Tu*: tirlu — a mass; *Te*: teralu — to abound.

It is interesting to note that tuĝ — to open, to abound develops in *Te*: as teṟa — open; teralu — to abound.

u > e.

Sum: tuĝ and *Ko*: turg, show remarkable agreement in phonetic details. The development of dialectal variants of the original form tuĝ may be traced as follows:

(a) tuĝ > tur/ tur-
(b) tuĝ > tir-/ ter/ ter-
(c) tuĝ > turg-/ turk- > tuk-
cf: *Sum*: tuĝ — to be abundant, with
Sum: tuk — to be abundant (M. 8626. B. 11239) sign No. 515.
Ta: *Ma*: tuku — abound; gather in a mass.

(3) *Sum*: du — turn.
Ta: tiri — turn, *DED*. 2655; *Ma*: tiri — turn; *Ko*: tirg-; tirk-.
To: tirx; tirk-; *Ka*: tiri; *Kod*: tir-; *Tu*: tirig-; *Te*: tiri. *Kol*: tirg-; *Nk*: tirg-; *Go*: tiritana; *Kui*: tihpa; *Kur*: tīrnā.

Barton did not record a form tuĝ meaning 'turn', but the majority of the Dravidian languages indicate the existance of such a form: du > tuĝ > tirg. Even on analogy of the Sumerian forms du, tuĝ — abundant, tuĝ can be reconstructed from du — to turn.

(4) *Sum*: du, tuĝ — split; tear asunder.
teṟi — to brust asunder, split; break, cut *DED*. 2829, 2830.
Ma: teṟikka — to cut off; *Ka*: tiṟi — to cut; *Te*: t(r)egu — tear, cut.

It is interesting to note the change *Sum*: tuĝ > *Te*: t(r)egu.

(5) *Sum*: du — press, with the hand.
Ta: tuṭakku — to catch hold of, tie; toṭu — to touch, *DED*. 2865 and 2703; *Ko*: toṛv — to put arms around.
Ka: tuḍu — to join; put on: tuṭakku — grasp; *Kur*: tuṛsg — to touch; *Sum*: du (tug); *Kur*: tuṛsg-.

2.11 Sign No. 182: The original picture was a doubled arrow. This suggested co-operation, help, aid, etc.

Sum: dağ, tağ — help, assist (M. 3055)
help, aid (B. 4536)
gather, combine (B. 4535)
tread, march (B. 4538)
haste (B. 4539).

(1) *Sum*: dağ, tağ — help, assist, aid.
Ta: taru, tār, tā — to give, bring, *DED*. 2526.
Ma: taru, tār, tā — give, bring.
Ko: ta·r-, ta·, taḍ-, takc-.
To: to·r- ta·, taš- takc-.
Ka: tar-, tār, tā-, takc-; *Kod*: tar-, ta· — to give.
Go: tattānā-; taṛā — to bring.

In Sumerian tağ — 'assist', 'aid' is used in all the persons, as such, has no restricted sense as *Ta*: tā/ tār/ taru etc. are used in the 1st. and 2nd persons.

(2) *Sum*: dağ, tağ — gather, combine.
Ta: taṛu — embrace; join; copulate, *DED*. 2543.
Ma: taṛukuka — hold fast, embrace; *Ko*: takc — to carry in arms.
Ka: taṛke-, takke — an embrace; tarbu — embrace; amount of wood.
Kod: tabb — to embrace; *Tu*: tark — to jump; leap over.

Compare *Sum*: tağ with *Ka*: tāgu. Historically tāgu is earlier than tāvu; tāgu > tāvu; g > v (b).

Sum: tağ/*Ta*: tā 'give' may be compared with *Sum*: mağ/ *Ta*: mā 'great' (Sign No. 56).

2.12 Sign No. 17: The sign is a picture of 'water in the mouth'.

Sum: nag — sip (B. 870); drink (B. 872)
gu — beverage (B. 871).

(1) *Sum*: nag — sip; drink.
Ta: nakku — to lick, *DED*. 2945; *Ma*: nakkuka — lick; *Ko*: nak-.

To: nok-; *Ka*: nakku; *Kod*: nakk-; *Tu*: nakkuni; *Te*: nāku.
Kol: na·k-; *Nk*: nāk-; *Pa*: nēk-; *Ga*: nāk-; *Go*: nākānā.
Konda: nāk-; *Kui*: nāka; *Kuwi*: nākali.

Sumerian word-final -g develops into -k- in word medial position -g > -k-.

(2) *Sum*: gu — beverage; drink.
Ta: kuṭi — to drink; n — beverage, *DED*. 1378, *Ma*: kuṭi — to drink.
Ko: kuṛy; *To*: kuḍt-; *Ka*: kuḍi; *Kod*: kuḍi; *Tu*: kuḍcuni; *Te*: kuḍucu.

g > k.

2.13 **Sign No. 80: (See the pictographic script on p. 677.) Picture of a young bird in process of being hatched from an egg.**

Sum: maš (res. No. 32)
bir (AV. Syl. 78)
a kid; (B. 2030)
lamb; young child (B. 2025)
cattle (B. 2026)
young; offspring (B. 2027).
sprout; offspring (B. 2028).

(1) *Sum*: maš — a kid, lamb, young child; cattle; young; offspring, sprout.
Ta: maṟi — young of sheep, *DED*. 3901; *Ma*: maṟi — offspring, the young of animals; *Ko*: mayr — young of animals.
To: maṟy — young of animals and birds; *Ka*: maṟi — the young of any animal; a young child, a shoot; sapling.
Tu: mari — a young animal; *Te*: maraka — a kid; *Go*: marrī — son.
Br: mār — son; boy, lad; mat — he-goat (Bray, Brahui, p. 203).

The original significance of the pictograph namely 'young of birds' still survives in Toda. All the semantic ranges of the Sumerian form maš are found in the various languages of the family.

For s > ṟ, cf. *Sum*: muš — 'three'; *Ka*: mūṟu.

(2) *Sum*: bir — offspring, child, young of any animal; bila — son, offspring; child, young (Ball. *CS*. p. 82).

Ta: piḷḷai — child, son, youth, daughter, young of many animals; *Ka*: piḷḷe, pilla — child, young of any animal.

Tu: piḷḷe — child, baby; *Te*: pilla — child, baby; young of any animal; *Kol*: pilla — baby; *Go*: pilā — child, young of an animal.

Compare *Sum*: bir/bila with *Go*: pilā; bila > pilā.

For bir/pilā-, cf. *Sum*: bir — rend, tear, cut (B. 8095) Sign No. 342.
Ta: piri/piḷ/piḷa — tear, cut *DED*. 3455 and 3446.

The meaning of the pictograph is given by Barton as 'chick emerging from egg' — from which all the other meanings developed. It is important to note that the ancient grammarian Tolkappiyar gives the meaning 'young of birds' for the term piḷḷai (*Tol. Porul.* 559). Compare *Te*: piṭṭa — bird; *Kol*: piṭṭe — young bird, chick; *Go*: piṭe, piṭṭe.

bir > piṭe, piṭṭe — 'chick'.

2.14 **Sign No. 387: (See the pictographic script on p. 677) Picture of a two-winged insect.**

Sum: tum — (sa vi. 11) — a fly (B. 9030).
num — fly.
nim — fly; high (B. 9016)
tum (also read num, nim), flies, winged insects, (Ball. *CS.* p. 141).
nim, num, tum (Mercer. *SBSL.* p. 6.)

(1) *Sum*: tum — a fly.
Ta: tumpi — bee; dragon-fly. *DED*. 2731; *Ma*: tumpi — bee; dragon.
Ko: tib; *To*: tuby; *Ka*: tumbi, tumbe; *Kod*: tumbi; *Tu*: tumbi.
Pa: dund; *Kur*: tumba; *Malt*: tumbe.

(2) *Sum*: num — a fly.
Ta: nuḷampu, nuḷḷal — gnat, eye-fly, mosquito, *DED*. 3077.
Ma: nuṛampu; *Ka*: nusi, noḷa — a fly, insect; noraju — gnat; an eye-fly; *Te*: nusuma; *Kol*: nulle; *Pa*: nuṛñi; *Go*: nullē.
Malt: nuto.

Probably nur (*Pa*: nuṛñi) is the original of num 'fly'.

nur > num.

For r > m
cf. *Sum*: tur, tum — thigh, waist.
Ta: tuṭai; *To*: twaṛ.
cf. *Sum*: nam — province, district (B. 2099); Sign No. 85.
Ta: nāṭu; *Ko*: na·ṛ; *Go*: nār.

'r' usually changes into a nasal 'n' or 'm' in word-final position in Sumerian.

cf. *Sum*: kan — dark, black; *Ta*: kār, karu.
Sum: kurun — blood; *Ta*: kuruti.

(3) *Sum*: nim — fly.
Kol: ni·nga — fly; *Nk*: nīnga — fly, *DED*. 453; -ga of nīnga is a suffix. nīm + ga = ninga.
(4) *Sum*: nim — high, be high.
Ta: nimir — to grow tall; *DED*. 2382, 3033.
niva — to rise high; *Ka*: nimir — grow high; *Konda*: niṉ — to rise; *Kui*: ninga — to rise.
(5) *Sum*: tum — abundance.
Ta: tumpai — assembly; crowd, *DED*. 2739; *Ka*: tombe — multitude.
Ko: tumn — full; *Ka*: tumbu — abound; *Koḍ*: dumb — to become full.

Compare *Sum*: tum — 'a fly', 'abundance' with *Ta*: tumpi — fly; tumpai — abundance.

2.15 **Sign No. 531: The sign is a picture of a hog.**

Sum: kiš — some quadruped, a hog; (B. 11937) piš — a hog.
(1) *Sum*: kiš — a hog.
kiš — a swine, hog, pig. (Ball. *CS*. p. 93.)
Kur: kiss — pig. *DED*. 1275; *Malt*: kisu — pig; *Ta*: kēṟal — pig.

The root of kiš/kiss/kisu/kēṟ — is probably kīr > kiḷ/kīṟ — to dig. Digging the ground is the characteristic of this animal.

For kiš/kēṟ —
cf. *Sum*: kiš — hair of the head.
Go: kelk — hair.
Kui: kelu, kedu.
cf. *Sum*: kiš/kil/kin — multitude.
Ta: kiḷai — host; multitude.

(2) *Sum*: piš — pig.
piš (biš: from an older baš?);
a wild boar; vid — kiš — the other value of the character (Assyrian — loan word piazu — swine, hog seems to be a triliṭ imitation of baž = baš) (Ball. *CS.* p. 119).

Kuwi: pazzi (z = j); pajji — pig, *DED.* 3326; *Kui*: paji.
Ta: pan̲r̲i, van̲r̲i; *Ma*: panni; *Ko*: paj; *Ka*: pandi; *Kod*: pandi.
Tu: panji; *Te*: Pandi; *Pa*: pend; *Ga*: panḍ; *Go*: paddi.
Konda: pan̲r̲i.

It is likely that the original form was baš — baž, as Barton suggests. Baš/baz > pazzi in *Kuwi*: The change of the back vowel 'a' to the front vowel 'i' (paz > piš) was due to the phonetic habits of the Semitic people, and this feature is generally observed in the Sumerian language of the Post-Gudean period (2400-1800 B.C.).

3. THE PARENT LANGUAGE

3.1 SUMERIAN AND PROTO-DRAVIDIAN

Is Sumerian a Pre-Dravidian language? This question will naturally be raised by students of Indo-European linguistics familiar with Hittite records. Hittite is generally considered a Pre-Indo-European language as it shows certain un-Indo-European characteristics that are not reconstructable for the family as a whole. On the other hand, Archaic Sumerian as seen in the Pre-Gudean records does not show any un-Dravidian characteristics. From what has been shown in section 2 above, it is clear that both Sumerians and Dravidians spoke the same language and probably lived in some mountainous region for a long time before being separated from each other. The importance of the Archaic Sumerian language lies in the fact that it has preserved the earliest literary records of the family. A comparison of the vocabulary of that language with that of the Dravidian languages shows that the phonetic habits of those who spoke them were essentially the same. Therefore, it is easier to conclude that Archaic Sumerian had retained many features of the parent language which in varying degrees are shared by the spoken languages of the family.

3.2 PROTO-DRAVIDIAN CHARACTERISTICS

The following, it is submitted, are some of the main characteristics of the parent or proto-language:

(1) **Vowels:** Originally a three vowel system prevailed in the proto-language. The four Sumerian vowels — a, u, i and e may

be reduced into a, u, and i. The back vowels a and u were extensively used in the earliest period of Sumerian linguistic history. There was no contrast in vowel length in Sumerian. This feature may be reconstructed for the parent language. Cf. *Sum*: mud; *Ta*: mūṭu, muṭṭai etc. (see 2.7). An umlauted vowel ü should be reconstructed for the parent language (see 2.8; 2.10 etc.).

(2) **Consonants:** No distinction was made between the surd and sonant consonants either in word-initial or final position in the parent language. Compare the Dravidian cognates for 'cloth'.

Sign No. 481b: A garment (It was a cloth with two stripes across it).
Sum: tu, tug — garment (B. 10551); tuk — garment; tukul — garment; tugini — garment (M. 3305) Sign No. 204. *Ta*: tukil, tuyil — fine cloth, *DED*. 2687; *Ma*: tukil, tuyil — fine cloth; *Ka*: dukula, dugula — fine cloth.

The primary root of the Sumerian forms tu, tug, tuk, tukul and tugini is undoubtedly tu. This primary root 'tu' develops into 'tug' and 'tuk' in Archaic Sumerian and 'tugini' and 'tukul' in the post-Gudean period of the Sumerian language. These illustrations clearly show that the medial -k-/g in the Dravidian languages was once a final consonant in the parent language, as seen in the Archaic Sumerian records. There was no phonemic opposition between k/g, t/d and p/b.

Kannada d- in word-initial position (dukula) is not accidental. Sumerian illustrations are many to show that there existed no distinction between the surd t- and sonant d- in word-initial position, exx:

Sign No. 427:
Sum: dun — a kind of garment (B. 9881).
Ta: tuṇi — cloth; *Ma*: tuṇi — cloth; *Ko*: tuṇy — cloth; *Koḍ*: tuṇi — cloth.

For the Sumerian d- (dun), the Dravidian languages show t- (tuṇi). The initial k/g variant may be seen from the following illustration:

Sign No. 101: Sign originally represented a loin cloth.
Sum: gad — garment; cloth.
Ta: kantai — loin cloth, *DED*. 991; *Te*: kanduva; upper garment.
Kol: khandva — cloth; kandva — garment; *Nk*: khanda — garment.
Pa: ganda — garment; *Ga*: garnda — garment.

In these illustrations Sumerian g- is represented by g-/kh- and k- in Dravidian.

Thus the distinction k/g, t/d, and p/b in the various languages of the family was originally of phonetic and not of phonemic nature. This feature is reconstructed for the parent language.

(3) **Agglutination:** Sumerian is an agglutinative language and recognized as such by almost all the Sumerologists.[17] Thus it differs in its fundamentals from the Indo-European and the Semitic languages.

The agglutinative principles in operation during the Pre-Gudean period of the Sumerian linguistic history were the same as those in Dravidian. The Archaic Sumerian was a language of simple roots often of monosyllabic structure. As Langdon points out, the grammar was in such a primitive state that the verbal system of later Sumerian had not yet been attained (see 1.4).

It is clear that there was no barrier between morphological and syntactic structures in the parent language.

Examine the following examples:

Sum: a-ra-zu "supplication" (Langdon, *SGCP*. 203).
Ta: aṭanku "supplication" aṭakku.
Ma: aṭannuka; aṭakkuka.
Ko: aṛg, -aṛk-
Ka: aḍangu, aḍaku, aḍagu, aḍacu.
Te: aḍagu, aḍacu.
Malt: aṛge.

a-ra-zu in Sumerian is a compound of three primary roots: a- 'in', 'inside', ra- 'go', 'get in', ku > zu — 'towards', 'direction'. Thus a-ra-zu means 'get inside', 'be obedient', 'be submissive' etc.

The Kannada forms aḍaku & aḍacu are the cognates of the Sumerian form arazu (a-ra-zu). The original r (ra) changes into ṭ/ḍ/ṛ in the various languages of the family.

The fact that the order of the three words a- ra- zu is retained in the secondary roots of almost all the languages of the Dravidian family is a clear proof of their former unity in the distant past.

3.3 THE ORIGINAL HOME OF THE PARENT LANGUAGE

The classification of Archaic Sumerian as a Dravidian language has just begun. In the present state of Sumero-Dravidian studies, it is too early to inquire into the original home of the parent or proto-language. However, a few tentative hints are offered below to guide further research in this field:

(1) The Sumerians were not an indigenous race inhabiting the Babylonian plains. They were immigrants. The evidence of

[17] ARNO POEBEL, *Grammatical Texts*, The University Museum, Philadelphia, 1914, p. 9.

archaeology shows that Proto-Euphrateans or Ubaidians were the original inhabitants of southern Babylonia.[18] Sumerians conquered the aborigines and established their kingdom first in the sea coast cities of the Persian Gulf.

(2) Sumerian traditions as enshrined in the Old Testament reveal that they journeyed from the East and emigrated into Babylonia. The following remarks of Sir Leonard Woolley are of interest:

> "Quoting probably some legend of the Sumerians themselves the Old Testament says that 'the people journeyed from the East and came into the plain of *Shinar* (which is Babylon) and dwelt there', and of recent years excavations so far away to the East as the Valley of the Indus river have produced remains of an early civilization which has certain elements in common with what we find in Mesopotamia. The Sumerians believed that they came into the country with their civilization already formed, bringing with them the knowledge of agriculture, of working in metal, of the art of writing 'since then' said they 'no new inventions have been made'."[19]

(3) H. R. Hall goes farther than Sir Leonard Woolley and identifies the Sumerian skulls as that of the Dravidian. Says he:

> "and it is to this Dravidian ethnic type of India that the ancient Sumerian bears most resemblance, so far as we can judge from his monuments. He was very like a southern Hindu of the Dekkan (who still speaks Dravidian languages). And it is by no means improbable that the Sumerians were an Indian race which passed, certainly by land, perhaps also by sea, through Persia to the valley of the Two Rivers. It was in the Indian home (perhaps the Indus valley) that we suppose for them that their culture developed. There their writing may have been invented and progressed from a purely pictorial to a simplified and abbreviated form, which afterwards in Babylonia took on its peculiar 'cuneiform' appearance owing to its being written with a square-ended stilus on soft clay."[20]

(4) The similarity between the undeciphered script of the Indus Valley and the partially deciphered Archaic Sumerian script

18 S. N. KRAMER, *The Sumerians, Their History, Culture and Character*, The University of Chicago Press, 1963, p. 41.

19 LEONARD WOOLLEY, *Ur of the Chaldees*, New York, 1930, pp. 19-20.

20 H. R. HALL, *The Ancient History of the Near East*, London 1913, pp. 172-173.

of the Jemdet Nasr sites, clearly points to the unity of both the scripts at a date about 3500 B.C. (see 1.4).

(5) The fact that the Semitic influence found in the Post-Gudean period (2400-1800 B.C.) of the Sumerian language is entirely absent in the Dravidian languages of India shows that the Indian Dravidians were the native inhabitants of their own country. It is to be noted that Brahui shows some features of the language of the Post-Gudean period. Therefore, it may be concluded that there existed a closer unity between the later Sumerian language and Brahui than between the former and the other Dravidian languages which had been cut off from the Sumero-Brahui group at an early date.

(6) The phonetic and the semantic values attributed to the early Sumerian signs, sound-values or words are also attributed to their Dravidian cognates. This points to the strong unity that existed in the parent language before its disintegration into various dialects.

(7) Taking into consideration the evidence of the archaeology and legends of Sumer, the script, the system of writing, and the vocabulary of her language, it is probable that the Indian Dravidians moved towards Babylonia and Asia Minor at a date prior to 3500 B.C.

4.1 ABBREVIATIONS

B = Brünnow, Rudolph E, *A classical list of all simple and compound Idiographs*, Leyden, 1899.
Br = Brahui.
CS = *Chinese and Sumerian.*
DED. = *Dravidian Etymological Dictionary.*
Ga = Gadba.
Go = Gondi.
Ka = Kannada.
Ko = Kota.
Koḍ = Koḍagu.
Kol = Kolami.
Kur = Kuruḵh
M = Meissner, Bruno, Seltene Assyrische Ideogramme.
Ma = Malayalam.
Malt = Malto.
Nk = Naiki.
ODBW = *Origin and Development of Babylonian Writing.*
Pa = Parji.
SBSL = *Sumero-Babylonian Sign List.*

SGC	=	*Sumerian Grammar and Chrestomathy.*
Ta	=	Tamil.
Te	=	Telugu.
To	=	Toda.
Tol. Porul.	=	*Tolkappiyam Poruḷatikāram.*
Tu	=	Tuḷu.

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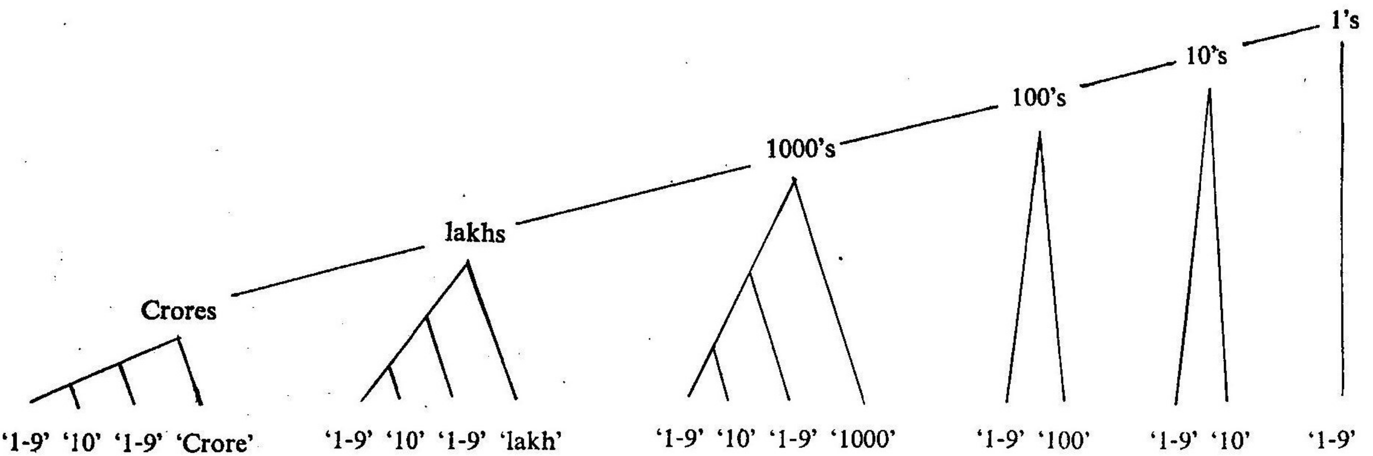
MORPHOPHONEMICS OF TAMIL NUMERALS

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This paper will be an attempt to treat the phenomenon of "diglossia" (Ferguson 1959) observed in Tamil between its literary dialect, based on a norm now six or seven centuries old, and the standard colloquial dialect (SCT), used by educated speakers for inter-caste and inter-regional communication, by using the generative phonological model. As there is no complete description available of SCT, due to differing opinions of what it really is, this paper will include some apparently arbitrary decisions in favour of one norm or the other, but in actuality these decisions will be guided by factors such as rule generality and rule economy. The eventual aid, of which this grammar of numerals is only a small part, is to write one descriptively adequate grammar of both norms of Tamil, based on the assumption that the two are interrelated, interdependent, and co-existent, that one norm is used in some social situations, and the other in certain other situations; it is assumed that the two norms are in complementary distribution as far as social situations are concerned, and that apparent free variation is indicative of change in the direction of the displacement of literary Tamil (LT) by SCT. This has been discussed by Zvelebil (1963), Shanmugam Pillai (1960), and others.

A grammar of the numerals necessarily involves rules for the syntactic concatenation of the basic morphemes. If the basic morphemes eight and one are combined to form eighty-one, for example, we must know whether their order will be 8 plus 1, 8 plus 10 plus 1 (English eight & ty & one) or 1 plus 8 plus 10 (German ein und acht & zig) or some other order, such as French 4 & 20 & 1 (quatre & vingt & un) etc. We must also not let ourselves be confused by arithmetical order, when the order of the morphemes, e.g. English 18 and 80, is actually the same, differing only in the name of the allomorph for 'ten', i.e. 'eight' & 'ty' and 'eight' & 'teen'. English 80 is in arithmetical order; 'eighteen' (18) is reversed: we write 'one' in the space for tens, therefore 10, followed by 8 in the space for ones. But we say /eyt/ followed by /tiyn/, and thus only the allomorph 'teen' gives us the arithmetical syntax.

I propose the following tree diagram (opposite page) for Tamil numerals, LT and SCT.

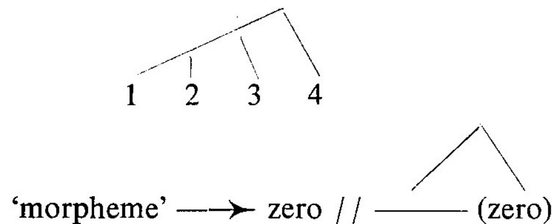


Examples (SCT):

							oṉṉɨ	'one'
						pati	muuṉɨ	'13'
					iru	pat	aaṟu	'26'
				nuuṟu	φ	φ	φ	'100'
				era nuuṯṯi	mup	patt	eeRu	'237'
			aayirãttɨ	toLLaayriãtt	aṟu	patt	ompatu	'1969'
		iru patt	reND aayirãtt	munnuuṯṯu	naa	patt	eTTu	'22,348'
patinettukooDi	anji laccattu	aṟu patt	muuNaayiratti	nuuttu	em	patt	naalu	'18,05,60,184'

Given this syntactic structure, we must also specify what can and what cannot occur on the various nodes of the tree. That is, although zero can occur on any node, in addition to the other morphs which can occur on that node, zero cannot occur on the 10, 100, 1000, lakh, or crore node if anything else occurs on lower nodes of that branch. That is, if 2 occurs on the 'ten' branch, it must occur on the node of 1's, in which case the morpheme for 10 which can occur on the other branch *must* occur. Thus, if we want to generate '21', we cannot have /twen & ϕ & /one/, we must have /twen/ & /ty/ & /one/. The same is true for 100's etc. We cannot have 200 without also having (hundred); we cannot have 2 & 1000 without having (thousand). Certain branches which we can have in English will also not be found: hundred thousands cannot occur because they are rewritten as lakhs; millions will be replaced by 10's of lakhs, and hundred millions by crores.

Thus a rule, given the tree structure:



It is of course possible to have a morpheme followed by zeroes, as in the case of '100' (cf. English 'hundred', where we do not specify that there are no 10's or 1's). This situation will not be prohibited by the above rule, because 100's are on a different node from 10's and 1's. In other words, morphemes like '10', '100', '1000', are said to dominate whatever else occurs on the same node with them. Obviously a distinction must then be made between primary and secondary nodes, because if the above rule is made to operate on secondary nodes, it must be made not to operate on higher nodes. Unfortunately there are primary nodes attached to secondary nodes attached to primary nodes, as in the case of thousands, where, e.g. if 21,000 is to occur, 'thousand' must occur, 'ty' must occur if 'twen' occurs, but 'one' need not occur, viz. 20,000. One might also specify the situation by stating that if the name of a morpheme is the same as the name of the node, it must occur when preceded by a morpheme which is not the same as the name of its node. Or we might distinguish between dominance at the same level, and dominance on a higher level.

The best explanation of the situation, however, is that the rules are *cyclical*. First 1's are specified, then 10's, then 100's, then 1000's, etc. The above rule holds good only within a particular cycle. The node names then become cycle names, i.e. each time a cycle is completed, it is named if anything has been generated during that cycle, e.g. twen & ty & one, where 'ty' is a node name; seven hundred, where hundred is a node

name (or cycle name) etc. Within a cycle, nothing can occur without the node name, but across cycles the rule doesn't hold, so even if crores are specified, we need not specify 'no lakhs, no 1000's, no 100's, no 10's, and no 10's.'

MORPHOPHONEMICS

The morphophonemics of LT numerals are fairly simple except for first and second cycles; the morphophonemics of SCT are somewhat more complex. Curiously, the internal reconstruction which is a part of morphophonemics shows that historically, SCT has some forms which are 'older' than their analogs in LT. This is contrary evidence to the general belief, except for a very few scholars (Shanmugam Pillai 1960; "The historical relationship between the LT and CT forms has not yet been investigated in detail.") that SCT is historically "descended" from LT. Rather, the underlying forms which can be set up for use with both norms, if taken as historical forms, indicate that LT and SCT are descended from some earlier, parent norm. The situation is similar to Romance, where Classical Latin was assumed to be the parent dialect of modern Romance languages, until the reconstruction of Proto-Romance proved otherwise. Actually this Stammbaum approach must be tempered with some wave-theory; since the two norms are coexistent, the influence of one upon the other is mutual. My rules will show, e.g. that the form ireNTaayiram (2000) is borrowed from SCT into LT.

Except for node-names, all other branches of the tree needed for numerals can be filled with the morphemes 1 to 9. (Ten is a node-name.) These morphemes vary according to which node-name they precede, e.g. 'two' has the forms, in LT, /ireNTu/ in environment —— and of cycle; /iru/ in environment —— (10), and —— (100). Forms which have tense vowels in environment end of cycle, generally shorten them in environment —— node name. Underlying forms with final nasals experience nasal-assimilation in various places. The one great problem is the morpheme 'nine', which has the form /onpatu/ in env. —— end of cycle, and the form /toL/ in env. —— node-name. In addition, there is paradigmatic irregularity — for '90' where we would expect /toLpatu/, we get /toNNuuru/; where we would expect for '900' /toNNuuru/, we get /toLaayiram/. Historically, I think this indicates either a taboo because of the magic of the number 9, or perhaps the remnants of an octenary system. Other historical explanations rely on 'paradigmatic assimilation', i.e. anticipation of the next cycle, plus the historical loss of initial /t/ under certain conditions, viz. toLpatu —— tonpatu —— onpatu. No matter what the explanation is, things are complicated for a generative solution.

As mentioned, the numerals one to nine in traditional analyses are described as having both nominal and adjectival forms. The adjectival forms are not free forms, but are prefixed to other numerals (in my

terminology, to node-names of the 2nd to 4th cycles), or to other morphemes, e.g. muuvar 'three people', aivar 'five people', mukkaal '$\frac{3}{4}$', etc. Compare the following in LT:

	ADJECTIVAL	NOMINAL
1.	oru[1]	oṉṟu
2.	iru-	ireNTU
3.	muu-	muuṉṟu
4.	naal-	naaṉgu
5.	ai-	aintu
6.	aaṟ-	aaṟu
7.	eeR-	eeRu
8.	eN-	eTTu
9.	toL-	oṉpatu
10.	pati-	pattu

It is clear that the so-called nominal forms show a morpheme structure consisting of the 'adjectival' stem plus some sort of derivative suffix of nasal plus homorganic stop (except in the case of four), and vowel. In the case of eight, retroflex nasal is found in the adjectival form, but not in the nominal form. For nine there is also an attested nominal form, /toNTu/. For 'ten' we also find a form with āyidam /pa ஃ tu/. If these 'nominal' forms are derived, what is then the morphological process that is involved? In the verbal system we see forms with similar morphophonemics, in forms like kollu/koṉṟu 'kill', koLLu/koNDu 'have', allu 'break off' (Ramnad dialect) vs. aṟu 'become extinct, cut, break'. The assimilation of /l/ and /t/ to ṟ is a recognized sandhi rule. If we look further, we even find verbal bases which could be the roots. For instance, for 'one' we have ol- 'agree', oṉṟi 'having united', orunku 'joining'. For 'two' we find iratti 'having been doubled', iraTTai 'twins'; for eight we have eNNu 'count', eNNal 'act of counting' (most of these examples are found in *Cilapatikaaram*). This last example is especially significant for my other hypothesis — that the system was originally octenary. If eight were the highest number, then eTTu would probably mean 'tally', 'that which has been tallied'.

However, I do not intend to hypothesize here that the numerals are derived from verbs. There are also derived forms like paṉṟi 'pig' from pal (?) 'tooth, tusk'; tol- 'old' toṉṟu 'of old'; el- 'sun', eṉṟu 'sun', eṉṟuR 'sun'; nal- 'good', naṉṟu 'goodness', naṉṟi 'gratitude'.[2] For my purposes it is enough to hypothesize a morpheme boundary for those forms with a nasal, between the nasal and the occlusive, i.e. oṉ&ṟu, ireN&Tu, muuṉ&ṟu, naan&gu, eN&Tu, toN&Tu. The reason why it is tempting

[1] oru is now a free form, used for the indefinite article, and in this analysis will be treated as a separate lexical item.
[2] I am grateful for these examples to N. Kumaraswami Raja.

to invoke their verbal origin, however, is that the assimilation phenomena are not 'regular': the forms for 'four', naangu, and 'eight' eTTu, do not become naanru and eNTu, as we expect. (Paradoxically, in Kannada, where nasalization is usually lost, including throughout the numerals, it is retained for 'eight', eNTu. In Tamil, where we expect it, we do not find it.) Since we find in the verb morphology examples of past participles etc. which operate similarly to these 'nominal' forms of the numerals, and examples also of transitive/intransitive alternations (or causitive/non-causitive) with the pattern nasal plus homorganic stop for the former, and geminate stop for the latter, we can also explain eTTu for 'eight' by taking it as a transitive verb.

UNDERLYING FORMS

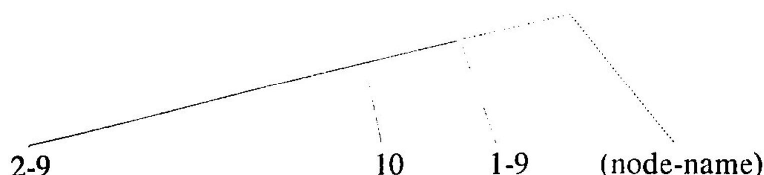
The underlying forms for the numerals are set up as follows, for both LT and SCT:

'one'	on&
'two'	iraL&
'three'	muun&
'four'	naal&
'five'	aim&
'six'	aaru&
'seven'	eeRu&
'eight'	eN&
'nine'	toL&
'ten'	patin&
'hundred'	nuur&
'thousand'	aayiram&
'lakh'	laTcam&
'crore'	kooDi&
'nominalizing suffix'	ru, gu&

RULES

Rules for any part of a language, such as the verbal system, the nominal system, or the numerals, will necessarily contain some rules which are needed only for that subsystem, as well as some rules which are more general to the language. Some rules which at first may seem to be particular to part of the language may later turn out to be more general rules.

The rules will operate on the following basic structure, repeating as one proceeds from cycle to cycle.



The cycle works from right to left, beginning with the node-name, and including the next node-name whenever a new cycle is begun. For instance, items will be selected on the 1-9 branch first, then the combination of 10 and 1-9 to get teens, then all three to get the numerals from 20 to 99, then the node-name (hundred) is named, and another cycle begins. As the whole tree indicates, lakhs and crores have additional nodes, i.e. one can have 20 lakhs, but not 20 hundreds, while crores theoretically go on indefinitely, to a crore of crores, or a crore of crores of crores. For efficiency, it would probably be sensible to get a limit on the number of crores we would care to generate. As in English, where we could go on with billions of trillions of millions, we find these unwieldy or unusual, and other terms are used by mathematicians and astronomers for such quantities, such as light-years, or whatever.

$$\text{Rule 1.}\quad \begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons} \\ -\text{grav} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow [\ @\ \text{flat}\ ]\ //\ \begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons} \\ -\text{grav} \\ -\text{obs} \\ +\text{flat} \end{bmatrix} \&\ __$$

By this rule the nominalizing suffix /ṟu/ assimilates to retroflexion when following a retroflex segment. Although labials are also flat, aim&ṟu does not become aim&Tu because /m/ is plus grave.

$$\text{Rule 2.}\quad [\ +\text{nas}\ ] \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -\text{nas} \\ -\text{cont} \end{bmatrix}\ //\ \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{tense} \end{bmatrix}\ __\ (\text{node name 1's})$$

This indicates that a nasal segment becomes non-nasal in the environment between a lax vowel and the node-name for one's. Thus eNtu becomes eTtu, patinṟu ⟶ patitṟu, aayiram&tu ⟶ aayirap&tu, latcamtu ⟶ latcaptu.

$$\text{Rule 3.}\quad \begin{bmatrix} -\text{nas} \\ +\text{cons} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow [\ +\text{nas}\ ]\ //\ __\ \&\ +\text{cons (1's)}$$

This means that a non-nasal continuant segment becomes nasal in the environment before a morpheme boundary and a consonantal segment. Thus iraLTu ⟶ iraNTu, naalgu ⟶ naangu, toLTu ⟶ toNTu, toLnuuṟu ⟶ toNnuuṟu.

Rule 4.

$$[\ +\text{voc}\ ] \longrightarrow [\ -\text{tense}\ ]\ //\ __ \begin{bmatrix} +\text{tense} \\ +\text{cons} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} \quad \\ \quad \end{bmatrix}_{o}^{\&}\ (\text{node name})\ \text{2 to 4.}$$

Here a vowel becomes short before a tense consonant and any other segments between that consonant and morpheme boundary, with the syntactic stipulation of cycles 2 to 4. Open brackets with zero or any sub-number mean "at least that number of segments." Thus muunpatu

⟶ munpatu, aaṟupatu ⟶ aṟupatu, eeRupatu ⟶ eRupatu, muunnuuṟu ⟶ munnuuṟu, etc.

Rule 5. $$\begin{bmatrix}+\text{voc}\\-\text{tense}\end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \phi \;//\; ___ \;[+\text{cons}]\;\&\; \begin{bmatrix}+\text{voc}\\@\,\text{diff}\end{bmatrix}$$

By this a short vowel goes to zero when preceding another vowel of the same height. Thus patiniraNTu ⟶ patniraNTu, and patit&ṟu ⟶ pattṟu.

Rule 6.

$$\begin{bmatrix}+\text{cons}\\-\text{nas}\end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix}+\text{stri}\\+\text{tens}\\\beta\ \text{nasl}\end{bmatrix} \;//\; ___ \;\&\; \begin{bmatrix}+\text{cons}\\@\ \text{strd}\\\beta\ \text{nasl}\end{bmatrix} \text{(node name)}$$

This means that non-nasal consonants become homorganic with what follows them if they are strident, and if they precede nasals, they become nasals. Thus munpatu ⟶ muppatu, while naalnuuṟu ⟶ naannuuṟu but naalpatu ⟶ naaṟpatu. Also patniraNTu ⟶ panniraNTu.

Rule 7. $$[+\text{nasl}] \longrightarrow @\ \text{pot} \;//\; \left[\begin{array}{l}___ \;\&\; +\text{cons}\\ \begin{bmatrix}+\text{nasl}\\+\text{flat}\end{bmatrix} \;\&\; ___\end{array}\right.$$

By this rule nasals assimilate to the point of articulation of segments in one of the two environments. In the first aimnuuṟu ⟶ ainnuuṟu, aimtu ⟶ aintu, and in the second eNnuuṟu ⟶ eNNuuṟu.

Rule 8. $$[+\text{voc}] \longrightarrow [+\text{tense}] \;//\; ___ \begin{bmatrix}-\text{tense}\\-\text{nasl}\end{bmatrix}$$

This rule is a reflection of the pervasive complementary distribution of tenseness with respect to adjacent consonantal and vocalic segments. For the thousands, aayiram begins with a tense consonant, so initial vowels of the l's do not shorten. But the intervening consonant should be either tense or geminate. In the case of 'two', /r/ is not tense but it cannot geminate or it would be phonetically similar to /ṟ/, which is generally avoided in the language, i.e. morphophonemic alternation between r and ṟ is rare. The only solution is to lengthen the initial /i/.

Rule 9.

$$\begin{bmatrix}\ \\ \ \\ \ \end{bmatrix}_1 \longrightarrow \phi \;//\; [+\text{voc}] \;\; [+\text{cons}] \;___ \;\&\; \begin{bmatrix}+\text{voc}\\+\text{tense}\end{bmatrix}$$

This rule sends all segments to zero which are in the environment between initial vowel, consonant, and morpheme boundary plus tense vowel (1000). Thus iiraL becomes irr, aym becomes ay, etc. Note that here rule economy shows that the form iiraayiram is basic to LT, and that ireNTaayiram is a back-formation from SCT into LT. No rule could be written to generate ireNTaayiram without also generating *ayntaayiram.

Rule 10.

$$\{\text{node name}\} \longrightarrow \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{next cycle} \\ \text{node name}\end{matrix}\right\} \;//\; (\text{nine})\ \&\ \underset{\{\text{cycles 1-3}\}}{\underline{\qquad\qquad}}$$

By this rule the items for nine, 90, and 900 are substituted by 90, 900, and 9000 respectively.

Rule 11.

$$\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{First cycle} \\ \text{output}\end{matrix}\right\} \longrightarrow \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{fourth cycle} \\ \text{input plus}\end{matrix}\right\} \;//\; \left(\begin{matrix}2 \\ 9\end{matrix}\right) \underline{\qquad\qquad} \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{thousand} \\ \text{latcam} \\ \text{kooDi}\end{matrix}\right\}$$

This rule rewrites iiraayiram and toLaayiram as irenTaayiram and onbatinaayiram, as well as uses the nominal forms for latcam, kooDi, etc.

GENERAL MORPHOPHONEMIC RULES

The following are definitely rules common to a greater part of the language, and are of course needed here to tidy up some of the loose ends. In a larger grammar they would be found among lower order rules at the end of the grammar.

1.

$$\phi \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +\text{vocl} \\ +\text{diff} \\ -\text{grav} \\ -\text{tens} \end{bmatrix} \;//\; \begin{bmatrix} -\text{nas} \\ +\text{cons} \end{bmatrix} \underline{\qquad\qquad} \#$$

This rule converts zero to u in final position if preceded by a non-nasal consonantal segment. If preceded by a vowel, like /i/ in kooDi, or a nasal, like /m/ in laTcam, zero is not converted. That this is a general rule of the language is obvious from loan words in Tamil, like English 'shirt' — caTTu; 'cup' — kappu, but 'system' — sisTam.

2.

$$\phi \longrightarrow [\,@\ \text{cons}\,] \;//\; \# \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{tense} \end{bmatrix}\begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons} \\ -\text{strd} \end{bmatrix} \underline{\qquad\qquad} \&$$

Similarly, this rule is common to a greater part of the language, here in the examples ay&aayiram — ayyaayiram, eNaayiram — eNNaayiram. But also the examples above caTTu, kappu, and others within the language like e&aLavu — ev&aLavu — evvaLavu 'how much'.

3.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons} \\ @\ \text{feat} \\ +\text{obs} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \phi \;//\; \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ +\text{tens} \end{bmatrix}\begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons} \\ @\ \text{feat} \end{bmatrix} \underline{\qquad\qquad} \&$$

This rule is the opposite of the above rule. Actually a phonetic interpretation rule, it reduces morphophonemically geminate stops to a single short segment when following a tense vowel. Thus naannuuṟu ⟶ naanuuṟu, similar to paaTTu 'song' ⟶ paaTu, which then contrasts with paaDu 'sing'. However, voice contrast is still not necessary for the language, because the phonetic rule to make paaTu ⟶

paaDu 'sing' would precede the rule which makes vvCC ⟶ vvC. Thus Tamil orthography admirably reflects the morphophonemics, although not the phonetics, of its earlier period. Most supposed phonemicizations of Tamil which fail to take into account this phonemic contrast are thereby phonetically inaccurate, or are a confusion of phonemic and morphophonemic analysis, probably as the result of the influence of orthography. The most economical analysis is of course a morphophonemic one.

4. $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons} \\ -\text{comp} \\ +\text{grav} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -\text{grav} \\ -\text{nasl} \end{bmatrix} \; // \; \text{——} \;\&\; \begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons} \\ -\text{grav} \end{bmatrix} [-\phi]$

By this rule labials assimilate to the point of articulation of dentals across morpheme boundaries.

5. $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons} \\ -\text{grav} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} @\ \text{flat} \\ \beta\ \text{tens} \end{bmatrix} \; // \; \begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons} \\ @\ \text{flat} \\ \beta\ \text{tens} \end{bmatrix} \text{———} \; [-\phi]$

Here consonants assimilate to tense or flat segments which precede them. Thus nuur&tu — nuurru, eT&ru — eTTu. These rules also hold for oblique forms of nouns, which as maram/maratt- and viiTu/viiTT-, aaru/aarr- (tree, house, river).

Probably also a rule must be devised to reduce consonant clusters. I have not yet enough data to make an efficient general rule, but it would reduce clusters of three consonants, eliminating segments by the criteria of whether they were homorganic, retroflex, etc. with regard to the other members of the clusters.

RULES FOR SCT

To generate the SCT numerals, the following rules are necessary. As before, some of them are general rules for SCT, others are needed only for the numerals. Two rules of syntax are also necessary.

SYNTAX

1. $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{input} \\ \text{1000's} \end{Bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} \text{output} \\ \text{one's} \end{Bmatrix} \; // \; (2, 8, 9) \text{———}$

Thus the input of the thousands is derived from the output of one's in the case of 2,000, 8,000 and 9,000. Actually if the rules for LT are applied first, the only change here is that 8 must be added. However, it would be shorter to specify that the rule should select the output of one's of SCT, rather than of LT. If the latter is chosen the same output is generated, but by the longer method of generating first LT, then SCT.

2. $\begin{matrix} \text{node name} \\ \text{one's} \end{matrix} \text{——} \; \phi \; // \; \text{(four)} \;\&\; \text{———}$

Here the node-name /gu/ is eliminated completely. This rule must precede the application of LT rules so that naal- does not assimilate to

naan&gu before gu- is zeroed out. Here is further proof that SCT is not merely the application of extra rules to LT, but that SCT simply uses the same underlying forms as LT. naalu cannot be easily and economically generated from naangu.

MORPHOPHONEMIC RULES

The following, except for one, are general rules for SCT. The specific one is sporadic in SCT and only a few examples are available.

GENERAL

1.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons} \\ -\text{voc} \\ -\text{grav} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow [\,+\text{comp}\,] \;//\; \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ +\text{diff} \\ -\text{grav} \end{bmatrix} [\,+\text{cons}\,] \;\underline{\qquad}$$

By this rule dental consonants palatalize when preceded by an /i/, i.e. t ⟶ c (aintu ⟶ aincu).

2.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ +\text{diff} \\ -\text{grav} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \phi \;//\; \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ +\text{comp} \end{bmatrix} \underline{\qquad} \; [\,-\text{voc}\,]$$

By this rule /i/ goes to zero when following /a/. (Or, /ai/ ⟶ /a/.)

3.

$$[\,+\text{nas}\,] \longrightarrow [\,+\text{flat}\,] \;//\; \underline{\qquad} \begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons} \\ +\text{cont} \\ +\text{tense} \end{bmatrix}$$

Thus oṉṟu and muuṉṟu become oNṟu and muuNṟu, respectively.

4.

$$[\,+\text{cons}\,] \longrightarrow [\,@\ \text{pot}\,] \;//\; \underline{\qquad} \begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons} \\ -\text{cont} \end{bmatrix}$$

Thus segments assimilate to the point of articulation of following consonants, onpatu ⟶ ompatu etc., naarpatu ⟶ naappatu, eN-patu ⟶ empatu, anpatu ⟶ ampatu.

5.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons} \\ +\text{cont} \\ +\text{tense} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow [\,@\ \text{nasl}\,] \;//\; \begin{bmatrix} +\text{nas} \\ +\text{flat} \end{bmatrix} \underline{\qquad}$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{nas} \\ \beta\ \text{grav} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +\text{nas} \\ \beta\ \text{grav} \end{bmatrix} \underline{\qquad}$$

Here segments assimilate to nasals preceding them which are either retroflex or geminate. Thus oNṟu ⟶ oNNu, muuNṟu ⟶ muuN-Nu, pannreNDu ⟶ panneNTu. This also occurs in other parts of the language, e.g. paṉṟi 'pig' ⟶ paNṟi ⟶ paNNi, etc.

6.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ +\text{diff} \\ -\text{grave} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow [\,-\text{diff}\,] \;//\; \underline{\qquad} [\,+\text{cons}\,] \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{diff} \end{bmatrix}$$

Here is another general rule, the one where i ⟶ e before /a/.

Here ira& becomes era& in ‘200’, similar to ilai ‘leaf’ becoming elai. ⟶ ele, etc.

7.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ +\text{diff} \\ -\text{grav} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow [\,+\text{comp}\,] \;//\; \underline{\quad\quad} \;[\,+\text{cons}\,] \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{diff} \end{bmatrix}$$

Thus patin becomes patan in all environments except before muuNNu.

8.

$$[\,+\text{voc}\,] \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -\text{comp} \\ @\,\text{grav} \end{bmatrix} \;//\; \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{comp} \end{bmatrix} [\,+\text{cons}\,] \;\underline{\quad\quad}$$

9.

$$[\quad] \longrightarrow \phi \;//\; \#\underline{\quad\quad} \quad (2, 9)$$

This and Rule 8 are intended for iraNTu ⟶ ireNTu ⟶ reNTu, similar to irakkai ⟶ irekkai ⟶ rekkai ⟶ rekke ‘wing’. Rule 9 is also devised so as to delete the initial segment in ‘nine’: tompatu ⟶ ompatu.

PHONETIC INTERPRETATION RULES

The following are low-order rules to reinterpret phonetically certain morphophonemic forms of SCT.

1.

$$\begin{pmatrix} +\text{cons} \\ +\text{tense} \\ +\text{cont} \end{pmatrix} \longrightarrow (\,-\text{cont}\,) \;//\; \underline{\quad\quad} \;(\,@\,\text{cons}\,)$$

2.

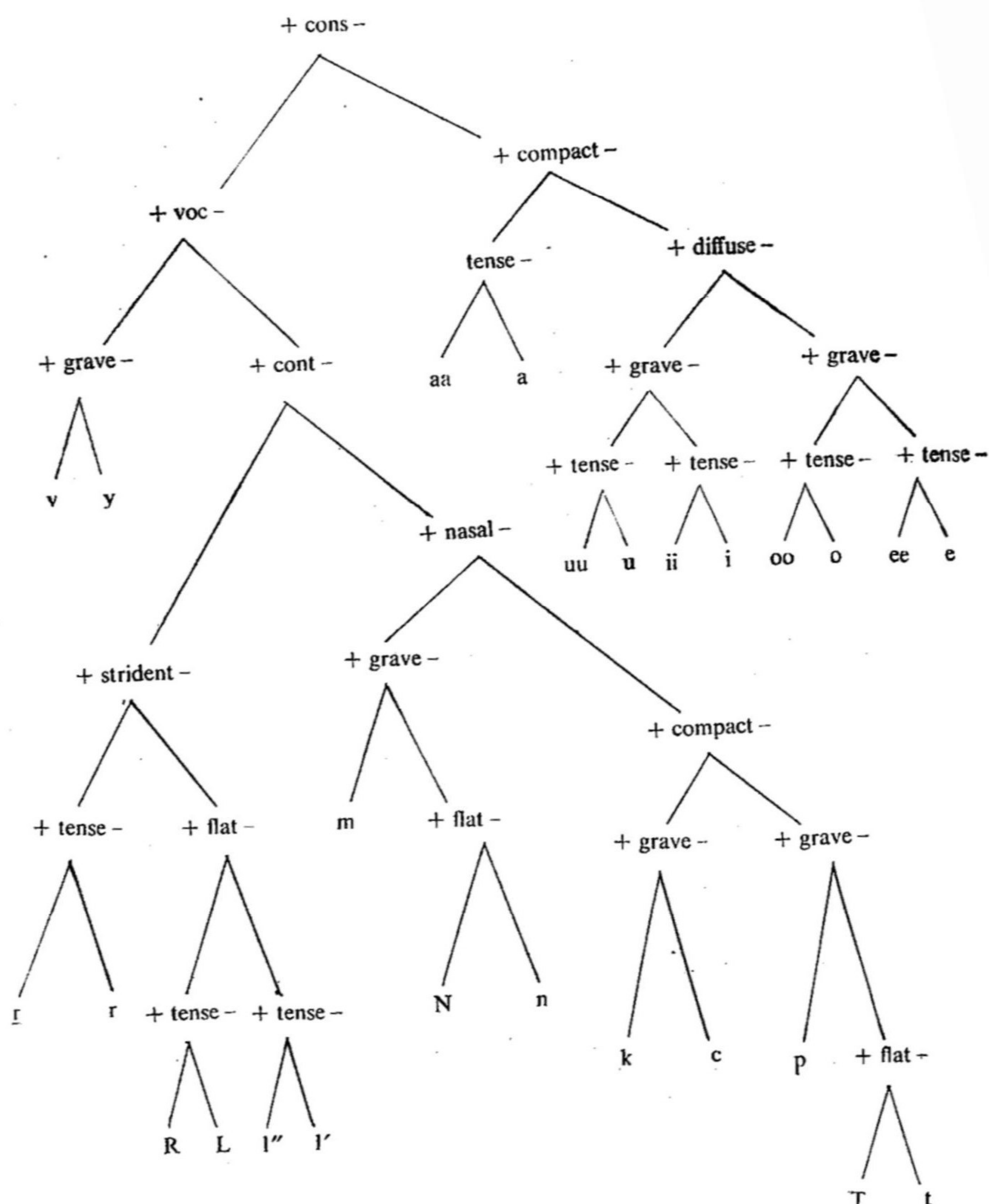
$$\begin{pmatrix} +\text{cons} \\ +\text{tense} \\ +\text{cont} \end{pmatrix} \longrightarrow [\,@\,\text{cont}\,] \;//\; [\,-\text{cont}\,] \;\underline{\quad\quad}$$

These rules convert sequences of r̲r̲ into tt.

One further word of clarification may be necessary concerning the order of rules and their application. It is assumed that the SCT rules are applied to the output of LT rules, after applying *first* (i.e. before the application of LT rules) the two syntax rules stated. If not, certain forms will not be generated correctly. It might have also been possible to write rules which would have ignored the rules of LT. In that case, the underlying forms would have had to be different, and the concept of interrelation of the two norms would have been lost.

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SYMBOLS USED

cons	consonant
voc	vocalic
grav	grave
cont	continuant
comp	compact
tens	tense
diff	diffuse
strd	strident
nasl	nasal

pot	point of articulation
→	becomes
@	alpha
β	beta
&	morpheme boundary
#—	initial position
—#	final position
φ	zero
//	in environment

PROBLEMS IN TEACHING TAMIL TO FOREIGN STUDENTS

M. SHANMUGAM PILLAI

1.1 The statements here are the results of the experience the author had in teaching Spoken Tamil to groups of American students in eight-week intensive courses in Spoken Tamil, conducted by the Linguistics Department, Annamalai University, for the last four years.[1]

1.2 This section deals with the problems arising out of the different cultural environments in which the students' mother tongue (MT) and and the other tongue (OT) are spoken. Sections 2 and 3 deal with the linguistic problems in this bilingual situation where the MT is English and OT is Tamil. Section 4 deals with the speed with which a Tamilian speaks Tamil and the problems arising out of it.

1.3 Invariably, one of the earliest of the questions from our American students is, "What is the word in Tamil for 'thank you'?" Our answer is to put on a smile of gratitude. This was the first cultural shake up to an American who is accustomed to say thank you every now and then. I don't call it a shock. In the formal style we have now introduced a word *n̠an̠ṟi*. But it is very formal.

1.4 The use of the honorific forms in definite social situations was the second cultural shake up. After sufficient practice, it was not difficult for them to use the forms in the appropriate situations. But when they conversed among themselves they would not use the honorific forms where a Tamilian would ordinarily use them. To a Tamilian, this conversation would be quite impolite. But to the Americans, to address each other in honorific terms, is quite undemocratic. Does this reveal the theory of "Linguistic Neutrality" of John B. Carrol as against the theory "Linguistic Diversity" of B. L. Whorf?[2]

[1] This paper was presented at first at the Linguistics Research Circle, Annamalai University and again at the Conference of Applied Linguistics, Kanpur. The discussions at these meetings helped the author to revise some of his statements. The author expresses his thanks to all those who participated in the discussions.

[2] J. B. CARROL, "Linguistic Relativity, Contrastive Linguistics and Language Learning", *IRAL*, 1/1, 1963.

2.1 The phonemic inventory for Spoken Tamil and for English, the students' OT and MT are given below.[3]

ORAL VOWELS

VOWELS

TAMIL

i	ii	ɨ	ɨɨ	u	uu
e	ee			o	oo
ɛ	ɛɛ			—	—
		a	aa		

NASAL VOWELS

		ɨ̃	ɨ̃ɨ̃		
ɛ̃	ɛ̃ɛ̃			õ	õõ
		ãã			

ENGLISH

i	ɨ	u
e	ə	o
ɛ	a	ɔ

CONSONANTS

TAMIL

p	t̲	t	ṭ	č	k
b	d̲		ḍ	ǰ	g
f		s	ṣ		
v		z	ẓ		
m		n	ṇ	ñ	ṅ
		l	ḷ		
w				y	

ENGLISH

p			t	č	k	
b			d	ǰ	g	
	f	θ	s	š		
	v	ð	z	ž		
m			n		ṅ	
			l			
w				y		h

2.2 A comparison of the vowel systems in the two languages reveal the absence of the long vowels and the nasal vowels in MT.

2.3 The maintenance of the contrast between the short and long vowels was a problem for the American students both at the level of perception and reproduction. In Tamil all the syllables in a word are evenly stressed. In polysyllabic words (words of three or more syllables) students replaced the long vowels by stressed vowels as in *vaṇḍáṅgɛ* for *vaṇḍaaṅgɛ* "they came", *amɛriykávlɛ* for *amɛriykaavlɛ* "in America" etc. Students in the beginning insisted that they heard only stressed vowels, not long vowels in our pronunciation. Constant comparisons between their pronunciation and ours, and a series of exercises for oral drill, consisting of pairs of contrast for the different short vs. long vowels at different positions, helped them to overcome this difficulty. After two or three weeks they said that we pronounce the words as "monothongs". In polysyllabic words having only short vowels, the second syllables were stressed as in *avá*ṅ*gɛ* for *ava*ṅ*gɛ* "they". If a word consists of more than one long vowel, then which is the long vowel they stress? This is a problem to be investigated. Curiously enough monosyllabic words, which are in fact few in spoken Tamil, and disyllabic words, were not stressed. When the words were uttered in

[3] The phonemic system for Spoken Tamil is according to the author's analysis. As for English ref. Trager and Smith, *Outline of English Structure*.

isolation students had a tendency to stress the last syllable also, whether it was short or long. The confusion between stress and length in vowels is a linguistic carry over from the students' MT.

2.4 The vowel ɨ was consistently pronounced as *u*, is spite of the fact that ɨ is a phoneme in the students' MT. This is because the vowel ɨ does not occur finally in English. But in Tamil, the highest frequency of occurrence is in the final position and in that position it does not contrast with *u*.

2.5 Students did not have difficulty in perceiving and maintaining the difference between the oral and the nasal vowels. This is perhaps due to the fact that the difference in articulation is clearly audible and the contrast between the oral and the nasal vowel in the final position is very frequent. Perhaps they were already aware of the nasal vowels due to their acquaintance with French.

2.6 Among the consonants, the contrast between *t̠*, *t* and *ṭ* was a trouble spot. Among the three, the contrast between *t̠* and *t* on the one side and between *t̠* and *ṭ* on the other, the contrast between *t̠* and *ṭ* was established sufficiently early and there was not much confusion. But the contrast between *t̠* and *t* could be established only very late during the course and some had trouble even to the very end of the course, the replacement always being the alveolar for the dental. In the students' MT, there is only one phoneme phonetically similar to all the three, the alveolar voiceless stop. In Tamil the functional load of contrast between *t̠* vs. *ṭ* is comparatively great, whereas the functional load of contrast between *t̠* and *t* is very low. A second reason may be that the point and manner of articulation for *ṭ* is very different from *t̠* and *t*, whereas *t̠* and *t* are not that different. It may be generalised from our experience with the students that the greater the range of difference between the phonemes the less the confusion or the overlap.

2.7 Among the nasals *ṅ* and *ñ* were confused, and the students replaced *ṅ* by *ñ*. Though *ṅ* occurs in the initial position in some Tamil dialects, the author did not introduce those items since they were considered substandard. When followed by homorganic stops, students did not have trouble in pronouncing it. The replacement of *ṅ* by *ñ* could not be explained, especially when *ṅ* is a phoneme in the students' MT whereas *ñ* is not, it is only an allophone. The very low frequency of the phoneme *ṅ* in English perhaps accounts for this.

2.8 The phoneme *ẓ* was perceived and reproduced correctly when the author introduced it as the American *r* sound with lateral colouring. The students articulated it quickly and it was kept distinct from *ḷ*.

2.9 The laterals *l* and *ḷ* were articulated as dark phones. In Tamil *ḷ* does not occur initially and *l* occurs initially only in a few borrowed items. Thus these laterals occur frequently only medially and finally in words. In the students' MT the non-initial lateral is pronounced as

dark phones. The same type of allophonic distribution is carried on to the laterals in the students' OT.

2.10 A recurring problem, as in the case of the vowels, is to keep the long and short consonants distinct. The tendency is to pronounce the intervocalic long consonants as short as in *yenɛ* for *yennɛ* "what", *palɨ* for *pallɨ* "teeth", *varɛ̃ɛ̃* for *varrrɛ̃ɛ̃* "I am coming" etc. In the first two examples the duration of articulation of *n* and *l* has to be lengthened. In the case of *r* the contrast is between a flap and two degrees of trilling as in *varɛ* "to come", *arrɛ* "beat", *varrrɛ̃ɛ̃* "I am coming". Students were able to distinguish the long consonants with more trill. But they were unable to trill their tongue. In fact only one or two students in each group were able to do it properly. This again is a carry over from the students' mother tongue where there is no contrast between the short and long consonants within a word. There is no trill in American English.

2.11 Tamil does not have many consonantal clusters which English does not have. So clusters did not present serious problems except in a few. Clusters *ḍrr*, *ẓnd* were pronounced split with a vowel ɨ introduced after the first consonant. *paaḍɨrrɛ̃ɛ̃* for *paaḍrrɛ̃ɛ̃* "I am singing", *vaaẓinḏɛ̃ɛ̃ for vaaẓnḏɛ̃ɛ̃* "I lived". The absence of these clusters in the students' MT accounts for this difficulty.

2.12 Certain generalizations could be made from our experience in teaching the American students. Though the generalizations are very well known, they are given here just for recollection. (1) Phonemes very different in articulation are not confused. (2) When there are two or more possibilities of linguistic overlap, phonemes of greater difference in articulation and of greater functional load of contrast are more quickly established than those of lesser difference and of smaller functional load of contrast. It would be interesting to investigate which phoneme is the earlier one to be established — that which is different in articulation or the one having greater functional load of contrast. (3) Students could easily articulate the phonemes if they are correlated with identical phonemes in their MTs. (4) Regular drill in pairs of contrast between the phonemes and for the distribution of the allophones of the phonemes, in different environments, helps the students very much to establish the contrasts and thus develop their pronunciation of the OTs. It is suggested such lessons for pronunciation drill should form part of any teaching material prepared for languages.

3.1 Compared to English, Tamil has a complicated system of morphology and a simpler system of syntax. The overload of morphological constructions puzzled the students in the beginning.

3.2.1. The case system in Tamil was an area of great confusion for the students. Often students used to stop after having uttered a noun, hesitating to use one or the other of the case suffixes. We give overleaf

some of the correspondences between the MT and OT of the students which explain their difficulties.[4]

3.2.2

MT	OT
He is *in the class.*	avɛ̃ *vagɨplɛ* rɨkrrãã
He walks *on the road.*	avɛ̃ *rooṭlɛ* naḍakrrãã.
The pen is *on the table.* / The pen is *in the drawer.*	pɛɛnaa *mɛɛsɛylɛ* rɨkɨd̲ɨ
He lives *at Delhi.*	avɛ̃ *ḍelliylɛ* t̲aṅgrrãã
This cow has plenty of milk.	ɨnd̲ɛ *pasɨvlɛ* nerrɛyɛ paalɨ rɨkɨd̲ɨ.

The correspondence may be demonstrated as follows.[5]

in, on, in/on, at, φ]E = -lɛ]T Locative suffix

3.2.3

I cannot cut the pencil *with* this *knife.*	yennaalɛ ɨnd̲ɛ *kaṭ̲iyaalɛ* pensɨlɛ siivɛ muḍiyaad̲ɨ.
He cannot be *responsible for* this trouble of yours.	*avanaalɛ* onakɨ ɨnd̲ɛ t̲unbõ varɛmuḍiyaad̲ɨ.

with, responsible for]E = -aalɛ]T Instrumental

3.2.4

The book is *on* (upon) the table.	posṭ̲agõ mɛɛsɛki *mɛɛlɛ* rɨkɨd̲ɨ.
The book is *in* (inside) the desk.	posṭ̲agõ mɛɛsɛki *uḷḷaarɛ* rɨkɨd̲ɨ.

on, upon]E = mɛɛlɛ]T Post position

in]E = uḷḷaarɛ]T Post position.

3.2.5

The calf goes *to the cow.*	kaṉṉɨkuṭi *pasɨvṭɛ* poogɨd̲ɨ.
He goes *to the class.*	avɛ̃ *vagɨpɨkɨ* poorrãã.
The ox *goes to the field.*	kaaḷɛ *vayalɨkɨ* poogɨd̲ɨ.
The *cow* has a tail.	*pasɨvɨkɨ* vaalɨ rɨkɨd̲ɨ.

to, has]E = ṭɛ] Locative; ɨkɨ] Dative]T

[4] The correspondences are italicised both in English and in Tamil.
[5] T stands for Tamil, E for English and = for the correspondence.

3.2.6

I work *with* hand.	nãã *kayyaalɛ* vɛɛlɛ seyrrɛ̃ɛ̃.
I go *with mother.*	nãã *ammaavooḍɛ* poorrɛ̃ɛ̃.

with	] E	=	allɛ] T	Instrumental
			ooḍɛ	Sociative

3.2.7 Thus we find that different prepositions and preposition-less constructions correspond to a single case (Ref. 3.2.2, 3.2.3), the prepositions correspond to post-positions (Ref. 3.2.4) and a single preposition and auxiliary correspond to more than one case in Tamil (Ref. 3.2.5, 3.2.6). It is these overlapping correspondences that are responsible for the difficulties the students had in the case system. More time had to be spent for drilling the case systems.

3.2.8 The above demonstration of the correspondences reveals that the pattern sentences for drill have to be arranged not only on the basis of the structrue of OT but also on the basis of the structure of the MT. Only then the drill in the case patterns in Tamil could be more effective.

3.2.9 Perhaps if we avoided the terms dative, instrumental etc. and gave entirely different names there would have been less confusion. The confusion arose because the medium of instruction was English which led immediately to such bilingual identifications. In such cases Direct Method may be more effective.

3.3 This naturally leads us to the problem of translation in the preparation of the teaching materials. Whether the translation should be idiomatic, or whether we can sacrifice a little bit of idiomatic expression for the sake of the correspondences and be somewhat literal, is a problem which every language teacher has to confront quite often. Among the students some prefer the idiomatic translation, others a somewhat literal translation. Students who are interested more in understanding the structure of the language prefer a non-idiomatic translation. This is perhaps the result of the traditional way of learning a language to which they were already exposed. Those who are interested more in developing the capacity to speak, prefer an idiomatic translation. An idiomatic translation with a bilingual grammar (contrastive grammar) will be a better solution.

3.4 Syntax did not present any serious difficulty for the students. The fixed word orders could be easily classified and as for the rest, it does not matter where the words occur. This type of semi-rigid word order was perhaps the reason for the greater ease in its acquisition. In the beginning students translated "This is a tree" as *idɨ marõ irɨ/rɨkiḏɨ*, instead of *iḏɨ marõ* and "The cow has four legs" as *pasɨvɨkɨ naalɨ kaalɨ rikiḏɨ* instead of *pasɨvɨkɨ naalɨ kaalɨ*. But they quickly got rid of it when the nominal sentences were explained. "I have a book" in English

would be in Tamil "There is a book with me". But students followed the English pattern and translated *nãã ori postagõ vacirikrrẽẽ* instead of *yeṅgiṭε ori postagõ rikidi*. In all these they simply followed the English sentence pattern, substituting word for word in Tamil.

3.4.2 The verbal participial form consists of the verbal root, past tense suffix and the verbal participial suffix in that order, *vandi, kaṇḍi* etc. This occurs in immediate constituent construction with finite verbs of any tense. *vandi paaṭãã* "He came and saw", *vandi paakrrãã* "Having come he sees". *vandi paapãã* "Having come he will see". In the three sentences the verbal participial form is the same. Students could not reconcile themselves to the idea of a past tense form occurring with the present and with the future. The explanation that verbal participle does not indicate any tense though the form of the verbal participle is the past tense form, or if it indicates past tense the tense is past in reference to the finite verbs, was not convincing to them.

3.4.3 Sometimes whole sentences were uttered dark. This is perhaps something personal.

4.1 The speed of our speech is a problem which bothered the students to the very end. Generally Indians speak fast and the Tamilians perhaps faster. Even after eight weeks of intensive drill, students could understand us only if we slowed down our speed of speech. Within the class rooms the teachers had to make constant effort to speak slowly. In slow speech, for the teachers, the intonation patterns are distorted. My colleagues remarked humorously that after having taught the Americans for eight weeks, they cannot now speak fast. The teachers feel that they have been drilled back to speak with slow speed.

4.2 Because the Tamilians speak fast, they are impatient when others speak Tamil very slowly. Some of my colleagues would give a sentence in English for quick translation into Tamil. The students would translate them slowly uttering word for word. The teachers would think that the students do not know the translation and therefore they do it slow, with the result that the teachers either translated the sentence for the students or gave a new sentence for translation. But the students have to understand Tamil spoken at its natural speed. This can be achieved only with more drill and insistence on quick translation.

TAMIL DIALECT NOTES
FISHERMEN OF KANYAKUMARI[1]

M. SHANMUGAM PILLAI

1.0 The Fishermen dialect of Kanyakumari [Cape Comorin] is unique not only in its richness of the technical terms connected with their profession[2] [many of which have not yet found place in the existing Tamil Lexicons] but also in its phonological and morphological structure. In this paper the phonological and morphological peculiarities as distinct from written Tamil and the author's own speech are alone listed and discussed.[3] Some of these peculiarities are shared by the Fishermen with other castes like Harijans and Nadars of Kanyakumari district, lower in the hierarchy of the caste structure and they are marked KHN — read Kanyakumari Harijan and Nadar; others are shared with the Vellalas [Pillais] and they are marked KVHN — read Kanyakumari Vellala, Harijan and Nadar. If they are not shared with any other caste, they are left unmarked or marked KF — read Kanyakumari Fishermen.[4]

1.1 This paper tries to establish the peculiarities of KF and its commonness with other dialects from the same district. It points out the transition that is taking place in this dialect. Many of the peculiarities listed here are being replaced by other forms in the speech of the educated young and middle-aged people, herein referred to as rising generation. In conclusion techniques for establishing socio-linguistic innovations in dialects are also discussed.

[1] A pilot survey of Tamil dialects in Kanyakumari district was carried on by the author under a grant from the University Grants Commission, under the individual Research Scheme by University and College Teachers. This is the first of a few papers to be published as a result of this investigation. The author acknowledges his indebtedness to the University Grants Commission.

[2] There are about five hundred fish names. They have been identified with the help of Francis Day's *Fishes of India*, William Dawson and Sons, London, 1958.

[3] M. SHANMUGAM PILLAI, *Spoken Tamil*, Annamalai University, 1965, gives the author's spoken forms.

[4] The Fisherman informant is Mr. V. Papa Fernando. He is about forty-five and has had some secondary education. He speaks his dialect while speaking to his relatives about his profession etc. and to others he switches on to another form of speech. The Nadar informant is Mr. E. V. Moni, Professor of Tamil, Hindu College, Nagercoil. He gave his conversational Tamil and not the formal class room variety. The Harijan informant is Mrs. Manonmani. The data for the Vellala dialect was collected from the author's family members.

1.2 The data presented here were elicted mostly by asking my informants to speak about their profession. Only under such circumstances the peculiarities of their speech come out freely; otherwise they switch on to forms borrowed from other dialects which they consider elegant. This is true of most of the Tamil dialects.

2.0 PHONOLOGY

The following phonological differences are noted. Since the items for each of these phonological correspondences are limited, in some cases only one, it is not possible to give any generalized statement for many, except in a few cases. In the following classes the forms found in the fishermen dialect are given first, followed by forms in written Tamil [WT] and then the gloss. = indicates correspondence.

2.1 *i = u*
renḍiyeerĭ [KHN] — *iranṭupeer* "two people"
iri [KVHN] — *iru* "be seated"

2.2 *ĩĩ = ii* final
mĩĩ — *miin* "fish"

In no other dialect final *in* or *iin* becomes nasalized *ĩ* or *ĩĩ*. CVVC in WT generally corresponds to CVVCĭ in spoken Tamil. This is true of this dialect also except in this word.

2.3 *u = i* [KVHN]
uḍĭ — *viṭu* "leave" [verb]

2.4 *u = o* [KVHN]
kuḍĭ — *koṭu* "give"

2.5 *e = o*
sellĭ — *čollu* "say"

2.6 *p = v* intervocal
mɛrɛpɛ — *miṯavai* "float" [noun]

2.7 *ṯ = ṉ* initially
ṯɛɛrõ — *neerõ* "time"

2.8 *ṯ, ḍ = r* intervocal
saṯi — *sari* "right"
sariḍõ — *sariirõ* "body"

2.9 *yɛɛ = ičai*
yɛɛčĭ — *ičaiṯṯu* "having joined"

2.10 *k = pp*
oḷɛkiki — *uzaippukku* "for the work"

2.11 *s = ṯ* [KVHN]
ṯurisõ — *ṯuriṯam* "speed"

2.12 *v = p* [KVHN] intervocal
naalĭveerĭkĭ — *naankupeerukku* "for four people"
ĭrĭvaḍĭ — *irupaṯu* "twenty"
ruuvaaki — *ruupaaikku* "for rupees"

2.13 *r* = *ṯ*

īrīnḍiriyɛ — *iruṉṯaṯu* "it was"
ambarī — *aimbaṯu* "fifty"
aapṭrī — *akappaṭṭaṯu* "it was caught"
allarī — *allaṯu* "or"
pɛɛsaarɛ — *peečaaṯee* "don't talk"
porańgīḷamɛ — *puṯańkiḻamai* "wednesday"
poovrī — *pookiraṯu* "it goes"
ṯeriyaaraakī — *ṯeriyaaṯaakum* "it is not known"
ṯańgaarī — *ṯańgaaṯu* "it will not stay"
sammarikɛ — *čammaṯikka* "to agree"
sinḍaarɛ — *činṯaaṯee* "don't spill"
kɛḍɛyaaraa — *kiṭaiyaaṯaa* "will it not be available"
kuupḍaarɛ — *kuuppiṭaaṯee* "don't invite"
vɛrɛ — *viṯai* "seed"
varraarī — *varaaṯu* "it will not come"
mɛrɛvɛ — *miṯavai* "float"
yeenḍarī — *iyanṟaṯu* "as much as possible"
īrīnḍiriyɛ — *iruṉṯaṯu* "it was"
raavīrī — *uraavukiraṯu* "it rubs against"
purī čaṭi — *puṯṯu čaṭi* "new pot"

2.14 *r* = *ṟ*

paarī — *paaṟai* "rock"

2.15 *r* = *ṟṟ* intervocal

poorīvɛ — *pooyiṟṟu* "it went"

2.16 *y* = *ič*

yɛɛčī — *ičaiṯṯu* "having joined"

2.17 *y* = *p* [KHN] intervocal

renḍiyeerī. — *iranṭupeer* "two people"

2.18 *y* = *ṯ* intervocal

ińgiyūā — *ińkeeṯaan* "only here"

2.19 *y* = *č* initial

yeyyaṭiyɛ — *čeyyaṭṭum* "let do"

2.20 *y* = *k* intervocal

payanṯī — *pakarṉṯu* "dividing"

2.21 *ϕ* = *v* [KVHN]

uḍī — *viṭu* "leave" [verb]

2.22 *ϕ* = *ni-* [KVHN]

laa — *nilaa* "moon, moon light"

2.23 *ϕ* = *l* final

kaḍɛ — *kaṭal* "sea, ocean"

2.24 The predominant phonological change in this dialect seems to be palatalization. Note 2.1, 2.5, 2.9, 2.17, 2.18, 2.20, 4.1.

2.25 After the nasal, the homorganic palatal affricate is always voiceless. In word initial position, *č* is retained voiceless in most of the

words and become *s* in a few items. *avvaňčaa* "in fives", *paňčï* "cotton", *paaňčiḍï* "it dashed".

3.0 NOUNS AND PRONOUNS

3.1 The following kinship terms have three forms; those in the second and in the third columns refer to kins of the second person as 'your father', 'your elder sister' etc. This is a feature found in KHN also.[5]

apaa	[KVHN]	"father"	*kopaa*	[KHN]	*nopɛ̃*	[KF]
akaa	[KVHN]	"elder sister"	*kokaa*	[KHN]	*nokaa*	[KF]
aṇṇɛ̃	[KVHN]	"elder brother"	*koṇṇɛ̃*	[KHN]	*noṇṇɛ̃*	[KF]
aṯãã	[KVHN]	"brother-in-law"	*koṯãã*	[KHN]	—	
ammãã	[KVHN]	"mother's brother"	*kommãã*	[KHN]	—	
ṯambi	[KVHN]	"younger brother"	—		*nombi*	[KF]

The second and the third forms might have resulted from *oṅgɛ apaa* "your father" and *on apaa* "your father" respectively.

3.2 In the following kinship terms, forms in the first column are used by the older generation, and among the rising generation they are being replaced by the forms in the second column.

ṯopači [KN] "father"	*apači* [KF]
ṯoṅgači [KN] "little sister"	*ṯaṅgaci* [KVHN]
ṯombi [KN] "little brother"	*ṯambi* [KVHN]

In 3.1 and in 3.2 the forms in columns 2 and 3 are disowned even by the older generation when asked for. They are very shy in accepting these forms. The rising generation does not have these forms.

3.3 Pronouns

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1st Person	*nãã* [KVHN]	*naamiyɛ*[KF] *naaṅgɛ̃* [KVHN]
2nd Person	*nii* [KVHN]	*niimɛ* [KF] *niimiyɛ* [KF] *niiṅgɛ* [KVHN]
Honorific	*niirï* [KVHN]	
3rd Person		
Mas.	*avɛ̃* [KVHN]	*avɛ̃ yellãã* [KVHN] *avanïvɛ* [KHN] *avanïvɛ yellãã* [KF] *avanïgɛ* [KV]

[5] M. SHANMUGAM PILLAI, "A Tamil Dialect in Ceylon", *Indian Linguistics*, vol. 23, 1962. Also refer to the footnotes to that paper. In the dialects noted so far, kinship terms beginning with *a-* have either *k-* or *ng-* or *n-* in different dialects while referring to the kins of the second person. But this is the only dialect where *tampi*, a term beginning with *t* has *nompi* in similar contexts. Perhaps *nompi* is to be related to *ampi* and not *tampi*, a term found among the Brahmins now and also in Old Tamil.

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
Fem.	*ava* [KVHN]	*ava yellãã* [KVHN]
		avaḷivɛ [KHN]
		avaḷivɛ yellãã [KF]
		avaḷigɛ [KV]
Mas. Honorific	*avarĩ* [KVHN]	
Neuter	*adĩ* [KVHN]	*adĩ* [KF]

In the third person the remote demonstrative pronouns begin with *a-* and the proximate with *i-*.

The first person plural *naamiyɛ*, the second person plurals *niimɛ* and *niimiyɛ* are found with the older generation and are being replaced by *naaṅgɛ* and *niiṅgɛ* by the rising generation and they are the forms found in KVHN. *naamiyɛ*, *niimɛ* and *niimiyɛ* are not found in any other dialect. *naamiyɛ* is from *naam* and *niimiyɛ* is from *niim*. *iyɛ* in *naamiyɛ* and *niimiyɛ* is an enumerating suffix.[6] *naamiyɛ* and *niimiyɛ* are being progressively replaced by *naaṅge* and *niiṅgɛ* by the rising generation, and they are the forms found in KV. *niim* is found as the second personal plural in Old Kannada and in Old Malayalam. This form, which is probably the proto Dravidian form, is not attested by any Tamil literary text.

For the third person plural, forms *avɛ̃ yellãã* and *ava yellãã* are more common than *avanĩvɛ* and *avaḷĩvɛ*. *avanĩvɛ* and *avaḷĩvɛ* are also found in KHN and are being replaced by *avanĩgɛ and avaḷĩgɛ* by the rising generation.

3.4 *kɛ* is a locative suffix [KHN]. *kaḍɛkɛ* "in the shop", *uḷḷaadikɛ* "at the bottom of [the boat]", *ṭaaṭikɛ* "in depth", *ṭannikɛ* "in water", *marõ karĩpĩkɛ varĩḍiyɛ* "The boat comes into Karupu", *marõ karɛyɛ sevvaḷĩkɛ varĩḍiyɛ* "The boat comes into Sevvalu". *ṭannikɛ viṭrraarɛ maraṭɛ, ṭuuki vayyɛ* "He is leaving the boat in the water, lift it and place it". This is perhaps the locative *ku* used in ancient classics. *manaṟku iinṟa muḷai* "the sprout in the sand".[7]

Locative suffix *lɛ* is also quite common and *kɛ* is being steadily replaced by *lɛ* [KVHN]. In my data I did not have a contrast between the locative *kɛ* and the dative suffix, both occurring in the same word.

3.5 Referring to the rocks under the sea, the suffix *nɛ* is used as in *laaṭnɛ paarĩ, kooyilnɛ paarĩ, veeḷikalnɛ paarĩ, paranḍaavaḍanɛ paarĩ. paarĩ* "rock". *laaṭĩ, kooyilĩ, veeḷikallĩ* and *paranḍaavaḍɛ* are different places opposite to which the rocks are situated under the sea. *nɛ* is probably the possessive suffix found in expressions like *ponnin vilai* "cost of gold" in WT. In spoken Tamil this suffix is lost. Such

[6] *-iyɛ* is an enumeration suffix and occurs with words when elicited individually, e.g. *rendiyɛ* "two", *patiyɛ* "ten", *ratamiyɛ* "blood".

[7] Pavananti, *Nannuul*, sutram 317, commentary by Sivagnanaswamigal.

expressions in spoken Tamil have either no case suffix or have the dative case suffix *ku* as *pon vɛlɛ* or *ponnĭkĭ vɛlɛ*.

4. VERB

4.1 The stem formative suffix *k* is palatalized to *č* after *i* [KHN]. *kuḷičɛ* "to bathe", *yeričɛ* "to burn", *kuḍicɛ* "to drink". Though this is consistently used by the older generation, the rising generation is replacing it with *k* [KV]. The past tense suffix is also *č* in these verbs. But in the present-future tense conjugation, the formative suffix is *k* and not *č* and thus the contrast between the past and present-future is maintained, e.g. *kuḷikɛmlɛ* "I am bathing".

4.2.1 Finite verbs have the following personal suffixes.[8]

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1st Person	*ɛm/ɛ̃* [KVHN]	*ɛm/ɛ̃* [KF]
2nd Person	*ɛ* [KVHN]	*ɛɛr/ɛɛrĭ* [KF]
Honorific	*ɛɛr/ɛɛrĭ* [KVHN]	
3rd Person		
Mas.	*aam/ãã* [KF]	*aam/ãã* [KV]
Fem.	*aa* [KVHN]	*aa* [KF]
Hon.	*aar/aarĭ* [KVHN]	*aar/aarĭ* [KF]
Neut.	*ĭḏĭ, i* [KVHN]	*ĭḏĭ, i* [KVHN]

4.2.2 Allomorphs *ɛ̃*, *ɛɛrĭ*, *ãã* and *aarĭ* occur finally and before *v*.

4.2.3 Personal suffixes do not distinguish numbers. There is distinction of gender only. In other dialects this is true only in the neuter. *ɛɛr/ɛɛrĭ* is really second person honorific suffix occurring in cross-reference with *niirĭ* "you". First and third person singulars have *ɛm* and *aam* respectively. OD has *ɛɛn* and *aan*. There is a difference in the length of the vowel and in the nasal consonants.

4.2.4 The neuter suffix in the present-future is *i* in some verbs and is added on to the infinitive forms of the verbs [Ref. 4.1], e.g. *kuḷičilɛ* "it is bathing", *ĭrĭkilɛ* "it is", *kɛɛkilɛ* "it is hearing", *seyyilɛ* "it is doing", *pooṭrikilɛ* "it is wearing", *vačĭrikilɛ* "it is keeping. Most of these verbal stems — the imperative singular forms, end in *i*. But there are also other verbal stems like *kɛɛḷĭ* "as for, hear" which do not end in *i*. This is a feature found in KH also. KV has *i* if the stems end in *i*, otherwise it has *ĭ*, e.g. *kuḷiki* "it is bathing", *ĭrĭkĭ* "it is". KN has *ĭvĭ*, e.g. *kɛɛkĭvĭ* "it is asking for", *ĭrĭkĭvĭ* "it is". The rising generation in all these dialects is replacing these vowels by *ĭdĭ* as *kuḷikĭdĭ*, *ĭrĭkĭdĭ*.[9]

4.3.1 In the dialects of Kanyakumari[10] [KD — read Kanyakumari

[8] Note that there is no distinction of number in the personal suffixes. Plural is expressed in the subject as *avɛ yellaa vandaamiɛ* [he — all — came] "They [mas.] came", *avanivɛ* etc.

[9] *idi* is probably from OD, i.e. from dialects outside Kanyakumari district.

[10] This feature refers to a majority of dialects in Kanyakumari district.

dialects] the present-future is zero except in verbs *vaa* "come", *ṯaa* "give", *poo* "go". Dialects of other districts [OD — read other dialects] have *-rr-* as the present-future suffix, e.g. KV *paakũũ*, OD *paakrrũũ* "He is seeing", KV *paaḍĩĩũ* or *paaḍĩgũũ*, OD *paaḍrrũũ* "He is singing". KF has the present-future suffixes *ḍ* occurring with verbal stems ending in *ḍĩ* having *v* as the future suffix and *-rr-* with some verbs and zero in many verbs, e.g. *paaḍĩḍaamlɛ* "He is singing", *pooḍĩ* "put", "prepare [as coffee]", *čaaḍĩ* "jump", *ooḍĩ* "run", *aaḍĩ* "dance", *vĩḍĩ* "leave" are some more verbs in this class. But it is zero with verb *paḍĩ* "lie down" though it ends in *ḍĩ*. This verb has -p- in the future. Perhaps this is an indication of the transition where suffix *ḍ* is being replaced. *ṯ* is found as a present-future tense marker in Old Tamil, *añčuṯum yaam* "we fear", *tunčuṯiyoo* "are you sleeping",[11] KF *ĩrĩlaṅgeṯi varrĩ* "it is becoming dark [to rain]", *aambḍrriyɛ* "it is being caught, is available", *apḍi ooḍrriyɛ* "it runs thus" have *-rr-* as the present-future suffix. But these forms with *ṟṟ*, are being displaced. They are now almost technical terms used in connection with their profession.

4.3.2 KF as in other KDs has *-rr-* as the present-future suffix in three verbs *vaa* "come", *ṯaa* "give" and *poo* "go",[12] e.g. *vaarrɛmlɛ* "I am coming", *ṯaarrɛmlɛ* "I am giving", *poorrɛmlɛ* "I am going". KD has *vaa* and *ṯaa* with long vowel *aa*, as stems in the present-future. In OD the stems have *var-* and *ṯar-* as allomorphs in the present-future. *varrɛ̃ɛ̃* "I am coming", *ṯarrɛ̃ɛ̃* "I am giving". In KF also the stem *var-* is found in the present-future neuter, e.g. *varrĩ* "it is coming".

4.3.3 The future suffixes are *p* and *v* and in both classes the suffix in the neuter is *ĩm*. Though the future finite forms were elicited in paradigms, in actual conversation, future is frequently expressed by periphrastic construction, the present-future finite form of the verb poo "go" following the infinitive forms of verbs, e.g. *paakɛ poorrɛmlɛ* "I am going to see". This is found in KVHN also.

4.3.4 A finite verb in KF does not end with the personal suffixes, but with addressee suffixes. Addressee suffixes are suffixes referring to the persons one is talking to. There are four addressee suffixes, *-lɛ* masculine non-honorific, *-vɛ* masculine honorific, *-iki* = *-ki* feminine non-honorific where *-iki* occurs after a consonant and *-ki* after a vowel and *-iyɛ* = *-yɛ* feminine honorific, where *-iyɛ* occurs after a consonant and *-yɛ* after a vowel. *-iyɛ* and *-yɛ* are also used to refer to males of equal age. The honorific suffixes are used while speaking to older people and the non-honorific while speaking to the younger ones. This feature is

[11] KAMIL ZVELEBIL, "Spoken Language of Tamilnad", *Archiv Orientalni*, 32, 1964. The expressions *añcutum yaam* [125.5] and *tuññcutiyoo* [154.7] are from *Narrinai*.

[12] M. B. EMENEAU, "The Dravidian Verbs 'Come' and 'Give' ", *Language*, 21, 1945. He states that the forms *taar* and *vaar* occur as negative stems in South Dravidian. In the dialects of Kanyakumari Tamil *taa* and *vaa* occur as stems in affirmative.

disappearing in the speech of the younger generation. For a verb paradigm refer Appendix.

In other castes in Kanyakumari district *lɛ* occurs as the masculine non-honorific and *ḍi* as the feminine non-honorific. There is no honorific suffix. But the occurrence of *lɛ* and *ḍi* is not obligatory. In OD *-ṅgɛ* occurs as the addressee honorific suffix[13] and *ḍaa* as masculine non-honorific. But they occur with any word except a noun attribute.

4.4.1 The future definitive suffix is *-r-* [KVHN] and perhaps this feature extends up to Madurai. In other dialects it is *ḍ* or *ḍ/r*. KVHN *vanḏīrlãã*, OD *vanḏīḍlãã* "we can come".

4.5.1 The negative *īllɛ* "no" is *lɛ* after the verbal participle and the neuter finite. But *īllɛ* when it occurs free or after the infinitives. *vanḏīlɛ* "it didn't come", *kaṇḍīlɛ* "didn't see, couldn't see", *viṭičilɛ* "it didn't leave", *yeṭičilɛ* "it couldn't be touched, reached", *varɛ īllɛ* "didn't come", *kɛḷɛmbɛ īllɛ* "didn't start". The occurrence of *lɛ* after the verbal participle and the neuter past finite is characteristic of KHF. This feature is found in Old Tamil and in modern WT. After the verbal participle, *il* occurs followed by the personal endings, e.g. *vanḏilan* "he didn't come", *vanḏilaḷ* "she didn't come". The occurrence after the neuter past finite may be traced to the occurrence of *illai* after the past verbal nouns in OT and WT which has the same form as the past neuter finite, e.g. *eṭṭiyaṯu illai* "couldn't be reached", *viṭṭaṯu illai* "didn't leave".

4.5.2. Present-future negative suffix *aaḏī* as in *varaaḏī* "it will not come" is found as *aarī*, e.g. *varaarī* "it will not come". This is due to the phonological correspondence 2.13.

5.1 Out of the twenty-three phonological correspondences [2] there are 15 KF, 7 KVHNF and 1 KHNF. Under kinship terms [3.1, 3.2] there are 5 KF, 8 KVHNF, 5 KHNF and 3 KNF. Under pronouns [3.3] there are 6 KF, 11 KVHNF, 2 KHNF, 2 KVF. Under cases [3.4, 3.5] there are 1 KF, 1 KVHNF and 1 KHNF. Under stem formative suffixes [4.1] there is 1 KHNF. Under personal suffixes and other verbal endings [4.3.1, 4.3.2] there are 9 KF, 6 KVHNF and 1 KVHF. In the negative there is 1 KF. They are tabulated as follows.

	KF	KVHNF	KHNF	KVHF	KVF	KNF	KHF
Phonology	15	7	2	—	—	—	—
Kinship terms	5	8	5	—	—	3	—
Pronouns	6	11	2	—	2	—	—
Cases	1	1	1	—	—	—	—
Stem formative	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
Verbal endings	9	6	—	1	—	—	—
Present-future	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
Negative	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Total ..	38	33	11	1	2	3	1

[13] M. SHANMUGAM PILLAI, *Spoken Tamil*, Lesson 8, Annamalai University, 1965. Brahmins use *di* as feminine non-honorific.

6.1 Some recent studies on the language situation in South Asian countries have investigated problems of socio-linguistic innovations and conservatism and concluded that no dialect has any monopoly over innovations in any part of the structure.[14] Innovations in dialects can only be comparative and it is doubtful whether any dialect can enjoy monopoly otherwise. Out of the eighty-nine items discussed here, 38 items are innovations for KF in comparison with items shared with KVHN, KHN etc., 35 items are shared with KVHN, the major dialects in that district. KF cannot be said to be closer to any one particular dialect. In fact as might be expected, the shared features with KVHN will be very great if all the items are listed. The eleven KHNF features may suggest that in a trichotomy of Tamil dialects into (1) Brahmin, (2) Higher Non-Brahmin, and (3) Lower Non-Brahmin, this dialect is nearer to the third group. KF with its 38 innovations and with its 3, 2, and 1 shared features with any one particular dialect from the same district, may be considered to be more innovating. This is a comparison between shared features and innovations. Another profitable and perhaps more useful approach would be to compare the number of innovations in each dialect out of a total number of test items and then decide which is more innovating and which is less. A stray example here and one there will not prove anything.

7.1 The motivation in Tamil dialect-switching is the hierarchy of the caste structure coupled with its prestige and politics and not any economic and educational factors. The economically and educationally backward lower castes and the economically and educationally forward higher caste — the Brahmins, both switch on to a Higher Non-Brahmin dialect.[15] The rising generation in KF also switches on to a dialect closer to KV. The anti-Brahmin movement resulted in the loss of prestige for the Brahmin dialect and even the Brahmins found it wiser to switch on to the Higher Non-Brahmin dialect though it does not elevate them in the caste hierarchy. The Lower Non-Brahmins, because of the social stigma attached to their speech, switch on to the Higher Non-Bhramin dialect. It is quite common even among the older generation in KF to disown many of these innovations because of the social stigma attached to them and attribute them to their own kin in the next village or to their predecessors. "We don't say like that, our people speak like that in the next

[14] WILLIAM BRIGHT, "Linguistic Change in some South Indian caste dialects", in *Linguistic Diversity in South Asia, IJAL*, vol. 26, no. 3, 1960.

WILLIAM BRIGHT and A. K. RAMANUJAM, *Sociolinguistic Variations and Language Change*, in Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Linguists, Cambridge, Mass., 1962.

[15] A. K. RAMANUJAM, *The Structure of Variation: A study in caste dialects.* [mimeographed.]

"Innovation" in this paper is used to refer to the items peculiar for the dialect, including innovations and conservatism referred to in the papers above. No historical implication is conveyed by this term.

village" is a common reply when we consciously try to elicit some forms which we know they use. A field worker has to be very alert and record them unaware. Unless these dialects are recorded right now, there is the danger that we may lose them for ever.

APPENDIX

In the paradigm below, the first column gives the pronouns, the second, finite verbs in masculine non-honorific, the third, finite verbs in masculine honorific, the fourth, finite verb in feminine non-honorific and the fifth, finite verb in feminine honorific. For each pronoun the three forms in the three rows are the past, present-future and the future finite forms.

kɛɛḷĩ "ask for, ask"

1	2	3	4	5
nãã	kɛɛṭɛmlɛ	kɛɛṭɛ̃vɛ	kɛɛṭɛmiki	kɛɛṭmiyɛ
	kɛɛkɛmlɛ	kɛɛkɛ̃vɛ	kɛɛkɛmiki	kɛɛkɛmiyɛ
	kɛɛpɛmlɛ	kɛɛpɛ̃vɛ	kɛɛpɛmiki	kɛɛpɛmiyɛ
naamiyɛ	kɛɛṭɛmlɛ	kɛɛṭɛ̃vɛ	kɛɛṭɛmiki	kɛɛṭɛmiyɛ
	kɛɛkɛmlɛ	kɛɛkɛ̃vɛ	kɛɛkɛmiki	kɛɛkɛmiyɛ
	kɛɛpɛmlɛ	kɛɛpɛ̃vɛ	kɛɛpɛmiki	kɛɛpɛmiyɛ
nii	kɛɛṭɛlɛ		kɛɛṭɛiki	
	kɛɛkɛlɛ		kɛɛkɛki	
	kɛɛpɛlɛ		kɛɛpɛki	
niimiyɛ	kɛɛṭɛɛrlɛ	kɛɛṭɛɛrĩvɛ	kɛɛṭɛɛriki	kɛɛṭɛɛriyɛ
	kɛɛkɛɛrlɛ	kɛɛkɛɛrĩvɛ	kɛɛkɛɛriki	kɛɛkɛɛriyɛ
	kɛɛpɛɛrlɛ	kɛɛpɛɛrĩvɛ	kɛɛpɛɛriki	kɛɛpɛɛriyɛ
niirĩ		kɛɛṭɛɛrivɛ		
		kɛɛkɛɛrĩvɛ		
		kɛɛpɛɛrĩvɛ		
avɛ̃	kɛɛṭaamkɛ	kɛɛṭãāvɛ	kɛɛṭaamiki	kɛɛṭaaamiyɛ
	kɛɛkaamlɛ	kɛɛkãāvɛ	kɛɛaamiki	kɛɛkaamiyɛ
	kɛɛpaamlɛ	kɛɛpãāvɛ	kɛɛpaamiki	kɛɛpaamiyɛ
avanĩvɛ	kɛɛṭaamlɛ	kɛɛṭãāvɛ	kɛɛṭaamiki	kɛɛṭaamiyɛ
	kɛɛkaamlɛ	kɛɛkãāvɛ	kɛɛkaamiki	kɛɛkaamiyɛ
	kɛɛpaamlɛ	kɛɛpãāvɛ	kɛɛpaamiki	kɛɛpaamiyɛ
ava	kɛɛṭaalɛ	kɛɛṭaavɛ	kɛɛṭaaki	kɛɛṭaayɛ
	kɛɛkaalɛ	kɛɛkaavɛ	kɛɛkaaki	kɛɛkaayɛ
	kɛɛpaalɛ	kɛɛpaavɛ	kɛɛpaaki	kɛɛpaayɛ
avaḷĩvɛ	kɛɛṭaalɛ	kɛɛṭaavɛ	kɛɛṭaaki	kɛɛṭaayɛ
	kɛɛkaalɛ	kɛɛkaavɛ	kɛɛkaaki	kɛɛkaayɛ
	kɛɛpaalɛ	kɛɛpaavɛ	kɛɛpaaki	kɛɛpaayɛ

avarī	kεεṭaarlε	kεεṭaarīvε	kεεṭaariki	kεεṭaariyε
	kεεkaarlε	kεεkaarīvε	kεεkaariki	kεεkarīyε
	kεεpaarlε	kkεεpaarīvε	kεεpaariki	kεεpaarīyε
aḍī	kεεṭīlε	kεεṭīvε	kεεṭīki	kεεṭiyε
	kεεkīlε	kεεkīvε	kεεkīki	kεεkiyε
	kεεkīmlε	kεεkīvε	kεεkīmiki	kεεkīmiyε

TAMIL NUMERALS

S. V. SHANMUKAM

INTRODUCTION

The general line of evolution of Tamil from Proto-Dravidian (hereafter referred to as PDr.) has already been indicated by many,[1] but the details are not studied fully. Here an attempt is made to study the development of numerals in Old Tamil (OT), i.e. *Tolkāppiyam* and Sangam literature, from this point of view.

A language has features of inheritance and innovation. Many innovations of the old stage of a language are shared by the other languages belonging to the same sub-family and some innovations are independent, which alone distinguish the different languages within the sub-family. Whenever there is innovation the actual stage at which it took place is specified. But, this does not mean that the other features which are similar to that of the parent language are directly inherited from the parent language without undergoing the intermediate stage of development.

Any source of the history of a language has to be used with care. In our case, as already pointed out by Professor T. P. Meenakshisundaran, "there is a certain amount of inconsistency between some of the sutras (of *Tolkāppiyam*). This suggests that certain sutras were introduced by students who felt a gap in the work... Therefore we have to distinguish the older usage from the later usage in *Tolkāppiyam.*"[2] As for Sangam works, it is to be noted that they are only anthologies of poems sung by as many as 700 poets who lived within the span of 300 years. Moreover, when the records are very old, there is every chance of later day forms getting introduced by the copyists. Hence those forms occurring more frequently are taken as OT forms.

I am indebted to Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaran for his encouragement and kindness in permitting reference to the unpublished theses.

[1] BH. KRISHNAMOORTHY, 'Proto-Dravidian ẓ', *Indian Linguistics*, Turner Jubilee (1958), vol. 1, 285.

[2] T. P. MEENAKSHISUNDARAN, *A history of Tamil language*, Deccan College, Poona, 1965, pp. 52 ff.

ONE

PDr. form for 'one' is **onru* and the adjectival form is **oru* before consonants and **ōr* before vowels.[3] The noun in OT is *onru* and the position of adjective is as follows: According to *Tolkāppiyam* sutram both the adjective *oru* and *ōr* can occur before *āyiram* 'thousand' (S. 464 and 465); in other words they are phonologically conditioned as in PDr. But in the *Tolkāppiyam* text and in Sangam literature there are two instances of *oru* occurring before vowel (*Akanāṉūṟu, orāṟu,* 257, and *Kalittokai orāaṅku* 12.18) and 136 instances before consonants, and 74 instances *ōr* before vowels and 26 instances before consonants (*Tolkāppiyam* text 1; *Puṟanāṉūṟu,* 15; *Paripāṭal,* 4; *Kuṟuntokai,* 2; *Akanāṉūṟu,* 4). Hence OT feature is like that of PDr. and the deviations may be later developments due to analogy.

TWO

The PDr. noun form is **iraṇṭu* and the adjectival form is **iru* before consonants and **īr* before vowels.[4] The noun form in OT is *iraṇṭu* and the adjective forms *iru* and *īr* occur before *āyiram* (*Tol.* S. 464 and 465); in other words they are phonologically conditioned. All the cases of *Tolkāppiyam* text and Sangam literature are of PDr. type and so OT is like PDr. without any change.

THREE: (*DED* 4147)

The PDr. form is **mūnṟu* and the adjectival form is **mū* before vowels and semi-vowels and **muC* before other consonants. As per *Tolkāppiyam* sutram, the form *muv* occurs before vowels (S. 456 and 466) and semi-vowel (S. 452) and *muC* elsewhere (S. 440, 441, 447, 451 and 452). But in the case of the *uḻakku* 'a measure' *mū* can also occur (S. 457). The usage of *Tolkāppiyam* text and Sangam literature is like that of PDr. So, OT would be the same as that of PDr and the statement of *Tolkāppiyam* may represent a dialect where the alternation change had taken place. The change may be due to analogy of the demonstrative forms *a* and *i* which have *av* and *iv* before vowels and semi-vowels (*Tol.* S. 206 and 207) and *aC* and *iC* elsewhere (S. 204 and 205).

FOUR: (*DED* 3024)

The PDr. noun form is **nālku* and the adjective is **nāl.* In OT, *nālku* is found in two places (*Perumpāṇāṟṟuppaṭai* 489 and *Akanāṉūṟu* 104.6) and *nāṉku* in 55 instances. Even though the PDr. form is preserved in some dialects, the OT form *nāṉku,* is also found in Malayalam,

[3] M. B. EMENEAU, 'Numerals in Comparative linguistics (with special reference to Dravidian)', *The Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, XXIX,* 4-1957.

[4] Ibid.

Kota and Toda. Since they form one subgroup within South Dravidian the change of ḻ into ṉ should have occurred in pre-Ta. Ma. Ko. and To. periods. The adjective form is *nāl* in OT.

FIVE: (*DED* 2318)

**cayntu* is the PDr. form and the adjectival form is **cai* before vowels and semi-vowels and **caiN* before consonants. Proto South Dravidian (PSDr.) noun is **aintu* and *ai* is the adjective before semi-vowels and vowels and *aiN* elsewhere. It is now well established that PSDr. had a tendency to lose PDR. *c-.[5] The OT form is as that of PSDr.

SIX: (*DED* 2051)

The PDr. noun is **cāṟu* and **caṟu* is the adjective. PSDr. noun is **āṟu* and **aṟu* is the adjective. *āṟu* is OT noun form and *āṟu* is the adjectival form before vowels (*Tol.* S. 458) and *aṟu* elsewhere. But before *āyiram, aṟu* occurs according to the interpretation of commentators. As the form for six thousand is not found either in *Tolkāppiyam* text or in Sangam literature the real situation is not clear. However, *āṟu* can be taken as the adjectival form before consonants in OT and hence there is no change.

SEVEN: (*DED* 722)

The PDr. noun is **ēḻ* and **eḻu,* adjective. OT noun form is also *ēḻ.* According to *Tolkāppiyam* sutram, the adjective *ēḻ* occurs before vowels (S. 394) and also before the words *nūṟāyiram* 'ten thousand' (S. 392) and other higher numerals like *tāmarai, veḷḷam* and *āmpal* (S. 393), and *eḻu* elsewhere (S. 398 to 391). In *Tolkāppiyam* text and Sangam literature all instances of *eḻu* occur before consonants only, but *ēḻu* occurs before vowel in 13 instances and before consonants in 10 instances (*Tolkāppiyam* text, 3; *Paripāṭal,* 2; *Kalittokai,* 1; *Puṟanāṉūṟu,* 2; *Malaipaṭukaṭām,* 1; *Maturaikkāñci,* 1). So in OT *eḻu* occurs before consonant and *ēḻ* before vowel, which is same as in PDr.

EIGHT: (*DED* 670)

**eṭṭu* is the PDr. noun form and the adjectival form is *eṇ* and OT had the same forms.

NINE, NINETY AND NINE-HUNDRED: (*DED* 862 AND 2910)

Here all forms found in all the Dravidian languages are given.

[5] T. BURROW, 'Dravidic studies VI', *Bulletin of School of Oriental and African Studies XII,* 132-147, 1947.

NINE:

Ta. *o<u>n</u>patu* (10 times); *o<u>n</u>pak̲tu* (2 times in *Tolkāppiyam* only); *o<u>n</u>pā<u>n</u>* (13 times in *Tolkāppiyam* text only); *tonṭu* (3 times, *Tolkāppiyam*, S. 358), *Malaipaṭukaṭām*, 21, and *Paripāṭal*, 3.79), Ma. *ompatu* Ko. *orba·d* (Sholur dialect) *onba·d*; To. *wïnboθ;* Ka. *ombattu; ombhattu;* Tu. *ormba*; Go. *unma*; Te. *tommidi*; Kol. *tomdi.*

NINETY:

Ta. and Ma. *toṇṇūṟu*; Ko. *tombattu*; Koḍ. *tombadï*; Tu. *soṇpa*; Te. *tombadi, tombhai*; Go. *tombai.*

NINE HUNDRED:

Ta. and Ma. *toḷḷāyiram*; Ka. *ombaynūṟu*; Kod. *ombaynu·rï*; Te. *tommanūṟu.*

The comparison of the forms for ninety and nine-hundred reveals that the morpheme for nine in both the cases is *toḷ/toṇ.* The Tamil word *tonṭu* for nine confirms it. So, the PDr. form can be taken as **tonṭu.* But the most common word in Tamil is *o<u>n</u>patu* (of course the more frequent form is *o<u>n</u>pā<u>n</u>* but it occurs only in *Tolkāppiyam* text and it is explained below that it may be historically later form) which is etymologically same as that of the words in other languages.

Caldwell thinks that "the first part of the word nine is connected to *tol* or *toḷ* 'before' and the initial had softened away."[6] But it can be connected with the word *tonṭu* 'nine' the root of which is *toḷ/toṇ* and the appearance of *patu,* the alternant form of *pattu* 'ten' may be explained as due to paradigmatic or distant assimilation which plays some part in the evolution of numerals.[7] The loss of initial *t* in the SDr is now found in more words.[8] As to the nasal *n* instead of *ṇ,* it may explained that, after the loss of initial *t,* the etymology was forgotten and was connected with the numeral one and so was replaced by *<u>n</u>,* the nasal found in the word *o<u>n</u>ṟu* by popular etymology.[9] The assimilation should have taken place in PSDr. stage as it is found in all SDr. languages.

pattu has got alternants *pā<u>n</u>, patu* and *pak̲tu* and so in this word also the other alternants of ten came to be replaced.

[6] R. CALDWELL, *A comparative grammer of the Dravidian languages,* Madras, 1956, p. 349.

[7] EMENEAU, op. cit. p. 5.

[8] BURROW, op. cit. p. 13.

[9] E. H. STRUTEVANT, *An Introduction to Linguistic Science,* New Haven, 1960, p. 119. The same reason may be attributed for *r* in Kota and Tulu because of the influence of the adjective form of one. Otherwise there will be two kinds of formation of the word nine in Dravidian languages as Caldwell thinks (Caldwell, p. 347). The idea of distant assimilation was suggested by Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaran in one of his class lectures.

As for the origin of the words for ninety and nine-hundred in Tamil, they are independent innovations for Tamil and Malayalam. The curious appearance of the word *nūṟu* 'hundred' in ninety and *āyiram* 'thousand' in nine-hundred may be due to distance assimilation which should have taken place firstly in the counting by ten and hundred respectively.

TEN: (*DED* 3236)

The PDr. form is **pattu* and its alternants in all the languages are listed below:

> Ta. *pattu, patiṉ* (in 11, 13, 15-18); *pati* (in 14); *paṉṉ* (in 12); *patu* and *paḵtu* (in twenty, thirty etc.); *pāṉ* (stem for adding case suffixes); Ma. *pattu* (obl. *patiṉ-*); *patu* (in 20 etc.); Kod. *pat, padn* (in 15-18); *pad* (in 13, 14); *pan* (in 11-18); *vat* (in 20 etc.); To. *pot, pon* (in 11-13); *foθ* (in 20 etc.); Ka. *pattu, padin* (in 15-18); *padi* (in 13, 14); *pann* (in 11, 12); *vattu/pattu* (in 20 etc.); Kod. *patti, padin* (in 14-18); *padi* (in 13); *pann* (in 11, 12); *padi* (in 20 etc.); Tu. *pattu, padun* (in 15-19); *padu* (in 12-14); *patt* (in 11); *pa* (obl. vatu) (in 20 etc); Te. *padi, padun* (in 11, 15-18); *padu* (in 13, 14); *panḍ* (in 12); *pan* (in 12); *pan* (in 19); *padi* (in 20 etc.); Kol. *padī*. In PSDr. **patin* is one stem alternant in 11, 13-18 (because the final *ṉ* is found in 13 in Tamil and in 14 in Kodaku) and **paṉṉ* in 12 and **patu* in 20 etc.[10] OT has lost the final *ṉ* of *patiṉ* before *nāṉku* in pre-Tamil period.

The alternant of ten occurring in 19 is *pattu* in Tamil and Malayalam (*pattoṉpatu*), *patr* in Kota (*patramba·d*), *pattu* in Kannada (*pattombattu*) and *pan* in Telugu (*pantommidi*). The problem is how Telugu has *pan* while other languages except Kota have that form only in 11 and 12. Whether it is an innovation or inheritance, Tamil form shares its fate with other languages which are more related to it.

HUNDRED: (*DED* 3090)

The PDr. form is **nūṟu* and OT is also *nūṟu*.

THOUSAND: (*DED* 309)

Even though the word *āyiram* 'thousand' in all the South Dravidian languages except Telugu where it is *vēlu* (singular) and *vēyi* (plural),

[10] *pa:n* can be connected to *patin* by the loss of medial consonant and vowel contraction. The medial consonant can be taken as fricative because there is another alternant form with fricative which is written by *a:ytam* symbol. So also, *pa:n* and *pann* can be taken as alternant of VC = VCC which is found in many languages. This was suggested by my colleague K. Doraisamy.

is etymologically related, it is only a borrowed word from Sanskrit probably in PSDr. The authors of *DED* have asserted in their introduction to 'Dravidian Borrowings form Indo-Aryan' that "the entries 167, 309 (the word *āyiram*) and 374 of *DED* were clearly instances of Dravidian borrowing from Indo-Aryan and might have reserved for this work."[11]

OTHER NUMERALS FOUND IN OT

oṉpatiṉāyiram 'nine thousand' (*Tol.* S. 470) *patiṉāyiram* 'ten thousand' (*Tol.* S. 470 and *Paripāṭal,* 3.42) and *nūṟāyiram* 'hundred thousand' (*Tol.* S. 471, *Paripāṭal* 3.43) are also found in Old Tamil. There are three other numerals referred to in *Tolkāppiyam* as numerals but the value is not known. *tāmarai* (*Tol.* S. 394); *āmpal* (*Tol.* S. 394); and *veḷḷam* (*Tol.* S. 394; *Puṟanāṉūṟu,* 395.38; *Aiṅkurunūṟu,* 281.1; *Patiṟṟuppāttu,* 63.20). These words are found in other Dravidian languages (*DED* 2583, 304 and 4529 respectively) but nothing is known of the development of the numerical meaning of these words.

kōṭi 'crore' is found in *Puṟanāṉūṟu* (three times, 18.5; 184.2; and 202.7). It is a borrowed word from Sanskrit.

[11] T. BURROW AND M. B. EMENEAU, *Dravidian Borrowings from Indo-Aryan,* Berkeley, 1962, p. 4.

IS PHONETIC CHANGE UNIVERSAL AND INEVITABLE?

A STUDY BASED ON THE PHONOLOGICAL STRUCTURE OF TAMIL

A. SUBBIAH

INTRODUCTORY

> Norms and normative laws can be made and changed by man, more especially by a decision or convention to observe them or to alter them ... it is therefore man who is morally responsible for them; not perhaps for the norms which he finds to exist in society when he first begins to reflect upon them, but for the norms which he is prepared to tolerate once he has found out that he can do something to alter them. Norms are man-made in the sense that we must blame nobody but ourselves for them; neither nature, nor God. *It is our business to improve them as much as we can ... The standards are not to be found in nature.* Nature consists of facts and of regularities ... but nature has made us together with our power of altering the world, of foreseeing and of planning for the future, and of making far-reaching decisions ... If we consider a fact as alterable — such as the fact that many people are suffering from disease — then we can always adopt a number of different attitudes towards this fact, more especially we can decide to make an attempt to alter it; or we can decide to resist any such attempt; or we can decide not to resist any such attempt, or we can decide not to take action at all.
>
> — Karl Popper in *The open society and its enemies.*

The attitude of most linguistic scientists today towards "Phonetic change" can best be described in the words of Hall who, in his expressively titled book, *Leave your language alone,* says:

> Like the work of geological forces, linguistic change is, in the present state of human technology, irresistible. We may try to dam it up at one point, but it's sure to burst forth at another, and where we are least expecting it ... It is futile to try to stop linguistic change; to do so, a super police-state would be necessary ...we would do better, therefore, to cease objecting to and

> trying to impede linguistic change; we should accept linguistic change and its results as something entirely natural and normal.[1]

This is more or less on a par with the attitude of a person who falls under Karl Popper's second category and who, faced with the universality of disease, decides to resist all attempts to prevent disease. This attitude — to take the cue from Hall himself — calls for "shock treatment that psychiatrists often use, when a person has built up a way of life on harmful attitudes or beliefs; the psychiatrist has to sweep this false basis away before he can replace it by new, more realistic and therefore sounder ideas."[2]

BACKGROUND

The birth of the modern Science of Linguistics is usually ascribed to the close of the eighteenth century when Sir Williams Jones, the first great European Sanskrit scholar, discovered the linguistic similarity between Sanskrit and some members of the Indo-European family of languages. Philology, as it was called until recently, concerned itself primarily with the comparative study of Indo-European languages — more particularly in its diachronic aspect. Literacy in those languages — even where they had been reduced to writing — was confined to a small number amongst the upper classes. Besides, the modern theory of phonemes and the Bloomfieldian 'principle of a single symbol for a single phoneme' had not been then clearly understood with the result, there was no one to one correspondence between the spoken and the written language. The restraint which a carefully designed written language exercises on the spoken language and the twice-levelling processes of spelling pronunciation and pronunciation spelling were all absent and as was only to be expected the gulf between the spoken language and the written language widened, the former becoming vulnerable to changes particularly of a phonetic nature. The philologists of those days were impressed by the regularity of the phonetic changes which occurred as a result amongst the different Indo-European languages. These changes were condified by them into what have been rather imprecisely designated as "laws" of historical linguistics, e.g. "Grimm's law", "Verner's law", "the Great Vowel Shift in English" etc. Even as late as 1917, Sturtevant said 'Linguistic Science deals very largely with linguistic change.'[3] This preoccupation amounting to obsession with 'phonetic change' led to a widespread assumption that all languages change and change all the time. No valid grounds,

[1] A. R. HALL, JR., "Leave your language alone", *Linguistics*, Ithaca, N.Y. 1950, p. 183-184.

[2] Ibid., p. 7.

[3] E. H. STURTEVANT, *Linguistic Change*, University of Chicago Press, 1917, p. 10.

theoretical or otherwise, for this assumption have been put forward, as the following quotations from linguists themselves will show:

> STURTEVANT: As long as all members of the community confine themselves to imitating the fashions already set, no change can arise. Furthermore the conservation force of imitation varies in proportion to the size of the community; for each innovation is opposed by the influence of that part of the community which is as yet unaffected by it, and the larger the community the larger the majority against each incipient change.
>
> We might suppose, then, that language would remain forever stationary. But everyone knows that languages change.[4]
>
> SAPIR: It is much better to admit that we do not yet understand the primary cause or causes of the slow drift in phonetics, though we can frequently point to contributing factors. It is likely that we shall not advance seriously until we study the intuitional bases of speech.[5]
>
> BLOOMFIELD: Every language is undergoing, at all times, a slow but unceasing process of *linguistic change*. We have direct evidence of this change in the case of communities which possess written records of their earlier speech ... The ninth-century English of King Alfred the Great, of which we have contemporary manuscripts, seems to us like a foreign language; if we could meet English speakers of that time, we should not understand their speech, or they ours.[6]
>
> CARROLL: Whatever the ultimate status of phonetic law may prove to be, the mechanics of phonetic change have never been satisfactorily explained. Linguists know that phonetic change has occurred in the past and assume that it is also taking place at the present time, despite the tremendous pressures towards uniformity represented by mass media of communication.[7]

It is intriguing however to be told by Carroll that "American linguists have taken over from the Neogrammarian School the idea of regular sound change, but chiefly as a working hypothesis rather than as an article of faith."[8]

During the Middle Ages in Western Europe the language of education and religion was Latin and the grammarians of those days, who doubtless had their education through Latin rather than through their own mother tongue, thought that Latin was a universal model for

[4] Ibid., p. 29.
[5] EDWARD SAPIR, *Language*, Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York, 1921, p. 196.
[6] LEONARD BLOOMFIELD, *Language*, George Allen & Unwin, London.
[7] B. J. CARROLL, *The Study of Language*, Harward University Press, 1959, p. 51.
[8] Ibid., p. 51.

language and attempted to impose the rules of Latin grammar on their own native tongues. This process of putting a round peg in a square hole produced the inevitable reaction in later days and in their aversion to the grammatical absurdities which this brought about, some linguists have cultivated a dislike for grammar altogether and would be quite willing to throw away the baby with the bath water. Hall says:

> "In our country, especially, attempts to prescribe rules to set up a normative grammar, have been very widespread... But all such attempts have been, and will continue to be, failures. "Right" and "Wrong", then have no meaning, as applied to language, when we use it as we have grown up speaking it, among our own family and friends. ... This factor in our speech attitudes is a relic from earlier, antidemocratic times, which accords very poorly with other aspects of our modern aspirations to true democracy. ... Current prescriptions of "right" and "wrong" thus serve only to divide our society, and to increase further the split between upper and lower, favoured and unfavoured classes — just at the time when greater unity, not greater division, is our crying need."[9]

There seems to be more politics than linguistics in these emotion-packed statements, which one suspects is an inheritance from the days of the American revolt against the royalty and aristocracy of England in the early years of settlement. The strange thing is that, so far as the written language at any rate is concerned, Hall himself does not write as he speaks but conforms to the rules of normative grammar which all educated people adopt.

Another inhibitory factor in the way of a balanced approach towards the problem of language is the invidious comparison which most linguists make as between speech and writing, with a pronounced bias against the latter. Hockett says:

> The linguist distinguishes between language and writing, whereas the layman tends to confuse the two. The layman's terms "Spoken language" and "written language" suggest that speech and writing are merely two different manifestations of something fundamentally the same. Often enough, the layman thinks that writing is something more basic than speech. Almost the reverse is true.
> Human beings have been speaking for a very long time perhaps millions of years. Compared to this, writing is a recent invention.[10]

[9] Ibid., pp. 27-28.
[10] F. C. HOCKETT, *A course in Modern Linguistics,* Macmillan Company, New York, 1958, p. 5.

Gleason says:

> Most of the misunderstandings which Americans have about language arise from a failure to keep clearly in mind the nature and limitations of a written language.
>
> A written language is typically a reflection, independent in only limited ways, of spoken language. As a picture of actual speech, it is inevitably imperfect and incomplete.[11]
>
> Written communication must be sharply distinguished from spoken. The common tendency to use "language" to refer to either indiscriminately has so frequently given rise to serious confusion, not merely among lay people, but also among professional linguists. ... Many linguists consider all forms of writing entirely outside the domain of linguistics ... Nevertheless, the relationships between speech and writing are close and intimate.[12]

This approach has resulted in undue sanctity being attached to the spoken *vis à vis* the written form but, as the spoken form is, according to the linguist's own assumption, changing all the time while the written form is more permanent, an ever-widening cleavage between the spoken and written forms takes place and taking the historicist's view of things, many linguists try to comfort themselves and the rest of the world "for the loss of a stable world by clinging to the view that change is ruled by an unchanging law".[13]

Another self denying ordinance which many linguists have imposed on themselves is that they are concerned only with what 'is' and not with what 'ought to be', value-judgment being anathema to them. This attitude is of course to be expected from those who discard grammar and normative rules of speech but it has one deplorable consequence. They refuse to take up the role of the social engineer and technologist who, in the words of Popper, will put his problem like this:

> If such and such are our aims, is this institution well designed and organised to save them?... He will suggest ways in which they could be made more efficient in serving the one end or the other.[14]

With the vast advances made in the Science of Linguistics the linguist of today is pre-eminently fitted to play this role for the benefit of many linguistic communities including the English-speaking community.

[11] H. A. GLEASON, *An introduction to Descriptive Linguistics*, Holt, Rinchart and Winston, New York, 1955, p. 10.

[12] Ibid., p. 301.

[13] K. R. POPPER, *The open society and its enemies*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1957, part I, p. 14.

[14] Ibid., p. 23.

THE FALSE BASIS OF THE CURRENT NOTIONS OF PHONETIC CHANGE

The hypothesis (it is nothing more) that all languages change and change all the time is based, in so far as phonetic change is concerned, on false assumptions and pessimistic attitudes and, being circumscribed by the linguists' personal experience in the investigation mostly of languages of the Indo-European family, is purely subjective.

The first fatal assumption most linguists make is that the *spoken* language is more important than the *written* language mainly on the ground that:

> Spoken language is the primary phenomenon, and writing is only a more or less imperfect reflection of it. We all learn to understand speech before we learn to read . . . we all hear more language than we read[15] . . . spoken language is ordinarily more flexible than written language, it leads the way in linguistic development; while written language follows at a greater or less interval[16] . . . It is only the spoken language that has any independent existence, while nearly all systems of writing are the result of a compromise between tradition and the phonetic representation of speech.[17]

Some linguists have even taken the rigid attitude that written language should not be called a language at all, as if a handful of linguists have the power to restrict the connotation of the term in this arbitrary fashion, even in the narrow field of Linguistic Science. It seems to the writer totally irrelevant to raise an unproductive controversy of this nature, as the spoken and the written languages are each important in their respective spheres of operation, just as the uncodified and therefore variable social conventions and usage as well as the codified laws of the State and other social institutions have each their role in the smooth functioning of society. If a comparison between the spoken and the written languages must needs be made, it is well to bear in mind that, although the spoken language may have been in existence for millions of years, civilization in the modern sense and progress in Science and Technology developed only with the invention of writing (possibly 6000 years ago), particularly with the invention of alphabetic and/or syllabic system of writing based on a phonemic analysis of the language. As Cohen says in the UNESCO organ, *Courier:*

> It was a moment of capital importance when man reached a clear appreciation of the internal structure of his speech and

[15] E. H. STURTEVANT, ibid., p. 1.
[16] Ibid., pp. 1-2.
[17] Ibid., p. 10.

> made practical use of this understanding. ... As a skill possessed by more and more people, writing was thereafter to become a growing force in the development of the intellectual aspects of civilization.[18]

The real position is that by word of mouth you can communicate only with those immediately before you (if we exclude broadcasting), whereas through writing you can communicate with much larger numbers not only those living today but also with unborn generations. Whether linguists like it or not, the written language has an assured place in the scheme of things in Society today and we can see on all sides a tendency towards the disappearance of regional and class dialects and their replacement by the standard dialect based on the written language, spelling pronunciation (e.g. 'often' with t pronounced) and pronunciation spelling (e.g. 'ax' for 'axe', 'thru' for 'through' etc.) helping in the standardising process. Over thirty years ago, Bloomfield said:

> If there is any rivalry between speech-forms, the chances are weighted in favour of the form that is represented by the written convention; consequently, if the written convention deviates from the spoken form, people are likely to infer that there exists a preferable variant that matches the written form. Especially, it would seem, in the last centuries, with the spread of literacy and the great influx of dialect-speakers and sub-standard speakers into the ranks of standard-speakers, the influence of the written form has grown — for these speakers, unsure of themselves in what is after all a foreign dialect, look to the written convention for guidance.[19]

Tauli writes:

> The conscious and as it were, artificial influences exercised by grammarians on the literary language, and through it also on the colloquial language, have been very considerable in some countries.[20]... The tradition of the literary language is naturally reinforced by factors like the obligatory standardization of language by academies or other similar institutions and the schools. Owing to the spread of universal education and to the increasing influence of the standard language, the dialects are threatened with extinction. The tendency toward the disappearance of dialects is especially strong in centralised countries like France; the same phenomenon has probably taken place also in Ancient Greece and Rome.[21]

[18] MARCEL COHEN, "The Art of writing — the emergence of the Alphabet", *Courier*, vol. 17, March 1964, p. 15.
[19] LEONARD BLOOMFIELD, ibid., p. 487.
[20] VALTER TAULI, *The Structural tendencies of languages*, Suomalainen, Tiedeakatemia, Helsinki, 1958, pp. 41-42.
[21] Ibid., p. 43.

Martinet writes:

> At the present day a definite majority of the 45 million residents of France must be unilingual French speakers which, of course, does not mean that they all speak alike. All of them could be said to make use of dialects I, i.e. different varieties of French, but this would by no means reflect the way the French react to such variations: deviations from what is felt to be the norm in matters of pronunciation are labelled 'accents'. ... unilingual France is expanding rapidly. The First World War was fatal to dialects (i.e. provincial or regional) in many sections of the country.[22]... in large sections of II present-day rural France, dialects are frequently understood but hardly spoken by people under forty. It is likely that the Second World War has sealed the fate of the good many of those which had survived the first.[23]

In other words, instead of the spoken dialect taking the lead and dragging the written language along its ever changing path, the written language — through a rationalization of the new chaotic written form and with the help of a standard dialect based on the reorganised writing system (I shall use the term "standard language" to indicate this dialect) — is exercising a healthy and effective restraint on the forces which divide the written language from the spoken. This, I imagine, is happening even in languages like English whose written form is notoriously different from its spoken form. Thanks to the initiative taken by a non-linguist Bernard Shaw already there are new developments in adjusting scripts to the spoken word and a new forty-three-letter alphabet has been introduced in Britain for teaching children, with considerable success. Nicholas Gillett, Adviser on Teacher Training, UNESCO Mission to Iran, says:

> A second virtue in the new alphabet is that it makes easier the learning of foreign languages. English is an exasperating language to learn because often letters are pronounced in different ways whereas in the new alphabet they are always pronounced in the same way, and yet the two alphabets are so alike that it is easy to change from one to the other.
>
> A number of countries have already realised the significance of the new invention and the new alphabet is being used in a number of countries such as in the U.S.S.R. at Irkutsk, in Israel, in Canada and elsewhere.[24]

[22] ANDRE MARTINET, *A Functional view of language,* Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1961, p. 114.

[23] Ibid., p. 115.

[24] NICHOLAS GILLETT, "A New Alphabet", *Courier,* vol. 17, November 1964, p. 33.

The first step in the reform of the English writing system has thus been taken and it is not too much to hope that the still remaining steps which have to be taken to bring about a one to one correspondence between the written language and the spoken one and to bring about uniformity amongst all English speakers whether in the U.K., U.S.A., Canada or Australia, in regard to the phonic values of the New Alphabet will follow sooner or later. The problem will be by no means easy but, unfortunately, if their current attitude is any indication, the greatest opposition to this standardizing and stabilizing process may ironically enough spring from the professional linguists, who seem to be unable to outgrow their earlier fixations and prejudices.

Another erroneous assumption many linguists make in regard to "phonetic change" — although it is not always so explicitly expressed — is that these changes are almost mystic in character and cannot in all cases be explained. As Martinet says:

> This comportment of traditional linguists in the face of phonic facts actually stems from defeatism; from a speech sound changing through time, practically any whim may be expected.[25] Progress in evolutionary linguistics demands that we abandon the descriptionist and anti-explanatory ideal.[26]

Again he says:

> Sober scholars, in spite of their reluctance to enter the realm of hypothesis, had had to make up their minds regarding the nature of phonetic changes and, in order to reach a decision, they had been compelled to consider the problem of how the obvious, if not total, regularity of sound changes could be explained. ... It would seem that if languages change, as we know they do, it is, basically, because the needs of their users change, and this has been found to apply to phonology as well as to lexicon, morphology or syntax. This of course involves a total revision of traditional views regarding sound changes.[27]

Once we accept the position that 'phonetic change' should be and can be explained, the whole problem becomes simple. Phonetic change, as defined by Bloomfield, "is a change in the habits of performing sound-producing movements. Strictly speaking, a change of this kind has no importance so long as it does not affect the phonemic system of the language."[28] Phonetic changes may arise either due to external causes

[25] ANDRE MARTINET, *Manual of Phonetics* (Phonetics & Linguistic Evolution), North-Holland Publishing Company, Amsterdam, 1957, p. 254.

[26] Ibid., p. 272.

[27] ANDRE MARTINET, *A Functional View of Language*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1961, pp. 134-135.

[28] LEONARD BLOOMFIELD, *Language*, George Allen & Unwin, London, 1933, p. 369.

such as those arising from contact with other languages or from internal causes, e.g. a lack of balance in the phonological structure of the language. Martinet says:

> At least some of the causes may be in what we might call a lack of balance in the system. It is an acknowledged fact that a good many and probably most sound-changes seem to be due to an insufficient effort on the part of the speakers to distinguish carefully between neighbouring sounds. In many languages we see that... a stop will lose its plosive character and become a spirant.[29]

Phonetic changes due to external causes are principally the result of taking over of foreign sounds with borrowed words, Sapir says:

> It seems very probable that the psychological attitude of the borrowing language itself towards linguistic material has much to do with its respectivity to foreign words.[30]... The study of how a language reacts to the presence of foreign words — rejecting them, translating them or freely accepting them — may throw much valuable light on its innate formal tendencies.[31]

Languages have been classified in this regard as "borrowing languages" and "non-borrowing languages". English is a notorious example of the former, while Tamil is a typical example of non-borrowing languages where speakers show a strong tendency to resist borrowing and in particular to resist tampering with its phonological structure.

The internal causes which may lead to phonetic changes may be broadly classified into three categories:

(i) phonetic closeness between any two phonemes in a language;
(ii) phonemic sequences including consonant or vowel clusters;
(iii) prosodic features like stress which are distinctive in a language.

Let us consider now some of the phonetic 'laws' which were once the preoccupation of linguists. Under Grimm's law,[32] which gave expression to the correspondences between Germanic and other Indo-European languages,

(a) unvoiced *stops* of the other languages are paralleled in Germanic by unvoiced *spirants*:

e.g. Latin: *pater*; English: *father*.

29 ANDRE MARTINET, *Phonology as functional phonetics*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford; 1955, p. 22.
30 EDWARD SAPIR, *Language*, Harcourt, Brace & Company, New York, 1921; p. 208.
31 Ibid., p. 210.
32 LEONARD BLOOMFIELD, ibid., p. 348.

(b) *voiced* stops of the other languages are paralleled in Germanic by *unvoiced* stops:

e.g. Latin: *duo;* English: *two.*

Another common type of change is the weakening of consonants between vowels. This is exemplified in Verner's law, according to which in pre-Germanic *unvoiced spirant* (f, s) in intervocalic position was weakened to voiced spirant (v, z). This is not of course always the case: "enough languages keep unvoiced spirants intact between vowels, while others change them to voiced."[33] Let us take again the 'Great Vowel-Shift' in English. Bloomfield says:

> The English sound changes that are known under the name of "the great vowel shift" are of a type that has little effect beyond altering the acoustic shape of each phoneme; the long vowels were progressively shifted upward and into diphthongal types.

MIDDLE ENGLISH	EARLY MODERN	PRESENT-DAY
('na:me)	(ne:m)	nejm (name)[34]

It will thus be seen that the changes described in the well known phonetic laws like Grimm's law etc. are mostly shifts in a single phonic feature, like voiced to voiceless, stop to spirant etc. and are illustrative of changes due to phonetic closeness.

Weakening of consonants between vowels (Verner's law) is a good example of phonetic change due to influence of neighbouring phonemes. As Martinet says:

> Every phoneme has to adapt its articulation to that of the phoneme which precedes and that of the phoneme which follows it in speech.[35]

Consonant clusters are another frequent source of sound change. Bloomfield says:

> The general direction of a great deal of sound-change is towards simplification of the movements which make up the utterance of any given linguistic form.[36]

For instance:

Knee — the first consonant is dropped in actual speech because the simultaneous articulation of k and n is not possible

[33] Ibid., p. 375.
[34] Ibid., p. 387.
[35] ANDRE MARTINET, *Manual of Phonetics* (Phonetics and Linguistic Evolution); p. 256.
[36] BLOOMFIELD, ibid., p. 370.

without the interpolation of an ever so slight a vocalic glide between the two.

talk — l is similarly lost.

Husband — s is pronounced as z, due to assimilation with voiced b.

In languages where vowel clusters are permitted, assimilation between successive vowels takes place; these are called *umlaut* in Germanic languages.

Amongst prosodic features of a language, stress is a source of phonetic change. Bloomfield points out that "languages with strong word-stress often weaken or lose their unstressed vowels."[38] Sturtevant points out that "although the word "heaven" is normally a dissyllable a reduction of the stress of *n* until the total intensity of that sound falls below the intensity of *v* converts the word into a monosyllable. Since an increase of stress on a given syllable usually induces a domination of stress on neighbouring syllables a strong stress-accent tends to suppress unaccented syllables whose most sonorous sound is a consonant. The weakened consonant may attach itself to the accented syllable, as in the case of "heav'n".[39]

In Chinese and other 'tone' languages mere differences in pitch indicate different words with different meanings.

Thus the Cantonese words:

ˊsoeŋ (photograph),	ˋsoeŋ (hurt),
ˏsoeŋ (pair of drawers),	ˉsoeŋ (prime minister),
ˍsoeŋ (above),	ˏsoeŋ (ascent),

differ from each other by minimal distinctions.[40] (The diacrtical marks represent differences in pitch.)

Any carelessness or slipshodness on the part of the speaker in articulating these differences in actual speech will lead to confusion but the fact that these pitch distinctions are of prime importance in Chinese indicates that the mere necessity to make oneself understood enables speakers to make these distinctions by long practice.

It would thus appear that the different types of phonetic change referred to above are all due to causes which are either preventible or whose effectiveness can be counteracted by a determined speech community. Be that as it may, none of these causes apply to a language like Tamil whose phonological structure had obviously been deliberately designed to prevent such causes operating. I am of course referring here to Standard Tamil, which is a spoken dialect based on written Tamil and

37 Ibid., 381.
38 Ibid., 382.
39 E. H. STURTEVANT, ibid., p. 58.
40 DANIEL JONES, *The Phoneme; its nature and use*, W. Hepper & Sons, Cambridge, 1962, p. 16.

which is spoken by all literates in Tamil; between this standard Tamil and the written Tamil there is a one to one correspondence, except in the case of two or three minor variations which I shall refer to later. The earliest extant Tamil work is a descriptive grammar named *Tolkāppiyam,* whose date has not been definitely fixed yet but there is no doubt that on internal linguistic evidence alone it should be dated much earlier than what are usually designated as Sangam classics ascribed to 2nd Century B.C to 2nd Century A.D Referring to the accurate description of Tamil phonemes in this grammar, Sankaran says:

> Such an emphasis on the pattern inherent in the sounds of the language of study, and the attempt to establish, on the basis of their occurrence and distribution, the types of sounds which must have been significant in distinguishing the meaning of words is not met with even in the *Astadyayi* of Panini.[41]
> We are lost in wonder that in this Old Tamil Grammar, we rediscover, as it were, many of our own modern ideas. The conviction is gained more and more that it is worth the while to subject *Tolkāppiyam* to a detailed scrutiny exploiting this beautiful work from the rigorous view-point of modern phonemics.[42]

Between the phonological structure of Tamil as described in *Tolkāppiyam* and that of the Standard Tamil of today there is for all practical purposes little difference, with the result that, allowing for the lexical and to a small extent the grammatical changes which have meantime occurred, the present day Tamil literate has little difficulty in reading this grammar or the vast literature which has since accumulated and been preserved during the past two millenia.

Taking first the external cause of phonetic change, viz. borrowing, Tamil is one of the few languages in the world which have resisted borrowing from other languages and, even in the small proportion of cases where they have borrowed, the words borrowed have been completely readapted to conform to the phonological structure of the language. In recent decades, due principally to the dominance of pro-Sanskrit groups in the educational and other spheres, a more or less artificial attempt to introduce the Sanskrit sounds h (as in hall), s (as in sin), sh (as in shun), j (as in join) into Tamil has been made but with the gradual diminution of the influence of this pro-Sanskrit group, the chances of these Sanskrit sounds permanently becoming separate phonemes (they are already now allophones of existing phonemes like k, c, etc.) are remote. Neither in writing nor in formal speech is it fashionable today to use these Sanskrit sounds. For all practical purposes therefore, Standard Tamil today is

[41] C. R. SANKARAN, *Phonemics of Old Tamil,* Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, Poona, 1951, p. 2.
[42] Ibid., p. 58.

phonetically and phonemically identical with the Standard Tamil as described in the earliest extant Tamil grammar of more than two thousand years ago, in spite of the contact influences of many languages which enjoyed meantime considerable prestige and dominance in the Tamil country at different periods, viz. Sanskrit, Marathi, Telugu and English.

Taking the internal causes of phonetic change, voice vs. voicelessness, aspiration vs. lack of aspiration, stop vs. spirant are not distinctive oppositions in Tamil.

e.g. Tamil *K*appal (ship is pronounced as *K*appal
(voiceless unaspirated)
Tamil Pak*k*am (page) is pronounced as pak*kh*am
(voiceless aspirated)
Tamil Paṇ*k*am (harm) is pronounced as paŋgam
(voiced)
Tamil ve*lk*a (may you win) is pronounced as vel*h*a
(fricative or spirant).

Thus the type of phonetic changes which comes under Verner's and Grimm's laws will not arise in the case of Tamil, whose stops have as allophones the corresponding voiceless aspirated, voiced and spirant phones occurring respectively after stops, nasals and semivowels or liquids respectively the voiceless unaspirated stop occurs only at the beginning of a word.

Tamil has no stress or tone as distinctive features and consequently the phonetic changes occurring in other languages which have stress or tone as distinctive features do not occur in the case of Tamil.

Tamil observes very strict rules regarding consonant clusters. Such clusters do not occur in words either initially or finally; so the weakening or loss of one of such consonants does not arise in Tamil. Even medially consonant clusters can occur only in the following cases:

(i) as geminates (the r sound and the peculiar r coloured retroflex Tamil sound 'ழ' are exceptions as they cannot be doubled);
(ii) a nasal may be followed by the homorganic stop which then has a voiced allophone.
(iii) a retroflex stop may be followed by a nondental or nonretroflex one but not *vice versa.* (The phonetic significance of this is presumably that it is easier for the articulatory muscles to switch from the abnormal to normal positions than vice versa. This needs further investigation.)
(iv) a retroflex nasal may be followed by a nonretroflex stop which then assumes its voiced allophone.
(v) a semivowel or liquid may be followed by a nonretroflex stop (which assumes its spirant allophone) or by a nonretroflex nasal.

(vi) the only cases where a three consonant cluster is allowed are where the cluster initial is the semivowel y or v followed by a nonretroflex stop geminate or nonretroflex nasal followed by the homorganic stop.

Vowel clusters are not permitted in Tamil. If a word final is a vowel as also the following word initial, then the semi vowel *y* or *v* is interposed to conform to this rule.

Except for the two dipthongs *ai* and *au* the vowels in Tamil are simple vowels, five short and five long. The short vowels should be pronounced distinctly short and the long distinctly long, at least twice as long according to the rules *Tolkāppiyam.* The long vowels differ both in quality and in length from the short vowels. Speakers of Tamil have no difficulty whatever in distinguishing between the different vowel sounds and there is little or no scope in Tamil for changes of the type of the Great Vowel Shift to occur.

In the case of consonants too, since voice, aspiration and spirant are not distinctive features but are merely productive of contextual allophones, Tamil speakers do not normally find any difficulty in pronouncing them with distinctness. There have been some minor phonetic changes which however do not basically alter the phonemic structure of the language. They are:

(i) The dental 'n' is often mispronounced as front palatal retroflex 'n' when it occurs as word initial, although it is pronounced correctly when it occurs medially; it does not occur as word final. The reason probably is the front palatal retroflex n does not occur as word initial and hence the substitution of retroflex 'n' for dental 'n' causes no confusion. This does not involve however any change in the phonemic structure.

(ii) Front palatal retroflex 't' is in many dialects pronounced with an intrusive 'r' coloured sound in certain but not all contexts but this is not the case in Jaffna (Ceylon) dialect. The reason for this appears to be that the allophone representing the intervocalic spirantization of the front palatal retroflex *t* is used in other contexts also.

Both these minor changes may in due course be rectified by using the correct pronunciations in schools, broadcasting etc. but even if they are not so corrected, they do not materially interfere with the correspondences between the spoken and written systems of the language.

One other factor which has also perhaps materially contributed to the stability of the phonemic structure of Tamil is the continued prestige and popularity of numerous works of Tamil Literature right from the Sangam classics of two thousand years ago to the voluminous Tamil publications of today in a variety of fields, which are all written in the

same Standard Tamil whose spoken counterpart has an unchanging phonological structure.

It is clear that at some distant time in the past before *Tolkāppiam* was itself written, the scholars who helped in standardising the Tamil language, in defining its phonemes with a one to one correspondence between the spoken and the written systems and in describing its phonological structure, must have been aware, intuitively if not by conscious theorizing, of the factors which affect the phonological structure of a language; without such knowledge they could not have devised such a symmetrical, harmonious and pragmatically efficient system which has stood the test of time for over 2000 years.

What has been achieved by Tamil by way of phonemic stability all through a period of 2000 years without the advantages of modern mass media and against great odds (for instance, during nearly two centuries of British rule in India, Tamil was largely neglected and English was spoken even at home amongst the elite in Tamil country) should not be difficult of achievement for other languages of today, with all the facilities which mass media of communication and increasingly universal literacy provide. But this is possible only with a realization that language is a social organization and like all social organizations, which are the creation of collective social will, purposeful control is at all times necessary if the objectives of the organization are to be adequately achieved. Otherwise depending on the degree of laxity allowed in each case, the organization is apt to drift as a result of influences extraneous to its purposes. It would be suicidal to dismiss such drift as an inherent, predestined and irremediable defect of the organization itself instead of recognising it as arising out of remissness on the part of those who control it. In other words a judicious combination of discipline and freedom appear to be as necessary in the case of language as in any other social organization created by man. The responsibility of linguists is great in this regard, as they alone have the opportunity and the expertise to tackle it successfully.

CONTRASTIVE STUDY OF CEYLON TAMIL AND ENGLISH[1]

S. SUSEENDIRARAJAH

1.0 INTRODUCTION

An attempt is made in this paper to present a contrastive study of the consonantal phonemes of Ceylon Tamil (hereafter abbreviated as C.T.) and English and thereby point out the nature of difficulties encountered by the native speakers of English in learning C.T. as a foreign language. In conclusion I have tried to point out how the difficulties in mastering the sound system of C.T. might be overcome.

This study is based on (i) the phonemic analysis of the spoken Tamil of Ceylon as represented by the author,[2] (ii) the phonemic analysis of British English (R.P.) as stated by A. C. Gimson.[3]

2.0 INVENTORY OF PHONEMES

C.T. has fourteen consonantal phonemes whereas English has twenty-four.

2.1 DISCUSSION OF THE PHONEMES IN C.T. AND ENGLISH

From the following chart it will be apparent that there are similarities in a few sounds. But there is no one-to-one correspondence between the sounds of C.T. and those of English. However the following sounds in C.T. are entirely foreign to an English speaker: /ṯ ṭ ṇ ḷ v/. The learner will have trouble hearing as well as producing these new sounds. When there is no sound in the native language corresponding to that of the foreign language there is always a tendency to associate that sound of the foreign language to the closest sound (allophone) in the native language. This substitution in most cases will not be appropriate and therefore the sounds are erroneously pronounced. The language teacher should realize this problem and should point out

[1] The author is deeply indebted to his guru Professor T. P. Meenakshisundaram and Sri K. Doraiswamy for their valuable suggestions.

[2] The author comes from the northern part of Jaffna, Ceylon and belongs to the Velala community.

[3] A. C. GIMSON, *An Introduction to the Pronunciation of English*, London, 1962.

the similarities between sounds of the two languages. However, the allophones of the phonemes of C.T. do not exactly correspond with the allophones of the phonemes in English.

2.2 THE PHONEMES OF C.T.

	Bilabial	Labiodental Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar
Plosive	p	t̲	t	ṭ		k
Affricate					č	
Nasal	m		n	ṇ		
Lateral			l	ḷ		
Trill			r			
Frictionless continuant (or semi vowels)		v			y	

2.3 THE PHONEMES OF ENGLISH

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Alveolar	Postalveolar	Palatoalveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p b			t d				k g	
Affricate						č ǰ			
Fricative		f v	θ ð	s z		š ž			h
Nasal	m			n				ŋ	
Lateral				l					
Frictionless continuant or glides	w				r		y		

3.0 POINTS OF SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES

The following chart will show the points of similarities and the differences both at the phonemic and phonetic levels. The similarities of the sounds in the languages are indicated by dotted lines.

C. T. Phonemes	C. T. Allophones		ENGLISH Phonemes	ENGLISH Allophones
/p/			/p/	
	[b]	Occurs after nasals		[p]
	[Φ = β]	Intervocally and when preceded by /l/ or /r/		
	[p]	Elsewhere		
—	—		/b/	[b]
/t̲/				
	[d = ð]	Intervocally and when preceded by /y/ or /r/		
	[d̲]	After nasals		
	[t̲]	Elsewhere		
/t/			/t/	

C. T. Phonemes	C. T. Allophones		ENGLISH Phonemes	ENGLISH Allophones
	[r=t]	Alveolar flap varying with alveolar voiceless fortis stop occurs intervocally		[t′]
	[t]	Alveolar voiceless fortis stop occurs elsewhere		[t]
—			/d/	
/ṭ/				
	[ṛ]	Retroflex flap occurs intervocally. Also occurs after /m/ or /p/		
	[ḍ]	Retroflex voiced lenis stop occurs initially. Also after /ṇ/		
	[ṭ]	Retroflex voiceless fortis stop occurs elsewhere		
/k/			/k/	
	[x-ɣ]	Medio velar voiceless fricative varying in degrees of voicing occurs intervocally and medially in cluster with /r/, /l/		[k′]
	[k=g]	After nasals		
	[k]	Elsewhere		[k]
—	—		/g/	[g]
/č/			/č/	
	[č=s]	Initially		
	[č=j]	After nasals		
	[č]	Elsewhere		[č]
—	—		/j/	[j]
—	—		/s/	[s]
/m/			/m/	
	[ŋ]	When followed by /k/		
	[m]	Elsewhere		[m]
/n/			/n/	
	[ṇ]	Before /ṭ/		
	[n]	Elsewhere		[n]
/ṇ/				
	[ñ]	Palatal nasal. Initially and when followed by /č/. Also when preceded by /ɛ/ or /i/		
	[ṇ]	Elsewhere		
—	—		/ŋ/	[ŋ]
/l/			/l/	
	[l]			[l] Word initial
/ḷ/				
	[ḷ]			

C. T. Phonemes	C. T. Allophones		ENGLISH Phonemes	ENGLISH Allophones
/r/			/r/	
	[ṙ]	Alveolar trill occurs initially and intervocally. Also medially in cluster with /p/		
	[ṙ]	Alveolar trill (brief trill) occurs elsewhere		
/v/			/v/	
	[v]			[v]
/y/			/y/	
	[i̠]	Occurs in the environment V-C and V-#		
	[ý]	Elsewhere -------------------		[y]

All the major allophones of C.T. are represented on the left side of the chart; on the side of English only the allophones which correspond to C.T. sounds are recognised.

The language teacher should note that some of the sounds which are allophones in C.T. are phonemic in English. But care should be taken to see that an English speaker does not make over differentiation in learning the sounds of C.T., and consider only the pertinent allophones of those phonemes.

4.0 DETAILED STUDY OF CONTRASTS

A detailed contrastive study of the allophones of the two languages will clearly reveal the differences in the sound systems of these languages.

4.1 LABIALS

C.T.	/p/	—	—	/v/	/m/	/n/
English	/p/	/b/	/f/	/v/	/m/	/n/

The tendency of the learner will be to aspirate the initial [p] of C.T. as he does with English /p/ in the initial position. The corresponding English sound would be [p] unaspirated which occurs after /s/ as in spin, speak etc. Sufficient drill should be given to pronounce the variants (allophones) of C.T. /p/ in different positions. After nasals there is sometimes a free variation between [p] and [b] depending upon the dialects. But there is no full voicing of the stop in this position. An English speaker would tend to pronounce [$\Phi = \beta$], an allophone of C.T. /p/ in intervocal position, either as [b] or [w]. The closest English sound would be a lenis [b] but not [w].

The C.T. /v/ is a frictionless continuant whereas the English /v/ is a fricative. The native speakers of English should be trained to pronounce this sound as English /v/ without any friction.

4.2 DENTALS

C.T.	t̲		
English	—	θ	ð

It is possible that all the t-s of C.T. [t̲ t ṭ] might be associated with /t/ of English. Emphasis should be laid on the three distinct sounds of C.T. [d̲] [d̲ = ð] are allophones of /t̲/ in C.T. The C.T. /t̲/ will be a problem for English speakers, for wherever it occurs it would be identified either as /t/ or /θ/ or /ð/. This necessitates the teacher to emphasise the point that [d̲ = ð] occurs in C.T. intervocally and [d̲] occurs after nasals. A variety closer to /θ/ without friction as a stop would be a comparable sound to C.T. [t̲].

4.3 ALVEOLARS

C.T.	/t/	—	—	—	/n/	/l/	/r/
English	/t/	/d/	/s/	/z/	/n/	/l/	/r/

C.T. /t n l r/ may not be much of a problem for an English speaker as sounds closer to them occur in English also. But he may have difficulty in acquiring the pronunciation of the allophones of /t/. English /r/ is slightly retroflex resonant continuant. This might influence the pronunciation of C.T. /r/ which is an apical trill. The teacher should point out that the dark or coloured [ɫ] (velarized) which is an allophone of /l/ in English should never be used anywhere as a substitute for C.T. /l/. [l] which occurs initally in English would be approximately same as the [l] of C.T.

4.4 RETROFLEX

C.T.	/ṭ/	/ṇ/	/ḷ/
English	—	—	—

These retroflex sounds in C.T. will be one of the most stubborn difficulties for an English speaker. His tendency would be to substitute /ṭ/ with English /t/, /ṇ/ with English /n/ and /ḷ/ with the [ɫ] allophone of English /l/. But utmost care should be taken by the learners that /ṭ ṇ ḷ/ are given a retroflex articulation with the tongue tip curled up.

5.5 PALATALS

C.T.	/č/	—	—	—	/y/
English	/č/	/ǰ/	/š/	/ž/	/y/

[č] [č = s] [č = ǰ] are allophones of /č/ in C.T. But /č/ and /ǰ/ are distinct phonemes in English. Phonetically C.T. [č] is more of a stop than a fricative. English [č] is a palato alveolar affricate. This difference should be noted. The positional variants of C.T. /č/ correspond to the three phonemes of English, i.e. /č/ /ǰ/ /s/.

4.6 VELARS

C.T.	/k/	
English	/k/	/g/

[x = ɣ] is one of the allophones of /k/ in C.T. This may be a new sound for an English speaker. The closest sound in English would be the glottal fricative which can be a substitute for [x = ɣ].

5.0. CLUSTERS

There are geminate consonants in Tamil, e.g. / amma: / 'mother', /aṇṇɛ/'elder brother',/vaṭṭi/'interest'. But in English geminates do not occur. The geminates will therefore cause difficulty for the English speakers. Across morpheme boundaries geminate situations may occur in English, e.g. one-ness; but they are not pronounced as tensely as those of Tamil geminates. The occlusion of the first consonant in C.T. geminates is held longer. This point has to be stressed.

Apart from the geminates some of the medial clusters in C.T. will also cause difficulty.

6.0 CONCLUSION

Briefly the major hurdles in learning C.T. consonantal sounds are the positional variants of the stop phonemes of C.T., the retroflex sounds and the geminates. Any systematic programme of teaching C.T. for English speakers must pay sufficient attention to these 'trouble spots'. Pronunciation drills, both recognition and production, should form an integral part of the programme. Teaching material to emphasise these points should be prepared.

THE LANGUAGE OF A TAMIL PLAKKAAT OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

S. THANANJAYARAJASINGHAM

During the Dutch rule of Ceylon (1658-1796), the central and local governments issued proclamations, publications and orders which had to be obeyed and observed by the general public. Dutch publications of this type were called "plakkaats". These plakkaats were issued in Dutch, Sinhalese and Tamil. They were not only read and proclaimed at public places but also displayed at important places for the information of the public and were liable to be torn off or destroyed. This is the reason why few plakkaats have survived today. Some of the plakkaats issued by the Dutch government in Tamil are preserved in the Ceylon Government Archives. The earliest of the printed plakkaats preserved in the Government Archives is dated 6th August, 1742.[1]

The Dutch were the first to employ the Tamil language in legal documents and therefore these plakkaats are of exceptional importance to the study of the history of the Tamil language. A phonological and morphological analysis of an early plakkaat issued in the time of Jacob Christiaan Pielat[2] who was sent as Special Commissioner to investigate the state of affairs in Ceylon in December, 1732, is made in this paper.

WRITING

The orthographical peculiarities of the plakkaat under consideration are:

1. The consonants are not dotted.
2. The short vowel e and the long vowel ē are written alike. The dot which characterised the short vowel e as written in this period is absent. Similarly the dot which characterised

[1] M. W. JURRIAANSE, *Catalogue of the Archives of the Dutch Central Government of Ceylon*, 1640-1796, Ceylon Government Press, Colombo, 1943, p. 127.

[2] *Memoir of Jacob Christiaan Pielat*, trans. Sophia Pieters, Government Printer, Colombo, 1905, p. 16.

the combination of consonants with the short vowels e and o is also absent.

There are some numerals written in Tamil characters in the following way. க = one, உ = two, ௩ = three, ரு = five, எ = seven. Ten is written as ய and twenty is written with the sign for ten ய preceded by உ. Hundred is written as ௱. Seven hundred is written by prefixing எ to ௱ which is the sign for hundred. Thousand is written as ௲. In two instances, the numbers are followed by "āṇṭu", the word for year.

௲எ௱யரு :m: āṇṭu "the year 1715"

௲எ௱௩ய௩ :m: āṇṭu "the year 1733".

The Tamil word for day or date is "tikati". It is also found preceded by numerals. யக :m: tikati "eleventh day". உயரு :m: tikati "twenty-fifth day". In the following instance, the number precedes the word for a certain coin : ருய : iṟaiyāl "fifty reals".

There are some stylistic peculiarities of the scribe. தி is written as தி. யா is written as யா. ட்ட is written as ட்ட. The word for month in Tamil is மாதம் and this is written as மீ.

The text of the plakkaat is dated 25th Paṅkuṉi, 1733. The place of issue is the Colombo fort.

īntiyavil ālocaṉaikku eksttera oṭutaṉāriyavum kīrttipōṉa ilaṅkait-tīviṟ kāriyaṅkaḷai vicārikkiṟatukku komecāyirumākiya yākkoppuk kirīst-tiyām avarkaḷum avaruṭaiya ālocaṉait talaivamārkaḷum itaik kāṇkiṟa allatu vācikkiṟataik kēṭkiṟa cakalamāṉa perkaḷukkum naṉmaippakuti yuṇṭāvatāka aṟiyappaṇṇukiṟatāvatu

inta ilaṅkaittīvile ṟomāṉucamaiyap paṭippiṉaiyiṉ vikaṭamāṉa pātiri-māruṭaiyavum anta vetattaip paṭippikkiṟatukkum uṇṭupaṇṇukiṟatukkum upatecam paṇṇappaṭṭa maṟṟum peruṭaiyavum uccāyattaip palapala kaṭṭaḷaippattiraṅkaḷaikkoṇu muṉṉāle nāṅkaḷ āykkiṉai avatāraṅkaḷiṉāle taṭaipaṇṇi vilakkiyirukkaiyileyum ippaṭippaṭṭa pāḷāppup paṇṇukiṟa maṉuṣar caṟṟum accam illāmal aṅkum iṅkun tirintu collappaṭṭa ṟomāṉu vetattiṉ caṭaṅkukaḷaic ceykiṟatukoṇṭum eṅkaḷ kuṭiyaṉavarkaḷuṭaiya palapala piḷḷaikaḷaiyuṅ kaṭukkeṉṟavarkaḷaiyum ñāṉastāṉañ cūṭṭi aṉekam upāyaṅkaḷiṉāle avarkaḷai ṟomāṉuvetattukkuc certtukkoḷḷukiṟatukoṇṭum nāḷtoṟum iṉṉan tunīkaramāka acaṭṭaipaṇṇikkoṇṭuvarukiṟatai nāḷukkunāḷ nāṅkaḷ avacantoṣamākak kaṇṭu maṭṭukkaṭṭiyirukkiṟapaṭiyāl ataṟketiriṭai-yāka eṟkaṉave maṟupaṭiyum putukkak kaṭṭaḷaipaṇṇip pelappaṭuttukiṟatu nāṅkaḷ nallateṉṟu kaṇṭom ākaiyāl intak kaṭṭaḷaippattiraṅkoṇṭu uṟutiyākak kaṭṭaḷai paṇṇukiṟatāvatu inta ilaṅkaittīvile eṅkal aracāṭciyukkuḷḷe ataṅ-kiṉa ṟomāṉucamaiyattārum allātavarkaḷum eppaṭippaṭṭa ettaṉmaiyāṉa-varkaḷeṉṟālum iṉimel taṅkaḷuṭaiya piḷḷaikaḷai vaḷappukkaḷai veḷḷāṭṭipa-yalkaḷai allatu veṟe yātorutaraiyeṉṟālum ṟomāṉuvetattiṉ pātirimār ñāṉi-kaḷ upatecikaḷ allatu ataṟkuk kaṟpikkappaṭṭirukkiṟa maṟṟum perkaḷaik-koṇṭu veḷiyaraṅkamākaveṉkilum rakaciyamākaveṉkilum ñāṉastāṉañ

cūṭṭuvikkappaṭātu collappaṭṭa romāṉuvetamāyirukkiṟa itai kaṭukkeṉṟavarkaḷākiya āṭavarkaḷum sttiṟiceṉaṅkaḷumāṉavarkaḷ antac capaiyile cerntu oṉṟittukkoḷḷumpaṭikku avarkaḷāle ñāṉastāṉam peṟukiṟatukkut tāṅkaḷākattāṉe vantālum avarkaḷukku attaip potuvikkavum paṭātu ākaiyiṉāle inta ilaṅkaittīvile eṅkaḷ kaṭṭaḷaikkuk kīḻāka tamiḻ ciṅkaḷap paḷḷikkūṭaṅkaḷile uvāttimārukkut tiṭṭamākak kaṭṭaḷai paṇṇukiṟatāvatu itaṟkumel intap piṟakāramāka ñāṉastāṉam peṟṟa piḷḷaikaḷai vayatiṟ periyavarkalai vaḷappukkaḷai veḷḷāṭṭipayalkaḷaiyākutal tompukaḷile kirīsttavarkaḷāka eḻutavum paṭātu āṉāl ataṟku māṟāka eṅkaḷ kaṭṭaḷaikaḷai maṟuttu ñāṉastāṉam cūṭṭuvikkiṟa cakalaruṭaiyavum appaṭippaṭṭa perkaḷukkum piḷḷaikaḷukkuñ cāṭciyākavum patiriñu matiriñvākavum niṉṟavarkaḷuṭaiyavum nāmaṅkaḷai anta uvāttimārkaḷ uṭaṉetāṉe caṅkaiponta eṅkaḷ pātirimārukku eḻutik koṭukkaveṇum itallāmal yātorutaṉ intak kaṭṭaḷaikketiriṭaiyāka virotam paṇṇappaṭṭavaṉaip potuvāṉa iḷaippāṟutalaic citaivupaṇṇukiṟavaṉāka eṇṇikkoḷḷukiṟatum allāmal muntiṉamuṟaikku āṟu varuṣattaikkum iraṇṭāmuṟaikkup paṉṉiraṇṭu varuṣattaikku mūṉṟāmuṟaikku irupattañcu varuṣattaikkum vilaṅku poṭṭut taṉṉuṭaiya tīṉukku māttiram velai ceykiṟatukkuk kāppaikku eṟṟuppaṭum itu mukāntiramāka avaravare collappaṭṭa romāṉuvetattiṉ pātirimār kurukkaḷmār ñāṉikaḷ upatecikaḷ allatu ataṟkuk kaṟpikkappaṭṭirukkiṟa maṟṟum perkaḷaiyum veḷiyaraṅkamākki appaṭittāṉe eṅkaḷ kaiyile akappaṭumpaṭikkut talaivamārukkum allatu antanta vūrile yirukkiṟa mutalāḷimārukkum uḷavu collappaṭṭa avaravare cakalarukkum:50:iṟaiyāl naṉkoṭaiyākak koṭuttu avarkaḷuṭaiya nāmaṅkaḷum piṟacittampaṇṇāmal rakaciyamākavirukkumeṉṟum vārttaippāṭu paṇṇukiṟom itu tavira 1715:m:āṇṭu:tai:mi:m:II:m:tikati eḻutip piṟacittampaṇṇiṉa palakkāttile collappaṭṭa romāṉuvetattiṉ cataṅkukaḷai naṭappikiṟatukkuc capai kūṭātapaṭikkum eppaṭikkottavaṉeṉṟālum taṉṉuṭaiya vīṭukaḷait toṭṭaṅkaḷai allatu maṟṟum iṭaṅkaḷai orutaṉākilum ataṟkuk koṭukkappaṭātapaṭikkut taṭaipaṇṇiyirukkiṟatai itaikkoṇṭu putuppittu itu cakalamum naṉṟāka nīṭcittu nilaikoṇṭirukkumpaṭikku intak koṭṭaiyile irukkappaṭṭa peskkālavarkaḷukkum ticaiyavarkaḷukkum puṟattiyile koṭṭaittalaṅkaḷileyirukkiṟa maṟṟun talaivamārkaḷukkum pala taṉmaiyiṉāluṅ kūrmaiyāka vicārikkiṟatukkuk kaṭūramākak kaṭṭaḷaipaṇṇukiṟom antappaṭikkuc collappaṭṭa melāṉa kaṭṭaḷaikketiriṭaiyāka mīṟutal ceyyappaṭṭavaṉukketiriyāka ñāyattuṭaṉe vaḷakkāṭa veṇṭiyatu ākaiyāl itu cakalamum eṅkaḷ kuṭiyāṉavarkaḷuṭaiya naṉmaippakutikku nallateṉṟu nāṅkaḷ kaṇṭom ippaṭi mukittup piṟacittamākkiṉatu nāṅkaḷ 1733:m:āṇṭu paṅkuṉi mi:25:m:tikati:koḻumpiṟ koṭṭaiyile

ciññor komecāyiruvākiya yākkoppuk kirīsttiyām pīlāt avarkaḷāle kaiyeḻuttum vaipaṭṭu atiṉ pakkattile civatta arakkiṉāle kompaññīyavil muttiraiyum vaittu atiṉaruke melāle collappaṭṭa komecāyiru avarkaḷuṭaiyavum ālocaṉait talaivamārkaḷuṭaiyavum kaṭṭaḷaippaṭikku rūlankāvu cekkaṭattāri avarkaḷāleyuṅ kaiyeḻuttu vaipaṭṭa palakkāttuṭaṉe cari pāttatu

Be it known in the good interests of all concerned who either see or hear this being read out that this is a proclamation of Jacob Christiaan Pielat, Extraordinary Councillor of India and Commissioner appointed to investigate into the state of affairs in the famous Island of Ceylon and of His Chief Councillors.

We have noted with displeasure the roaming without any fear all over the territory of persons who work destruction in this way, performing ceremonies of the said Roman Catholic faith, admitting many children and grown ups of our subjects after baptizing them to the Roman Catholic faith through many cunning devices, though we had previously through many proclamations, forbidden with severe punishments and fines the efforts of the monstrous priests of the Roman Catholic faith and others who preach and propagate that religion in this island of Ceylon, and now we consider it best to issue a fresh proclamation to counteract effectively such offences. Therefore by this proclamation, we firmly order that those of the Roman Catholic religion or other faiths whoever and in whatever position they may be in this island of Ceylon, not to have their children, adopted children, offsprings of their maid-servants, or any others, baptized publicly or secretly hereafter by Roman Catholic priests, monks and catechists or others who are trained to propagate the faith. Even if men and women not belonging to the said Roman Catholic faith volunteer themselves to be baptized by them, with a view to embracing that faith and becoming one among them, they should not preach that faith to them. Hence, we sternly order the teachers in the Tamil and Sinhalese schools of this island of Ceylon, who are under our authority, not to register as christians in the Tombos, the children, the grown ups, the adopted children and the offsprings of their maid-servants who hereafter get themselves baptized in this fashion. Those teachers must immediately hand over in writing to our most venerated priests, the names of all those who in defiance of our orders get themselves baptized and of those who bore witness to such persons and children and of others who act as Godfather and Godmother. Besides, anyone who commits an offence in violation of this order will not only be considered as having been a disturber of the public peace but also will be manacled in chains for six years on the first conviction, for twelve years on the second conviction and for twenty-five years and deported to the Cape to work only for his meals on the third conviction. In pursuance of this, everyone should make known (to the government) the priests, monks and catechists of the said Roman Catholic faith or others who are trained in it. If by such means, information which will lead to their arrest by us is given to the Dessave or the Chief Resident of the respective village, all such informants will be entitled to a reward of fifty reals and their names being kept secret will also be guaranteed. In addition to this, the summoning of people for purposes of conducting the said Roman Catholic ceremonies, allowing the use of his house for

such purpose, whoever he may be, were all forbidden by the proclamation that was issued on the 15th day of the month of Tai in the year 1715. These orders are being re-enacted in this proclamation. We sternly order the Fiscal and the Dessave of this fort and other Dessaves of forts in the outstations to see to the exact observance of all these rules so that they may be well informed permanently. The said Fiscal should justly prosecute him who has violated the respectful laws as laid down by us. Therefore we considered all this as contributing to the good interests of our subjects.

Thus it was resolved and proclaimed on the twenty-fifth day of the month of Paṅkuṉi in the year 1733 from the fort of Colombo.

This proclamation was certified correct and signed by His Excellency, Jacob Christiaan Pielat, the Commissioner by the side of whose signature is stamped the seal of the Company in red wax and also signed closely by Roland Cau, the secretary on the instructions of the abovesaid Commissioner and His Chief Councillors.

PHONOLOGY

DISTRIBUTION OF SOUNDS IN THE INITIAL POSITION

The variations from the rules of *Naṉṉūl* which belongs to the thirteenth century are starred. They are the developments after the *Naṉṉūl* period.

VOWELS	EXAMPLES	VOWELS	EXAMPLES
a	ataṅkiṉa	ū	ūrilē
ā	āṟu	e	eṅkaḷ
i	inta	ē	ēṟkaṉavē
ī	īntiyavil	o	orutaṉ

CONSONANTS

k with a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, ē, ai, o and ō

kaṭṭaḷai
kāriyaṅkaḷ
kirīsttavarkaḷ
kīrtti
* kurukkaḷmār
kūrmai
kēṭkiṟa
kaiyilē
koḷumpil
kōṭṭaiyilē

ñ with ā

ñāyattutaṉē

c with a, ā, i, ū, e, ē and o

capai
cāṭciyākavum
citaivu
cūṭṭuvikkiṟa
ceykiṟatu
cērntu
collappaṭṭa

n with a, ā, i and ī
nanmai
nāṅkaḷ
ninravarkaḷuṭaiyavum
nīṭcittu

p with a, ā, i, u, e, ē, o and ō
pannirantu
pātirimār
piḷḷaikaḷai
putukka
perukiratukku
pērkaḷukkum
potu
pōnta

y with ā
yākkoppu

v with a, ā, i, ī, ai, e and ē
vantālum
vācikkiratai
virōtam
vīṭukaḷai
vaittu
veḷḷāṭṭi
vēṇṭiyatu

t with a, ā, i, ī, u, ē, ai and ō
tannuṭaiya
tāṅkaḷ
tikati
tīnukku
tunīkaram
tēvai
tai
tōṭṭaṅkaḷ

m with a, ā, ī, u, ū and ē
marrum
māttiram
mīrutal
muntina
mūnru
mēlālē

r with ū and ō
* rūlankāvu
* rōmānu

Initial Cluster of Three Consonants
* stt — sttiri

MEDIAL CLUSTER OF TWO CONSONANTS

kk – vācikkiratai
ṅk – nāṅkaḷ
ñc – irupattañcu
ññ – kompaññīyavil
ṭk – kēṭkira
ṭc – nīṭcittu
ṭṭ – kaṭṭaḷai
ṇk – kāṇkira
ṇṭ – kaṇṭōm
ṇṇ – paṇṇukira
tt – vētattai
* nk – rūlankāvu
nt – muntina
pp – paṭippikkiratukku
mp – koḷumpil
yk – ceykiratu
yy – ceyyappaṭṭavanukku
rk – pērkaḷukkum
rm – kūrmai
lk – payalkaḷai
ll – nallatu
ḷm – kurukkaḷmār
ḷḷ – piḷḷaikaḷai
rk – ērkanavē
rp – karpikka
rr – carrum
nk – enkilum
nm – nanmai
nr – enrālum
nn – pannirantu
* st – ñānastānam

MEDIAL CLUSTER OF THREE CONSONANTS

rnt – cērntu
* skk – peskkāl
* stt – kirīsttavarkaḷ
rtt – vārttaippāṭu
ykk – āykkiṉai

MEDIAL CLUSTER OF FOUR CONSONANTS

* kstt – eksttera

DISTRIBUTION OF SOUNDS IN THE FINAL POSITION

CONSONANTS

ñ – matirīñ
* t – pīlāt
r – ciññōr
m – kanṭōm
l – ākaiyāl
ḷ – nāḷ
ḻ – tamiḻ
ṉ – orutaṉ

Though *Naṉṉūl* speaks of -ñ ending, it was in one word "uriñ" and that was lost. Here is a case of a foreign word.

VOWEL-CONSONANTS

-a
k – koṭukka
ṭ – collappaṭṭa
t – anta
y – avarkaḷuṭaiya
r – tavira
l – pala
ṟ – cūṭṭuvikkiṟa
ṉ – muntiṉa

-i
c – cāṭci
ṭ – cūṭṭi
ṇ – paṇṇi
t – eḻuti
r – cekkaṭattāri
ṟ – sttiṟi
ṉ – paṅkuṉi

-u
k – ālōcaṉaikku
c – irupattañcu
ṭ – paṉṉiranṭu
t – maṟuttu
p – pāḷāppu
r – kōmēcāyiru
v – citaivu
ṟ – māṟu
ṉ – ṟōmāṉu

-ē
k – arukē
r – avarē
l – mēlālē
v – ēṟkaṉavē
ḷ – aracāṭciyukkuḷḷē
ṟ – vēṟē
ṉ – palakkāttuṭaṉē

SOUND CHANGE

a > e — /b/ palappaṭuttukiṟatu > pelappaṭuttukiṟatu
/j/ caṉaṅkaḷ > ceṉaṅkaḷ

'a' following a Sanskrit voiced plosive in the initial syllable becomes 'e' in Tamil.

ai[nt > ñc — irupattaintu > irupattañcu

This is a case of platalisation on account of the palatal 'ai'. The cluster of dental nasal and dental plosive becomes the palatal nasal and palatal plosive respectively. 'ai' is shortened to 'a' after palatalisation.

i > ī — tuṇikaram > tuṇīkaram

This may be taken as a slip of the hand.

tt > t — oruttaṉ > orutaṉ

One of the geminated dental plosive is lost in the colloquial.

r > ṟ — pirakāram > piṟakāram
piracittam > piṟacittam

When 'r' and 'ṟ' fall together, we geṭ this confusion. The confusion occurs in foreign words. Perhaps 'r' was pronounced as a continuant so much so that the foreign 'r' has to be represented by the trill 'ṟ'.

r > ϕ — talaivarmār > talaivamār
vaḷarppukkaḷ > vaḷappukkaḷ
pārttatu > pāttatu

In the colloquial dialect, 'r' is lost when followed by a consonant, more often after geminated plosives.

ḻ > ḷ — kīḻ > kīḷ

This is a characteristic feature of the Ceylon dialect and some of the Southern dialects of Tamil land.

r and t change place
aparātam > avatāram

RULES OF TAMILISATION

When foreign words are borrowed, they are adapted to the phonemic system of the Tamil language. The sounds in other languages are rendered by the nearest phonemic shape in the Tamil language. Most of the changes are necessitated by the fact that there are no corresponding sounds in Tamil. But there are cases where even though one may feel that there are corresponding sounds, we find other sounds are substituted probably being nearer to the foreign sounds. For

instance, the trilled ṟ is preferred to the ordinary r for representing foreign r sounds. The swarabhakti comes in the clusters which are usual in the Tamil language. But there is an instance of a cluster occurring in the initial syllable itself, perhaps representing a widespread bilingualism. There are prothetic vowels introduced because certain sounds do not occur as initial sounds in the Tamil language. But in this plakkaat, r and ṟ are found to occur initially showing that the language has changed to that extent, to tolerate them as initial sounds.

RULES OF TAMILISATION AS LAID DOWN BY PAVANANTI WITH REFERENCE TO SANSKRIT WORDS WHICH ARE FOUND EXTENDED TO OTHER FOREIGN WORDS AS BEING APPLICABLE TO THEM

Initially and Medially Sanskrit g > k in Tamil
guru > kuru; raṅga > araṅkam.
Initially and Medially Sanskrit d > t in Tamil
dišā > ticai; dvīpa > tīvu; mudra > muttirai;
upa-dēsa > upatēcam; pra-siddha > piṟacittam; vēda > vētam.
Other Foreign Words
padrinho > patirīñu; padre > pātiri.
Initially and Medially Sanskrit h > k in Tamil
hari > cari; rahasya > rakaciyam; siṃhala > ciṅkalam.
Initially and Medially Sanskrit s > c in Tamil
samaya > camaiyam; sākṣin > cātci; san-tōṣa > cantōṣam;
siṃhala > ciṅkaḷam; sa-kala > sakalam;
pra-siddha > piṟacittam.
Other Foreign Words
senhor > ciññōr; secretaris > cekkaṭattāri.
Initially Sanskrit ph > p in Tamil
Prakrit. phagguṇi > phalgunī > paṅkuṉi.
Prothetic Vowels
raṅga > araṅkam; laṅkā > ilankai; rākṣā > arakku.
Other Foreign Words
real > iṟaiyāl.
Absence of Prothetic Vowels
rahasya > rakaciyam.
Other Foreign Words
romano > ṟōmāṉu; Roland Cau > ṟūlankāvu.
Vowels a, i and ī to break Initial Clusters
dv > tīv; dvīpa > tīvu; pr > piṟ; prakāra > piṟakāram.
Other Foreign Words
pl > pal, plakkaat > palakkāttu; cr > kir, cristo > kirīsttavar.
Medially Sanskrit kh > k in Tamil
mukha + antara > mukāntiram; saṅkhyā > caṅkai.

Medially Sanskrit dh > t in Tamil
pra-siddha > piṟacittam; virōdha > virōtam; apa-rādha > avatāram.
Medially Sanskrit ḍ > ṭ in Tamil
ṣaḍ-aṅga > caṭaṅku.
Medially Sanskrit š > c in Tamil
a-šraddhā > acaṭṭai; upa-dēša > upatēcam; dišā > ticai.
Medially Sanskrit bh > p in Tamil
sabhā > capai.
Medially Sanskrit kṣ > kk in Tamil
rākṣā > arakku; pakṣa > pakkam.
Vowels i and u to break Medial Clusters
dr > ttir, mudrā > muttirai; tr > ttir, patra > pattiram; ry > riy, kārya > kāriyam; rṣ > ruṣ, varṣa > varuṣam; sy > ciy, rahasya > rakaciyam.
Other Foreign Words
dr > tir, padre > pātiri; madrinha > matiriñ.
Finally Sanskrit -ā > ai in Tamil
saṅkhyā > caṅkai; laṅkā > ilaṅkai; sabhā > capai; ā-jñā > āykkiṉai; mudrā > muttirai; a-sraddha > acaṭṭai; vārttā > vārttai; dišā > ticai.

In accordance with the rule laid down by Pavananti that Sanskrit j > y in Tamil, the j of Dutch becomes y in Tamil.
jacob > yākkōppu.

MORPHOLOGY

In this plakkaat, there are nouns which before taking the case signs undergo certain variations. These are considered to be oblique forms. The noun takes the following empty morphemes which the grammarians call cāriyai.

EMPTY MORPHEME	EXAMPLE	EMPTY MORPHEME	EXAMPLE
/-aṉ/-	ataṟku	/-attu/	vētattai
/-u/	tīṉukku	/-iṉ/	avatāraṅkaḷiṉālē
/-attu/ + /-ai/	varuṣattaikkum		

Most of the nouns taking an empty morpheme belong to akṟiṇai. But the following instances are some exceptions. Uyartiṇai words, when taking the case sign /-ku/ take the euphonic /-u/ which the traditional grammarians call cāriyai.

pērkaḷukku	pātirimārukku	talaivamārukku
avarkaḷukku	piḷḷaikaḷukku	ceyyappaṭṭavaṉukku

Pursuing still further the structure of the nouns taking the case signs, we have the following structures:

1. Nouns (itself denoting the oblique case). It is considered to be vēṟṟumai-t-tokai or declensional compound where a case sign can be supplied and expanded, though the compound occurs as a more frequent idiom. As a matter of fact, by the very juxtaposition of two nouns, the first becomes a kind of qualifier forming the attribute of the second which is the head:
   kaṭṭaḷaip pattiram
2. Noun + empty morpheme showing the genitive:
   ṟōmāṉu vētattiṉ pātirimār
3. Noun + empty morpheme + case sign:
   vētattai
4. Noun + empty morpheme + case sign + ē:
   upāyaṅkaḷiṉālē
5. Noun + empty morpheme + case sign + um:
   taṉmaiyiṉālum
6. Noun + empty morpheme + ē + um:
   avarkaḷālēyum.

THE ACCUSATIVE CASE /-ai/

There are certain phrases in the plakkaat which are not idiomatic. It is a Tamil idiom to use the akṟiṇai words without any accusative case sign as the object except where there is ambiguity. But since the original document was in Dutch this translation follows the original idiom and translates the accusative case, marks all cases by using the Tamil accusative case sign /ai/ as otherwise ambiguity may arise because of the new constructions. As a result, the idiom of this translation looks foreign. In instances where there may not be any ambiguity also, the accusative case sign is used very much against the Tamil idiom:

tannuṭaiya vīṭukaḷait tōṭṭaṅkaḷai allatu maṟṟum iṭaṅkaḷai orutaṉākilum ataṟkuk koṭukkappaṭātapāṭikku

for taṉ vīṭukaḷ tōṭṭaṅkaḷ allatu maṟṟum iṭaṅkaḷ oruvarum koṭukkātapaṭi.

Here one gets a list of verbs which form, from a syntactical point of view, a separate class taking an object adverb or transitive verb. Morphologically, there are only a few verbs which can be so distinguished — the so called piṟaviṉai and the causal:

avarkaḷukku attaip pōtuvikkavumpaṭātu
anta vetattaip paṭippikkiṟatukkum
vaḷappukkaḷai veḷḷāṭṭipayalkaḷai allatu vēṟē yātorutaraiyeṉṟālum... ñāṉastāṉam cūṭṭuvikkappaṭātu.

Semantically we get certain idioms where a verb and its appropriate object alone come together.

In the following instances 'koṇṭu' may be substituted by /-āl/ after removing the /-ai/.

kaṭṭaḷaippattiraṅkaḷaikkoṇṭu muṉṉālē nāṅkaḷ
āykkiṉai avatāraṅkaḷiṉālē taṭaippṇṇi vilakkiyirukkaiyilēyum
pērkaḷaikkoṇṭu ñāṉastāṉam cūṭṭuvikkappaṭātu
itaikkoṇṭu putuppittu

for kaṭṭaḷaippattiraṅkaḷināl muṉṉālē nāṅkaḷ āykkiṉai avarātaṅkaḷiṉālē taṭaipaṇṇi vilakkiyirukkaiyilēyum
pērkaḷiṉāl ñāṉastāṉam cūṭṭappaṭātu.
itaṉāṟ putuppittu.

If the object denotes a rational being, it is always put in the accusative case.

ñāṉastāṉam peṟṟa piḷḷaikaḷai vayatiṟ periyavarkaḷai vaḷappukkaḷai veḷḷāṭṭipayalkaḷaiyākutal tōmpukaḷilē kirīsttavarkaḷāka eḷutavumpaṭātu.

THE INSTRUMENTAL CASE

The instrumental case signs are /-āl/, /-uṭaṉ/ and /-koṇṭu/ in this plakkaat. /-oṭu/ is recognised as the social case sign. But instead of /-oṭu/, /-uṭaṉ/ the so called collurupu alone appears.

/-āl/ may be taken up for consideration. It occurs in the instrumental ablative.

maṟṟum pēruṭaiyavum uccāyattai... nāṅkaḷ āykkiṉai avatāraṅkaḷiṉālē taṭaipaṇṇi.
talaivamārkaḷukkum pala taṉmaiyiṉālum kūrmaiyāka vicārikkiṟatukku.
civatta arakkiṉālē kompaññīyavil muttiraiyum vaittu.
cekkaṭattāri avarkaḷālēyuṅ kaiyeḷuttu vaipaṭṭa palakkāttuṭaṉē.

The collurupu /-koṇṭu/ is used in place of /-āl/ in the instrumental ablative.

intak kaṭṭaḷaippattiraṅkoṇṭu uṟutiyākak kaṭṭaḷaipaṇṇukiṟatāvatu.

/-āl/ also occurs as ablative of reason meaning "because of".

avarkaḷai ṟōmāṉuvētattukkuc cērttukkoḷḷukiṟatukoṇṭum nāḷtōṟum iṉṉan tuṉīkaramāka acaṭṭaipaṇṇikkoṇṭu varukiṟatai nāḷukkunāḷ nāṅkaḷ avacantōṣamākak kaṇṭu maṭṭukkaṭṭiyirukkiṟapaṭiyāl ataṟketiriṭaiyāka maṟupaṭiyum putukkak kaṭṭaḷai paṇṇi.

There are certain special forms like "ākaiyāl" and "āṉāl" in which /-āl/ occurs where those units have become particles losing their

original significance of their different morphemes. Therefore one ought not to confuse the /-āl/ in "ākaiyāl" and "āṉāl" with the constructions studied under the instrumental case.

There are foreign idioms which have crept into the translations. Tamil prefers using participles rather than declined nouns.

avatāraṅkaḷiṉālē taṭaipaṇṇi
for avarātampōṭṭut taṭaipaṇṇi

Lastly, one must consider this /-āl/ coming as signifying an agent in a passive construction as in 'avaṉāl ceyyappaṭṭatu', "it was done by him". But this is not a popular or fashionable construction. It sounds foreign. Therefore the Tamil idiom prefers using the noun in the nominative case and the verb in the active form leaving to the context to show whether it is a passive construction or an active construction. Instead of 'avaṉāl ceyyappaṭṭa' Tamil always prefers to say 'avaṉ ceyta'.

yākkōppuk kirīsttiyām pīlāt avarkaḷālē kaiyeḻuttum vaippaṭṭu.
for yākkōppuk kirīsttiyām pīlāttu avarkaḷālē kaiyeḻuttum vaittu.

/-uṭaṉ/ occurs in the following instances.

kaṭṭaḷaikketiriṭaiyāka mīṟutal ceyyappaṭṭavaṉukku etiriyāka ñāyattuṭanē vaḷakkāṭa vēṇṭiyatu.

cekkaṭattāri avarkaḷālēyuṅ kaiyeḻuttu vaipaṭṭa palakkāttuṭaṉē.

THE DATIVE CASE /-ku/

The dative case is frequently used in the plakkaat. The governmental orders are addressed to certain classes of people. Therefore the dative occurs in these cases. When proclamations are issued the persons to whom it is made is put in the dative.

intak kōṭṭaiyilē irukkappaṭṭa peskkālavarkaḷukkun ticaiyavarkaḷukkum puṟattiyilē kōṭṭaittalaṅkaḷilēyirukkiṟa maṟṟum talaivamārkaḷukkum pala taṉmaiyiṉālum kūrmaiyāka vicārikkiṟatukkuk kaṭūramākak kaṭṭaḷai paṇṇukiṟōm.

"Deported to the Cape" is expressed by putting the word for Cape in the dative.

taṉṉuṭaiya tīṉukku māttiram vēlai ceykiṟatukkuk kāppaikku ēṟṟuppaṭum.

Here is the legal jargon for expressing punishment for the first time, second time etc. First time etc. are placed in the dative. The duration of the punishment is also put in the dative.

kaṭṭaḷaikketiriyāka virōtampaṇṇappaṭṭavaṉai ... muntiṉa muṟaikku oru varuṣattaikkum iraṇṭāmuṟaikkup paṉṉiraṇṭu varuṣattaikkum mūṉṟā muṟaikku irupattañcu varuṣattaikkum vilaṅkupōṭṭu.

When an action is executed in somebody's favour, the noun denoting that somebody is put in the dative.

> uvāttimārkaḷ uṭaṉētāṉē caṅkaipōnta eṅkaḷ pātirimārukku eḻutikkoṭukka vēṇum.

The idea of "good for anyone" is expressed by putting the thing in the dative.

itu cakalamum eṅkal kuṭiyāṉavarkaḷuṭaiya naṉmaippakutikku nallateṉṟu kaṇṭōm.

"etiriyāka" — this verb is preceded by the noun in the dative, the noun denoting the person opposed.

> kaṭṭaḷaikketiriṭaiyāka mīṟutal ceyyappaṭṭavaṉukketiriyāka ñāyattuṭaṉē vaḻakkāṭa vēṇṭiyatu.

The phrase "within" is expressed by putting the noun in the dative and suffixing thereafter "uḷḷe". One may say otherwise, the compound case sign "kuḷḷē" is added.

> eṅkaḷ aracāṭciyukkuḷḷē aṭaṅkiṉa ṟōmāṉu camaiyattārum

"What is within jurisdiction" is expressed by the phrase "kaṭṭaḷaikkuk kīḻāṉa" and the word for order or jurisdiction being placed in the dative.

The ceya forms "koḷḷa, irukka and akappaṭa" are idiomatic. But for the purpose of clarity in the legal document, they are expanded by putting the verbs in the ceyyum form and adding "paṭi" to which the dative is added.

> āṭavarkaḷum sttiṟiceṉaṅkaḷumāṉavarkaḷ antac capaiyilē cērntu oṉṟittukkoḷḷumpaṭikku . . . attaip pōtuvikkappaṭāṭu.
> itu cakalamum naṉṟāka nīṭcittu nilaikoṇṭirukkumpaṭikku . . . peskkālavarkaḷukkum . . . kaṭṭaḷai paṇṇukiṟōm.
> eṅkaḷ kaiyilē akappaṭumpaṭikku . . . naṉkoṭai koṭuttu.

THE GENITIVE CASE

The use of the genitive is to express possession. The Tamil idiom is to avoid the use of the genitive case sign. The genitive case is the only case which is followed by another noun. Therefore the Tamil idiom prefers forming a compound of these two nouns and then the first by its very fact of being placed first becomes an attribute. The collurupu /uṭaiya/ alone appears in the plakkaat. The old genitive case sign is /-atu/. The analytic tendency replaced this particle by a word "uṭaiya". This has really become the case sign.

> avarkaḷuṭaiya ālōcaṉait talaivamārum, taṉṉuṭaiya vīṭukaḷai, pātirimāruṭaiyavum maṟṟum pēruṭaiyavum uccāyattai,

kuṭiyāṉavarkaḷuṭaiya piḷḷaikaḷai, cakalaruṭaiyavum nāmaṅkaḷai, avarkaḷuṭaiya nāmaṅkaḷum, cakalaruṭaiyavum piḷḷaikaḷukkum, taṉṉuṭaiya tīṉukku, taṅkaḷuṭaiya piḷḷaikaḷai.

If "avarkaḷuṭaiya" is used in the plural, the usual form will be "avarkaḷiṉ". So also the oblique form of pronouns themselves are idiomatically used in the genitive without adding the case sign. But in this plakkaat, the case sign is added and this makes the style stiff and unnatural, clearly showing that the plakkaat is a translation from a foreign language. In all the instances in which /-uṭaiya/ has been used in the plakkaat, /-iṉ/ can be used.

There are also instances of the more ancient usage of the oblique form of the noun with the inflexion /-iṉ/. This is, according to Dr. Caldwell,[3] an old genitive case sign.

ṟōmāṉuvētattiṉ caṭaṅkukaḷai, ṟōmāṉuvētattiṉ pātirimār, ṟōmāṉucamaiyap paṭippiṉaiyiṉ vikaṭamāṉa pātirimār, atiṉ arukē.

THE LOCATIVE CASE /-il/

What is expressed by the English preposition "in" is translated by suffixing /-il/, the case sign of the locative or the seventh case as is called in Tamil to the noun governed by "in" in English.

īntiyavil	kōṭṭaiyil	palakkāttil	paḷḷikkūṭaṅkaḷil
ūril	capaiyil	talaṅkaḷil	vilakkiyirukkaiyil
kaiyil	tīvil	vayatil	kompaññīyavil
koḻumpil	tōmpukaḷil	puṟattiyil	pakkattil

GENDER

In the plakkaat, all the forms taking the neuter singular suffix /-atu/ are finite verbs. The present tense forms seem to predominate.

vācikkiṟa-tu	varukiṟa-tu	paṇṇukiṟa-tu
ceykiṟa-tu	paṭippikkiṟa-tu	uṇṭupaṇṇukiṟa-tu
irukkiṟa-tu	peṟukiṟa-tu	pelappaṭuttukiṟa-tu
vicārikkiṟa-tu	uṇṭāva-tu	cērttukkoḷḷukiṟa-tu
vēṇṭiya-tu		

Apart from these are real neuter nouns which except as shown here as taking the plural suffix occur as pālpakā akṟiṇai, i.e. showing no difference between the singular and plural for neuter in their morphological forms.

[3] ROBERT CALDWELL, *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages*, 3rd edn. reprint, University of Madras, Madras 1956, p. 261.

kaṭṭaḷai	kai	vaḻakku	capai
upatēcam	vilaṅku	camaiyam	uḻavu
uccāyam	muṟai	ālōcaṉai	pakkam
cāṭci	kōṭṭai	ñāṉastāṉam	āṇṭu
varuṣam	vētam	palakkāttu	tiṭṭam
arakku	pattiram	iṟaiyāl	ūr
muttirai	vēlai	nāḷ	tīṉ
rakaciyam	tēvai	tīvu	tikati

NEUTER PLURAL /-kaḷ/

The singular form of neuter nouns are pluralised by the addition of the plural suffix /-kaḷ/. The ancient literary way of pluralising it is to substitute the plural suffix for the singular. The final -m before /-kaḷ/ becomes ṅ in kāriyaṅkaḷ, pattiraṅkal, paḷḷikkūṭaṅkaḷ etc.

kāriyaṅkaḷ	pattiraṅkaḷ	paḷḷikkūṭaṅkaḷ	avatāraṅkaḷ
upāyaṅkaḷ	nāmaṅkaḷ	tōṭṭaṅkaḷ	caṭaṅkukaḷ
vīṭukaḷ	talaṅkaḷ	iṭaṅkaḷ	tōmpukaḷ
kaṭṭaḷaikaḷ			

THE MASCULINE SINGULAR RATIONAL /-aṉ/

In this legal document, to denote any person, the epicene plural came to be used not as honorific plural but as a term which will be colourless and common to all gender. That is how the plural forms are overwhelming in number. Still the language, after the social stratification had taken deep root and does not get easily reconciled to using the plural form in this legalist sense to criminals. Therefore in a few instances, the masculine singular is used. Most of them are participial nouns. There is also a real noun ending in the masculine suffix.

orutaṉ < oru + [a] tt [u] + aṉ
ceyyappaṭṭavaṉ, citaivupaṇṇukiṟavaṉ, eppaṭikottavaṉ.

FEMININE SINGULAR

vellāṭṭi, sttiṟi.

EPICENE PLURAL /-ar/

The uyartiṇai words are dealt with similarly as those of the akṟiṇai category. In the epicene, the plural suffix -ar is abstituted for -an in the ancient way. avaṉ > avar, etc.

avar, maṉuṣar, cakalar.

In the following instance, the epicene plural /-ar/ is used honorifically.

yākkōppuk kirīsttiyām avarkaḷum avaruṭaiya ālōcaṉait talaivamārkaḷum.

EPICENE PLURAL /-kaḷ/

The uyartiṇai words here found pluralised with the suffix /-kaḷ/ are of various kinds. There are words ending in -i, -u and -ai. If the word preceding /-kaḷ/ ends in what the grammarians call kuṟṟiyalukaram the k doubles as in "vaḷappukkaḷ".

payalkaḷ, ñāṉikaḷ, upatēcikaḷ, piḷḷaikaḷ, pērkaḷ vaḷappukkaḷ ceṉaṅkaḷ.

EPICENE PLURAL /-mār/

mutalāḷimār, pātirimār.

EPICENE PLURAL /-ār/

The suffix /-ār/ is considered to be an allomorph of /-ar/.

camaiyattār

DOUBLE AND TREBLE PLURALS

These are forms in which there are two plural suffixes. That is because the form without the second or third plural suffix is felt to be singular. "Kuru" had the honorific singular "kurukkaḷ" and therefore the real plural came to be "kurukkaḷmār". The following lists with /-ar/ + /-kaḷ/, /-kaḷ/ + /mār/, /-mār/ + /kaḷ/ and /-ar/ + /-mār/ + /-kaḷ/ are to be similarly explained.

/-ar/ + /kaḷ/

kuṭiyāṉavarkaḷ, kaṭukkeṉṟavarkaḷ, avarkaḷ, allātavarkaḷ, ettaṉmaiyāṉavarkaḷ, āṭavarkaḷ, periyavarkaḷ, niṉṟavarkaḷ, āṉavarkaḷ, kirīsttavarkaḷ.

In the following instances, /-ar/ + /-kaḷ/ are used honorifically. peskkālavarkaḷ, ticaiyavarkaḷ, kōmēcāyiru avarkaḷ, yākkōppuk kirīsttiyām pīlāt avarkaḷ:

/-kaḷ/ + /-mār/
kurukkaḷmār
/-mār/ + /-kaḷ/
uvāttimārkaḷ
/-ar/ + /-mār/ + /-kaḷ/
talaivamārkaḷ

PRONOUNS

The derived pronouns can be classified into three main categories namely demonstrative, interrogatives and those which had become more or less indeclinable now used as what may be called adverbs of place, time and manner. The demonstrative pronouns can be further subdivided into remote, proximate and mediate. The superior class

(uyartiṇai) falls into three sections, masculine, femine and epicene and the inferior class (akṟiṇai) falls into two sections, singular and plural.

In the plakkaat, there are no mediate pronouns. Coming to the demonstrative pronouns, we have only the epicene section in the superior category.

REMOTE

av = a is the base here. The remote 'a' comes with the plural suffixes /-ar/ and /-kaḷ/. The case signs /-ai/, /-āl/, /-ku/ and /-uṭaiya/ are affixed to these double plural suffixes.

avarkaḷ, avarkaḷai, avarkaḷāl, avarkaḷukku, avarkaḷuṭaiya. The form "avar" is found to appear in the nominative and in the genitive. avar, avaruṭaiya.

Coming to akṟiṇai, we have the form "attu" taking the case sign /-ai/ in "attai". We have also the form "atu". The suffixing of /-ku/ which is the dative case sign makes the base "atu" lose the final vowel and at the same time take the empty morpheme /-aṉ/. atu + aṉ + ku ataṟku. The free form "anta" occurs as what may be called an adjective. The orthodox grammarians describe this form as an expansion of the demonstrative base.

As for the proximate pronouns, there are no forms in the superior class. The akṟiṇai singular form is "itu". The form "itaṟku" consists of the pronominal base "itu", the empty morpheme /-aṉ/ and the dative case sign /-ku/. The adjectival form "inta" is also found.

INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

We have only the form "yātu" which is formed by adding the neuter singular suffix -tu to the interrogative base yā.

PRIMARY PRONOUNS

With the primary pronouns which occur in the plakkaat, one can classify them in the following manner. (1) Free forms. (2) Bound forms which can be subdivided into two divisions. One can occur as first part of the compound and the other as occurring as forms taking case signs. (3) There are three persons which are classified as singular and plural.

FIRST PERSON

There is no singular form in the plakkaat because the plakkaat issued by the Governor and his Council as proclamation makes use of the first person plural for referring to those who issue them. The plural section has "nāṅkaḷ" in the free form. Here the plural suffix /-kaḷ/ is added to "nām" which itself at one time denoted the first person plural personal pronoun. In the bound form "eṅkaḷ" occurs as first part of the compound. Here is another case of suffixing /-kaḷ/ to "em"

which was once a plural form. eṅkaḷ aracāṭci, eṅkaḷ kuṭiyāṉavarkaḷuṭaiya, eṅkaḷ kaṭṭaḷaikku, eṅkaḷ kaiyilē. These plural forms exclude the persons addressed.

SECOND PERSON

It is very significant to note that there is no form in the second person in the plakkaat. As official orders, they are addressed to citizens in the third person.

THIRD PERSON

The bound form of the third person singular is "taṉ". It takes the case sign /-uṭaiya/ in "taṉṉuṭaiya". Ordinarily "tām" is the free form. But in the plakkaat, "tāṅkaḷ" is the free form in the plural, where the plural suffix /-kaḷ/ has been added. The bound form is "taṅkaḷ". It occurs in the genitive in "taṅkaḷuṭaiya". In modern times, this pronoun occurs more often as a reflexive which when translated means "by themselves".

PRONOUNS DENOTING PLACE

REMOTE

The base form in the remote is "a". The only form found is "aṅku". It occurs with the particle -um which acts as a conjunctive meaning "and". aṅkum iṅkum tirintu.

PROXIMATE

Correspondingly, we have "iṅkum" in the proximate category.

NUMERALS

CARDINALS

The numerals fall into two major categories, called Cardinals and Ordinals. The cardinal numbers have two forms, namely the free form and the bound form. The bound form occurs in compounds and in derived nouns. Compound numbers can be classified into those based on multiplication and those on addition. Nouns derived from number are formed by adding personal endings to the bound forms of the cardinal numbers.

The bound form of the numeral one is "oru". It occurs wtih the masculine singular suffix and the third person plural suffix in "orutaṉ" and "orutar".

The free form "iraṇṭu" occurs once. The free form "āṟu" precedes the substantive "varuṣattaikkum" in one instance. The free form "mūṉṟu" is also found.

We have compound numbers of addition in "paṉṉiraṇṭu" and "irupattañcu". The form "paṉ" in "paṉṉiraṇṭu" is an alternant of

"patiṉ" which is the bound form of "pattu". In "irupattañcu", "patu" doubles when followed by "añcu". Both "paṉṉiraṇṭu" and "irupattañcu" precede the substantive "varuṣattaikkum".

ORDINALS

Ordinals are formed by adding /-ām/ to the cardinals in the plakkaat. These are always prefixed to the substantive which they qualify. The suffix /-ām/ occurs with the numerals "iraṇṭu" and "mūṉṟu". iraṇṭā muṟaikku, mūṉṟā muṟaikku.

Thus we see a striking feature of the plakkaat in the substantives not preceding the numerals.

VERBAL NOUNS

The plakkaat affords instances of the following types of verbal nouns.

1. Lengthening of the vowel of the initial syllable of the verbal roots in the single words. tiṉ > tīṉ.
2. Lengthening of the vowel of the initial syllable of the verbal roots in compound words. vārttaippaṭu > vārttaippāṭu.
3. Doubling of the plosive and the loss of the preceding nasal. Otherwise it may be described as the conversion of the nasal into a homorganic plosive. vaḻaṅku > vaḻakku.
4. Doubling of the plosive when not preceded by a nasal plus /-am/. tōṭu > tōṭṭu + am = tōṭṭam.
5. Doubling of the plosive when the preceding nasal is lost thereby and /-am/ is added. añcu > accu + am = accam.
6. Without doubling etc., and adding /-am/. iṭu + am = iṭam.
7. Addition of suffixes of verbal nouns:

SUFFIX	NOUN	ROOT	SUFFIX	NOUN	ROOT
i	etiri	etir	tal	iḷaippāṟutal	iḷaippāṟu
ai	koṭai	koṭu		mīṟutal	mīṟu
	taṭai	taṭu	ti	pakuti	paku
āḷi	mutalāḷi	mutalāḷ		uṟuti	uṟu
kai	irukkai	iru	mai	kūrmai	kūr
ci	aracāṭci	aracāḷ	pu	pāḻāppu	pāḻā
karam	tuṇīkaram	tuṇi		vaḷappu	vaḷar
			vu	citaivu	citai
				uḷavu	uḷ

The suffix /-karam/ is borrowed from Sanskrit "kara".

PAST-TENSE — CONJUNCTIVE PARTICIPAL

The conjunctive past verbal participle called the absolutive by Jules Bloch[4] is formed in the following manner.

1. Reduplication of the final consonant of verbal themes which end in -tu. pōṭu > pōṭṭu, vaipaṭu > vaipaṭṭu, kaṟpikkappaṭu > kaṟpikkappaṭṭu.
2. Suffixing of some participle or sign of past time.
   i paṇṇ-u-i > paṇṇi, maṭṭukkaṭṭ-u-i > maṭṭukkaṭṭi.
   cūṭṭ-u-i > cūṭṭi, vilakk-u-i > vilakki, eḻut-u-i > eḻuti.
   u vai-tt-u > vaittu, koṭu-tt-u > koṭuttu, maṟu-tt-u > maṟuttu, muki-tt-u > mukittu, nīṭci-tt-u > nīṭcittu, tiri-nt-u > tirintu, cēr-nt-u > cērntu, putuppi-tt-u > putuppittu, paṇṇikkoḷ + t + u > paṇṇikkoṇṭu.

Here the final ḷ > ṇ and the past tense morph t > ṭ. eṉ + t + u > eṉṟu. The root is eṉ and the past tense sign is ṟ. kāṇ > kaṇ + t + u > kaṇṭu. In this instance, t becomes ṭ after ṇ according to Sandhi rules.

The negative verbal participles are formed by the addition of -āmal to the root. al + āmal > allāmal, il + āmal > illāmal, paṇ + āmal > paṇṇāmal. There are two forms consisting of a negative relative participle and the noun "paṭi" in the dative. They have the force of a negative verbal participle. capaikūṭapaṭikku, koṭukkakkūṭātapaṭikku.

PAST TENSE-RELATIVE PARTICIPLE

The past tense relative participle suffix "a" is added to the verbal participle in all instances and the resulting forms are the past tense relative participles.

paṇṇappaṭṭu + a > paṇṇappaṭṭa, collappaṭṭu + a > collappaṭṭa, peṟṟu + a > peṟṟa, pōrntu + a > pōrnta, irukkappaṭṭu + a > irukkappaṭṭa,
eppaṭippaṭṭu + a > eppaṭippaṭṭa, appaṭippaṭṭu + a > appaṭippaṭṭa, paṇṇi /ṉ/ + a > paṇṇiṉa, aṭaṅki /ṉ/ + a > aṭaṅkiṉa, munti /ṉ/ + a > muntiṉa.

PRESENT TENSE-RELATIVE PARTICIPLE

The present tense relative participle is formed by adding -kiṟa to the root.

kāṇ-kiṟu-a > kāṇkiṟa, paṇṇu-kiṟu-a > paṇṇukiṟa,
-iru-kkiṟu-a > irukkiṟa, cūṭṭuvi-kkiṟu-a > cūṭṭuvikkiṟa.
kē [ḷ] [root final loss] + ṭkiṟu-a > kēṭkiṟa.

[4] JULES BLOCH, *The Grammatical Structure of Dravidian Languages*, Deccan College, Poona, 1954, p. 87.

THE PARTICIPIAL NOUN

The participial nouns are formed by adding the gender number suffixes to the relative participle. The glide v will come in between the relative participle -a and the suffix, if the latter begins in a vowel.

MASCULINE	paṉṉukiṟa-v-aṉ,	paṉṉappaṭṭa-v-aṉ.
EPICENE	niṉṟa-v-arkaḷ,	allāta-v-arkaḷ,
	kaṭukkeṉṟa-v-arkaḷ	kuṭiyāṉa-v-arkaḷ.

INFINITIVE

The verbal participle of the pattern ceya is called the infinitive in Tamil. cey stands for the root and -a is the suffix. aṟiya, cūṭṭuvikka, vaḻakkāṭa, eḻuta, koṭukka, tavira. akappaṭumpaṭikku, nilaikoṇṭiruk-kumpaṭikku and oṉṟittukkoḷḷumpaṭikku occur as one unit. They consist of a relative participle in the ceyyum pattern plus the noun "paṭi" in the dative. They as a whole are substitutable by the infinitives akap-paṭa, oṉṟittukkoḷḷa and nilaikoṇṭirukka respectively.

AORIST FORM AS RELATIVE PARTICIPLE

The old finite aorist was formed by adding -um to the root. The pattern is [representing any root as cey] ceyyum.
oṉṟittukkoḷḷum, nilaikoṇṭirukkum, akappaṭum, vēṇum.

THE CONDITIONAL

The conditional is expressed by adding /-āl/ to the past participial form. eṉṟu + āl > eṉṟāl, vantu + āl > vantāl.

FIRST PERSON VERBS

Coming to the finite verbs of the first person and second person, it has been already noted that the second person plural does not occur in the language. The first person plural occurs as referring to the Company or Governor and his advisory Council when issuing the plakkaat.

PRESENT TENSE
paṉṉukiṟōm.

PAST TENSE
kaṇṭōm.

THIRD PERSON VERBS

piṟacittamākkiṉatu, vēṇṭiyatu, paṭātu.

IMPLIED FINITE VERBS

There are two implied finite verbs. nallatu, naṉṟu.

ADVERBS

We have also adverbial constructions modifying the verb. The noun with the verb /-āka/ or /-āy/ behaves like adverbs.

> uṇṭāvatāka, tuṇīkaramāka, etiriṭaiyāka, uṟutiyāka, cāṭciyāka, kirīsttavarkaḷāka, tiṭṭamāka, piṟakāramāka, māṟāka, naṉṟāka, matiriññvāka, mukāntiramāka, rakaciyamāka, kuṭūramāka, kūrmaiyāka, etiriyāka, naṉkoṭaiyāka, tāṅkaḷāka, paṇṇukiṟavaṉāka, veḷiyaraṅkamāka, vētamāy.

ADJECTIVES

By the suffixing of /-āṉa/ to nouns, adjectival meaning is derived. cakalamāṉa, vikaṭamāṉa, kīḷāṉa, tēvaiyāṉa, mēlāṉa, potuvāṉa.

GLOSSARY

iṟaiyāl
: This is a loan-word from Portuguese "real". The Portuguese introduced into Ceylon a coin called "real" which was of the value of one shilling and six pence. This coin was in circulation even in the time of the Dutch as is evidenced by this plakkaat.

eksttera oṭutaṉāri
: This phrase is derived from Dutch "extra ordinaris" and means "extraordinary". It refers to the membership of the Governor in the Council of India in Batavia. An ordinary member of that Council, when he was present in Batavia, had the right to vote in the Council, the extraordinary member was allowed to attend meetings only but had no vote.

kāppai
: This refers to the place called "Cape".

kompaññīya
: The Portuguese word for "company" is "companhia" and this is derived from it. The term applies to the Dutch East India Company.

kōmēcāyiru
: This term is derived from Dutch "commissaris" and means "commissioner".

cekkaṭattāri
: This is a Tamilisation of the Dutch word "secretaris" and it means a secretary.

ticai

This is derived from Sanskrit "diśā" which means "direction". Ticai or Dessave was a Sinhalese title for a Governor of a province, used by the Dutch in the maritime provinces for a high European official whose functions corresponded nearly to those of a Government Agent.

tōmpu

This is derived from Portuguese "tombo" and means "register". It was introduced to Ceylon by the Portuguese during their rule of the maritime provinces (Sinhalese: thombuwa). The tōmpu was a system of registration which the Portuguese borrowed from the Sinhalese, and which the Dutch again took over from the Portuguese.

patirīñu

This is a Tamilisation of the Portuguese word "padrinho" meaning "Godfather".

palakkāttu

The proclamations issued by the Dutch during their rule of Ceylon were called "plakkaats". This word is a corruption of the Dutch word "plakkaat".

pātiri

This is form Portuguese "padre" meaning "priest".

peskkāl

This is from Dutch "Fiskaal". Under the Dutch, the Fiscal was an officer who in civil cases deliberated and voted as a judge, and in criminal cases was considered the public accuser. He also superintended the carrying out of the orders of the government. Fiscal was a new office introduced by the Dutch into Ceylon.

matirīñ

This is a Tamilisation of the Portuguese word "madrinha" meaning "godmother".

yākkōppuk kirīsttiyām pīlāt

Jacob Christiaan Pielat was Special Commissioner of the Dutch government in Ceylon, 1732-34. Pielat's position in Ceylon as Special Commissioner was higher than that of the Governor. This is a Tamilisation of his name.

ṟūlankāvu

Roland Cau was the name of a secretary to the Council and this is a rendering in Tamil of his name.

ṟōmāṉuvētam

This compound word is derived from Portuguese "romano" and Sanskrit "vēda" and it means the Roman Catholic religion.

A TAMIL DOCUMENT RELATING TO THE DECLARATION AND PAROLE OF THE RELATIVES OF THE LAST KING OF KANDY

S. THANANJAYARAJASINGHAM

In February, 1815, Kandy which up to this time was an independent kingdom fell into the hands of the British. The king of Kandy, Sri Vikrama Rajasinha and his queens were captured by the British forces on the 18th February, 1815.[1] The British government in Ceylon took urgent steps to deport Sri Vikrama Rajasinha, his family and relatives as it feared that their stay in the island would result in attempts to overthrow the British and to put someone on the throne. The king, his family and relatives were taken to Colombo and from there arrangements were made to deport them in batches to India.

This deportation marks the end of Nayak domination in Ceylon. The origin of the Nayakkar settlement in Ceylon can be traced to the practice of procuring brides from South India by some kings of Kandy. The Nayaks were the Viceroys who were placed in charge of the distant provinces of the Vijayanagara Empire. There were a number of these viceroyalties, the most important of them being at Madura, Trichinopoly and Tanjore. After the decline of the Vijayanagara Empire in the seventeenth century, its authority over the outlying areas fell off, and the furthest provinces like Madura and Tanjore asserted their independence, the Nayaks themselves assumed the authority of kings.

The Nayakkars of Kandy originally came from Madura and after its occupation by Muslims, they were residing on the Coromandal coast and from there continued to send brides to Kandy. After the death of Narendra Sinha (1707-1739), a brother of his Madura wife succeeded to the throne under the name of Sri Vijaya Raja Sinha (1739-1747). He also sent for a bride from Madura. The entire family came with the bride and one of the bride's brothers succeeded to the throne at her husband's death. He was Kirti Sri Raja Sinha and it may be correct to say that the real Nayakkar rule started with him. Kirti Sri in turn

[1] P. E. FERNANDO, "The Deportation of King Sri Vikrama Rajasinha and his Exile in India", *University of Ceylon Review*, vol. XX, no. 2, 1962, p. 163.

married "two daughters of Vijaya Manan Naicker, the grandson of a former king of Tanjore named Raja Vijaya Ragheva Naicker".[2]

Kirti Sri was succeeded by his brother, Rajadhi Raja Sinha who ruled from 1782 to 1798. In 1798 Sri Vikrama Rajasinha, the son of a sister of Rajadhi Raja Sinha's queens succeeded him and he ruled till 1815.

Certain aspects of general interest regarding the Nayaks who arrived in Kandy were their state of utter destitution and their failure to produce children by their wives of Indian origin. Whenever a request for a bride was made, it proved a great blessing to some of the exiled Nayak families. Posthaste they came, with all their kith and kin, and soon there grew up in Kandy a strong faction of Nayak extraction, residing in a separate suburb, some of them occupying important offices in the realm, while others like Narenappa Nayak, father of Kirti Sri, engaged in maritime trade between India and Ceylon.

The failure of the Nayakkar rulers of Kandy to produce children by their Indian wives was conspicuous of their rule here, but their attempts in this direction were more successful with their Sinhalese wives. The children by the latter, however, were not considered for the throne and it always passed to the brothers or relatives of their Indian brides.[3]

All the prisoners who were related to the last king of Kandy had to sign a declaration and parole before their deportation. The first three articles of the Kandyan Convention of March, 1815, which were applicable to them, were read and explained to them. According to Dr. Colvin R. de Silva,[4] "The convention was in the form of an agreement between the British Government on the one side and the chiefs and headmen as representing the Kandyan nation on the other. Articles 1 and 2 declared that Sri Vikrama Rajasinha had by his arbitrary and tyrannical acts and by "the habitual violation of the chief and most sacred duties of a sovereign forfeited all claim to the title, dignity and powers of king. He was therefore deposed, himself, his family and relatives, whether in ascending, descending or collateral line by affinity or blood, were for ever excluded from the Kandyan throne; and all claim and title of the "Malabar" race to the dominion of the Kandyan Provinces, were abolished and extinguished. They were, by Article 3 declared "enemies to the Government of the Kandyan Provinces, and prohibited on pain of the penalties of martial law, from entering these Provinces, without British permission."

The declaration and parole of the relatives of the last king of Kandy

[2] *Oriental Historical MSS II*, Taylor (1835).

[3] M. W. K. WIJETUNGA, "The Background of the Nayakkars of Kandy", *University of Ceylon Review*, vol. XVI, nos. 3 & 4, pp. 125-130.

[4] COLVIN R. DE SILVA, *Ceylon Under the British Occupation* 1795-1833, The Colombo Apothecaries, Colombo, 1941, p. 153.

was drafted both in English and Tamil and signed on the thirteenth day of December, 1815. The first three articles of the Kandyan Convention were also prefixed to it.

The following is the Tamil text of the first three articles of the Kandyan Convention and the declaration and parole of the relatives of the last king of Kandy.

kiristtuvin varuṣam 1815.m ā paṅkuṇi 2 tikati ciṅkaḷa varuṣam 1736.m ā kaṇṭippaṭṭaṇattil irācamāḷikaiyiniṭamāka onritta periya viruttāñar tēcattukkum ayaḷḷāntu tēcattukkum uttama cuyātipatiyākiya mūnrām yōrccuvinutaiyavum ippōtaikku irācarīkkam parāparikkiravarākiya makā Srī Srī Srī yōrccuvenra irāyakumāranavarkaḷuṭaiyavum nāmatēyaṅkaḷukkākat tēcātikkam paṇṇukira ilaṅkaittīvil iṅkirēcu isttalaṅkaḷukkumatarkaṭaṅkiya marrumiṭaṅkaḷukku muttama kovuranatōru mēlām paṭaittalaivanumākiya caṅkai pōnta luyittunāntuyenarāl rōvarttu piravunrikkāṇṭavaravarkaḷ oru piramākavum palapala ciṅkaḷa nāṭukāḷiliruntu varappaṭṭa mōṭṭirāḷaimār kōrāḷaimār vitānaimār marruñ ciru talaimaikkārar tarcamaiyattir cērntu ninra mukatāvil kaṇṭi irāṭciyattin kuṭicenaṅkaḷukkāka munninra kuritta irāṭciyattin nāṭṭavarkaḷākiya atikārmār ticaimār marrum piratāna talamaikkāra roru piramākavum ippaṭiyē ivviru tirattāruṅ kūṭiya camukattil mutalāvatau — tannisttamākavum aññāyamāvavuñ carīra vētanai panniyuṅ kēḷvimurai cilavēḷai yātōru kurramuṅ kāṇāmal allatu yātoru kurrac cayikkinai yillāmalirukkac ceyte maraṇa vātaikaḷaic ceytuñ cakalattirāḷum nintikkumpaṭi neruṭaiya caruva muramaikaḷukku metiriṭaiyākavun tamiḷāḷukaikkāranānavar paṇṇappaṭṭa koṭūraṅkaḷum iṭaiñcarkaḷum veku nesṭṭūramākavuṅ keṭutalākavum poruttukkoḷḷakkūṭātatumāyirukkiratu mallāmar taṅkuṭiyāna cenaṅkaḷin iraṭcippaiyum ayalāyirukkinra tēcaṅkaḷuṭan nanmaiyāna cinēka vāñcaiyaip perattakka nalla nampikkai vicuvācattin iraṭcippaiyuṅ kārkkak kūṭiya nītiyaiviṭṭuc collappaṭṭavaruṭaiya aracin kirikaikaḷumatiniyarkaiyu makanrirukkutu

iranṭāvatu — Srī vikkirama irācacimma makarācāvavarkaḷ oru cuyātipatikkuṭaiya makā piratānikkacuttattaiyuṭaiya kiramaṅkaḷuk kekkālamum virōtam panni vantapaṭiyāl anta irāyappaṭṭattukku matanaic cērnta tattuvaṅkaḷukku miyātoru vurumaikaḷu millāmar cakalatu miḷantupōnatu mallāmar collappaṭṭa iracarīkkattaiviṭṭetupaṭṭuppōnārenkirattaiyum veḷiyaraṅkam paṇṇappaṭukutu māturu pitir vaḷiyilānālum vravumārkattilānālum irattak kalappilānālu mivarukkuṭaiya kuṭumpattaiyum pentukkaḷaiyuṅ kaṇṭi aracin cimmācanattā leppōtaikkum piranīṅkarpaṇṇappaṭukutu ituvumallāmar kaṇṭi irāṭciyapārattin pērir tamiṭcātiyārukkuṭaiya cakala vurumaikaḷaiyum paṭṭaṅkaḷaiyum nāstti paṇṇappaṭukutu

mūnrāvatu — aracu mārippōna Srī vikkirama irācacimma makāravavarkaḷukku vuravumārkattilākutal irattak kalappilākutal allatu māturu pitir vaḷiyilākutal pentukkaḷāyirukkappaṭṭavarkaḷ attatu appaṭiyukkiromenru collikkoḷukira cakalattirāluṅ kaṇṭiyaracāṭcikkuc catturukkaḷenru

veḷiyaraṅkappaṭuttappaṭukutu ivarkaḷ iṅkirēcu aracāṭciyāruṭaiya atikāram poruntiya vuttārac cīṭṭu eḻuttiṟ peṟṟukkonṭāl allāmal maṟṟappaṭi yeppērpaṭṭa cāṭṭuc colliyeṉkilum anta nāṭukaḷukkuḷḷe piṟavēcikkāmaṟ ṟaṭaipaṇṇapaṭukutu intak kaṭṭaḷaiyai mīṟukiṟavaraiyil cantai nītimuṟamaiyiṟ colliyirukkiṟapaṭi āykkiṉaiyavarātaṅkaḷukkuṭpaṭa vēṇṭiyatāyirukkum ituvu mintak kāriya niṟaivēṟṟattukkākac collappaṭṭa cantai nītimuṟai pelaṉāyirukkumpaṭi ittāl veḷiyaraṅkam paṇṇappaṭukutu ippō kaṇṭi nāṭukaḷaiviṭṭut turattappaṭṭirukkiṉṟa tamiṭ caṉaṅkaḷ cakalarumēlē kaṇṭirukkiṟa vuttaravuc cīṭṭu vāṅkāmal anta nāṭukaḷukkuḷḷē pōkappaṭāteṉṟum pōṉāl mēlē cuṭṭik kāṉpittirukkiṟa āykkiṉai yavarātaṅkaḷ varumeṉṟu mittāṟ ṟirumpavun taṭaipaṇṇappaṭukutu

kiristtuviṉ varuṣam 1815 ā ilaṅkaittīviṟ koḷumpilē māṟkaḻi mī 20n tikatiyākiya yiṉṟu koṭukkappaṭṭatu

ilaṅkaittīvil iṅkirēcu isttalaṅkaḷukku uttama kovuṟaṉatōru mēlān talaivaṉumākiya caṅkaipōnta luyittuṉāṉtuyeṉarāl ṟōvarṭṭu piṟavuṉṟīkkavarkaḷ kaṭṭaḷaiyiṉ kīḻākap piṉṉiṭṭa tai māci mācavaraiyiṟ kaṇṭi aracāṭciyiṉpēriṟ celuttappaṭṭa pāḷaiyattukkuc cērnta uttama iṅkirēcu irāyaravarkaḷuṭaiya irāṇukkaḷāṟ cantai maṟiyaṟkāṟarākap piṭipaṭṭavarkaḷāṉa itaṉ kīṭ kaiyoppam vaikkiṟa nāṅkaḷaṉaivarum paṇṇappaṭṭa veḷiyaraṅka vicaḷaṅkaḷum vākkup piṟamāṇamu mēteṉil

piṉṉiṭṭa paṅkuṉi mācam irantān tikatiyiṉaṉṟu kaṇṭippaṭṭaṉatti leḻuti mukikkappaṭṭa oppantattiṟ kaṇṭirukkiṟa maṟukāriyaṅkaḷ tavirak kuṟitta pāḷaiyameṭutta nimittiyañ collappaṭṭa kaṇṭi nāṭukaḷiliruntu appaṟappaṭutti yirukkiṟa aracu māṟippōṉa kaṇṭi irācavuṭaiya pentukkaḷu mataṟkeṉṟa vuttārañ kiṭaittā lallāmal maṟṟappaṭi yanta nāṭukaḷukkuḷḷe tirumpavum piṟavēcikkak kūṭāteṉṟum piṟavēcittāl yutta nītiyiṟ colliyirukkiṟa āykkiṉai avarātaṅkaḷukkamaiyavēṇumeṉṟu mintak karuttuk kaṇṭiruppatākiya ittuṭaṉē aṉaittirukkiṉṟa mutaṟ piṟiti irantām piṟiti mūṉṟām piṟitiyāka vimmūṉṟu piṟitikaḷaiyuṅ kēṭṭu vācittup pūraṇamāka vaṟintōmeṉṟu intap pattirattiṉāṟ piṟamāṇam paṇṇukiṟōm

ituvumaṉṉiyileṅkaḷai vaṭatēcatti leṅkaḷeṅkaḷūṟkaḷukku aṉuppa etuvāyirukkiṟa ceytiyaiyumavaṭaṅkaḷil muṟamaiyāṉa vuttiyōkasttarkaḷuṭaiya mēṟpārvaiyiṉ kīḻirukkumpaṭi maṟiyaṟ kaṉakkillāmal viṭutalai paṇṇappaṭumeṉkiṟa ceytiyaiyum nāṅkaḷatikamāka vaṟintapaṭiyāl nāṅkaḷ paṇṇu mataṉ vākkup piṟamāṇamāvatu

mutalāvatu — uttama iṅkirēcu irācāvukkuc cērnta aracāṭcikaḷukketiriṭaiyāyeṉkutal caṅkaipōnta kompaṉiyārukketiriṭaiyāyeṉkutal āyutaṅka ḷeṭukkamāṭṭō meṉpatu mallāmal yātoru cantai yallatu yuttaṅkaḷaic ceyya vatukaḷi lēṟpaṭa vallatu cēravumāṭṭōmākavum

irantāvatu — uttama iṅkirēcu irāyarukkuc cērnta ilaṅkai aracāṭciyāruṭaiya vallatu ceṉṉappaṭṭaṉattuc caṅkai pōnta kovuṟaṉatōruṭaiya voru veḷutappaṭṭa vuttāra millāmal eppērppaṭṭua cāṭṭuc collikkoṇṭākutal ilaṅkaittīvukkut tirumpa varamāṭṭōmeṉpatu mallāmal ataṟkuc cērnta yātoru tikkukkaḷil allatu nāṭukaḷi liṟaṅkamāṭṭomākavum

mūṉṟāvatu — caṅkai pōnta kompaṉiyārukkuc cērnta atikāravāṉ-kaḷākiya nītimakisttiṟāttumār maṟṟu muttiyōkasttarkaḷ collukiṟa māṟkap-paṭiye yavarkaḷāṟ kāṇpikkappaṭukiṟa elkaikaḷukkuḷḷitāka collappaṭṭa veṅkaḷeṅkaḷukkuḷḷe yiruppōmākavum

Muttiyālucāmi (in Tamil)
The mark of {×} Jill Nayeker
The mark of {×} Perumal Nayeker
The mark of {×} Akkaya Sami or Baso Bawi Nayeker
Chiṉṉadegala Swāmi (in Telugu)
Krishṇaswāmi (in Telugu)
Pariyadagalaswāmi (in Telugu)
Komāraswāmi (in Telugu)
The mark of {×} Ramesamy
Kichchama (in Telugu)
The mark of {×} Jayadevi Alegiry Samy
The mark of × Nallemenaiker
The mark of × Chetty Narana Samy Naiker
The mark of × Sinne Samy
Kaṇṇayyaṉ (in Tamil)
Perumālu (in Telugu)
The mark of {×} Perumal Cutty

Paṅkaṟusāmi (in Tamil)
Ragasāmi (in Telugu)
Cupparaṉāyakkar (in Tamil)
Subbarāyalu (in Telugu)
Ananthappa Naiyadu (in Telugu)
Tattikaṉṉayaṉ (in Tamil)
Narasu Naidu (in Telugu)
Pīrutāṉāyakar (in Tamil)

Cattiyamūṟti (in Tamil)
Nārāyaṇaṉ (in Tamil)
The mark of {×} Peruge Kanage Samy Cekaṉātaṉ (in Tamil)

Kumārucuvāmi (in Tamil)
Rāmāṉātaṉ (in Tamil)
Aḻakiriṉāyakar (in Tamil)
The mark of {×} Nararasamy
Vācutēvaṉayakaṉ (in Tamil)
Subbarāyalu (in Telugu)

Ananthappa Nayadu (in Telugu)
The mark of {×} Sawry Mottoo Narasu Naidu (in Telugu)

Raṅgayya Naiyudu (in Telugu)
Rāmakrishṇa Swāmi (in Telugu)
Madhurakulasāmi (in Telugu)
Kumārasami Naiṉāvaru (in Telugu)
Thirumalai Naidu (in Telugu)
Raṅgappa Naidu (in Telugu)
Lakshapathi (in Telugu)
Jayarāja (in Telugu)
Rāmakiṣ (in Tamil)
Ṉārāyaṇa (in Tamil)
Veṅkiṭasāmi (in Tamil)

Read and Explained by me
A. Coomarasamy (in English)
Chief Interpreter to Governor

Signed in presence of us
Charles Carr (in English)
Fort Constable
Henry Labrooy (in English)
Clerk to Fort Mjs.

Kaṉpaḷacāmi (in Tamil)
Sāmi Somarāya (in Telugu)
Kumārasāmi (in Telugu)

The mark of × Chinna
The mark of × Wella
Rakavaṉ (in Tamil)

Vēṅkada Subbaya (in Telugu)
Naramalu Bālappa Nayadu (in Telugu)
Ananthappa Naidu (in Telugu)
The mark of × Sinne Samy Nayaker

Read and Explained by me
Charles Carr (in English)
Fort Constable
Colombo 8th March, 1816

The mark of × Moddi

The mark of ×
The mark of × Mipatram
The mark of × Nalender Naicker

Signed in presence of us
G. Wille (in English)
Lucas Silva (in English)

Colombo 27th July, 1816.

Koṇṭacāmi (in Tamil)
Rāmasāmi (in Sinhalese)
Krishṇappa Nāyakkar (in Telugu)
Read and Explained by me
A. Coomarasamy (in English)
Chief interpreter to Governor

Mudhusāmi (in Telugu)
(Initials) Kannamenayaker
(Initials) Ramasamy

Signed in presence of me
I. Mutalittampi (in Tamil)

THE ENGLISH VERSION OF THE TEXT

Extract of a Convention held on the second day of March in the year of Christ 1815, and the Cingalese year 1736 at the palace in the city of Kandy, between His Excellency Lieutenant General Robert Brownrigg, Governor and Commander in Chief in and over the British Settlements and Territories in the Island of Ceylon, acting in the name and on behalf of His Majesty George the Third King, and His Royal Highness George Prince of Wales Regent, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland on the one part, and the Adigars, Dessaves and other principal Chiefs of the Kandyan Provinces on behalf of the Inhabitants, and in presence of the Mohottalas, Corals, Vidaans and other subordinate Headmen from the Several Provinces and of the people then and there assembled on the other part, it is agreed and established as follows:

> 1st that the cruelties and oppressions of the Malabar Ruler in the arbitrary and unjust infliction of bodily tortures and the pains of Death without Trial and sometimes without an accusation or the possibility of a crime, and in the general contempt and contravention of all Civil Rights have become flagrant, enormous and intolerable, the acts and maxims of His Government being equally and entirely devoid of that Justice, which should secure the safety of his subjects, and of that good faith which might obtain a beneficial intercourse with the

neighbouring Settlements.

2nd that the Rajah Sri Wikreme Raja Sinha by the habitual violation of the chief and most sacred duties of a Sovereign, has forfeited all claims to that title or the powers annexed to the same, and is declared fallen and deposed from the Office of King. His family and relations whether in the ascending, descending, or collateral line, and whether by affinity or blood, are also forever excluded from the Throne and all claim and title of the Malabar race to the dominion of the Kandyan Province is abolished and extinguished.

3rd that all male persons being or pretending to be relations of the late Rajah Sri Wikreme Rajah Sinha by affinity or blood and whether in the ascending, descending or collateral line, are hereby declared enemies to the Government of the Kandyan Provinces and excluded and prohibited from entering those Provinces on any pretence whatever, without a written permission for that purpose by the au(thority) of the British Government, under the pains and penalties of Martial Law, which is hereby declared to be in force for that purpose and all male persons of the Malabar cast now expelled from the said Provinces, are under the same penalties prohibited from returning except with the permission before mentioned.

Given at Colombo in the Island of Ceylon this Thirteenth day of December in the Year of our Lord Christ One Thousand Eight Hundred and Fifteen.

Declaration and Parole of the several Persons hereunder subscribing being Prisoners of War captured by the Forces of His Britannick Majesty in an expedition carried on from the British Settlements in Ceylon against the Government of Kandy in the months of January and February last under the command of Hon'ble Lieutenant General Robert Brownrigg, Governor and Commander in Chief of the said Settlements.

We do hereby acknowledge that we have heard, read and fully understood the 1st, 2nd and 3rd Paragraphs hereto prefixed of an Act of Convention concluded at Kandy on the 2nd day of March last by which amongst other things the Relations of the late King of Kandy and other Malarbars removed from the Kandyan Provinces in consequence of the said Expedition are precluded from again entering the same under the Penalties of Martial Law unless by permission granted for that purpose.

Understanding further that we are about to be sent to our respective Countries on the Coast of Coromandal to be there set at large subject only to the Supervision of local Authorities. We hereby severally promise as follows:

1st That We will not bear Arms nor undertake, commit, join

or engage in any hostile Act against the Governments of This Majesty or The Hon'ble Company.

2ndly That We will not on any pretence whatever visit the Island of Ceylon, nor land on any part of the same or its dependencies without a written permission by Authority of His Majesty's Government of Ceylon or the Hon'ble The Governor of Fort St. George.

3rdly that we will severally reside in our said respective Countries within the limits subject to the Rules prescribed by the local Majistrates and Other Officers of the Hon'ble Company having authority for that purpose.

WRITING

The orthographical peculiarities of the document under consideration are:

1. The consonants are not dotted.
2. The changes introduced by Vīramā Munivar, the author of *Tonnūl Viḷakkam,* with regard to writing the short and long e and o singularly and in consonantal combination have been followed. The document bears testimony to the fact that the changes introduced by Vīramā Munivar during the first half of the eighteenth century have gained universal application.
3. There are some numerals written in Tamil characters. ௨ = two, ௩ = three, ௫ = five, ௬ = six, ௭ = seven, ௮ = eight. Ten is written as ௰ and twenty and thirty are written with the sign for ten ௰ preceded by ௨ and ௩ respectively. Hundred is written as ௱. Seven hundred and eight hundred are written by prefixing ௭ and ௮ to ௱ which is the sign for hundred. Thousand is written as ௲.

   ௲௮௱௰௫ ஆ "the year 1815".
   ௲௭௱௩௰௬ம ஆ "the year 1736"
   ௲௮௱௰௫ம ஆ "the year 1815"

4. The Tamil word for year is "āṇṭu". This is shortened to ஆ in the document. The word for month in Tamil is "mātam" and this found to be written as மீ. Srī is written in Grantha as ஸ்ரீ. ஸ and ஷ are other Grantha characters used. ட்ட is written as டட in a few instances. In one instance தி is written as ஞி.

ORTHOGRAPHICAL ERRORS

The scribe has in two instances written "cakalattirāḷum" instead of "cakalattiṉarum" which conveys the proper sense in the context. Other orthographical errors are 'nāṭukaḷukkuḷḷe' for 'nāṭukaḷukkuḷḷē', 'ittutaṇe' for 'ittutaṇē', 'etuvāyirukkiṟa' for 'ētuvāyirukkiṟa', 'yātōru' for 'yātoru', 'ceyte' for 'ceytē' and 'nerutaiya' for 'nērutaiya'.

THE LANGUAGE

SOUND CHANGE

VOWELS		MEANING
a > e	/j/ caṉam > ceṉam	"people"
	/b/ pantukkaḷ > pentukkaḷ	"relatives"
	palaṉ > pelaṉ	"strength"

a[palatal = ai — This is according to literary language and grammar.
taṟcamayam > taṟcamaiyam "now"
Therefore ai > a in other instances as well. This has become the general rule which is expressed by the concept of aikārakkuṟukkam (short ai).
muṟaimai > muṟamai "right"
talaimaikkārar > talamaikkāṟar "chiefs"

i > a[ṭa — In the following instance, i becomes influenced by the vowel a after ṭ. One of the cluster of two voiced labio-dental fricatives is lost.
avviṭaṅkaḷ > avaṭaṅkaḷ "in those places"

i > u — urimaikaḷ > urumaikaḷ "claims for right of possession"
This is a case of vowel assimilation.

u > i — puṟanīṅkal > piṟaṉīṅkal "to be separated from others"
The back rounded vowel u between p and r becomes the palatal front high unrounded vowel i. The dental nasal n becomes the alveolar nasal ṉ.

u > a — appuṟappaṭuttiyirukkiṟa > appaṟappaṭuttiyirukkiṟa "removed or separated"
This may be a case of vowel assimilation or slip of the hand.

CONSONANTS

kā > kār — kākka > kārkka "to safe-guard"
This is an intrusion of the alveolar flap ṟ on false analogy based on formations like pārkka, cērkka etc.

-kiṟatu > kutu — irukkiṟatu > irukkutu "is"
paṇṇappaṭukiṟatu > paṇṇappaṭukutu "is being made"
In aḵṟiṇai singular finite verbs -kiṟatu > kutu. The present tense particle -kiṟu > ku on account of final u.

-ṭaya > caḷa — viṭayaṅkaḷ > vicaḷaṅkaḷ "matters"
Viṭayam is colloquially pronounced as viyaḷam or vicaḷam. See viḻiviṭayam > muḷiviyaḷam = muḷivicaḷam.

CONSONANTS	MEANING
-ṇṭu > ṇu	vēṇṭum > vēṇum auxiliary verb meaning "must" The retroflex stop in the cluster ṇṭ is lost.
-poḻutu > pō	ippoḻutu > ippō "now" ippoḻutu > ippōtu > ippō "in course of time."
r > ṟ	āḷukaikkāraṉ > āḷukaikkāṟaṉ "ruler" talaimaikkārar > talamaikkāṟar "chiefs" maṟiyaṟkārar > maṟiyaṟkāṟar "prisoners" The Sanskrit /-kāra/which has become a masculine termination for certain nouns in Tamil is pronounced as /-kāṟa/. carvam > caṟuvam "all" kirikai > kiṟikai "act" kiramam > kiṟamam "act" piramāṇam > piṟamāṇam "document" piravēcikka > piṟavēcikka "to enter" These are other instances where the alveolar flap r and the alveolar trill have r coalesced.
ḻ > ḷ	mārkaḻi > mārkaḷi "the ninth Solar month" eḻutappaṭṭa > eḷutappaṭṭa "that which was written" tamiḻar > tamiḷar "Tamils" kīḻ > kīḷ "under" vaḻi > vaḷi "line" This is a characterestic feature of the Ceylon dialect and some of the southernmost districts of Tamil land.
-ṉṟ > ṉṉ	aṉṟi > aṉṉiyil "besides"

The conjunctive particle "aṉṟi" is found to be written as "aṉṉiyil". The cluster of alveolar nasal and the trill ṟ become the cluster of alveolar nasal. But no explanation could however be given to the 'il' in "aṉṉiyil" which is definitely not a locative case sign.

If the final letter of the first part of a compound is ḻ and the initial letter of the second part of the compound is a plosive, then the corresponding plosive is doubled according to morphophonemic rules. But in the document we find that words ending with ḻ as first part of a compound changing to ṭ on account of the initial plosive in the second part of the compound. Although, Puttamittirar, the author of *Vīracōḻiyam* has formulated rules to accommodate such changes, they are not of universal acceptance.

tamiḻ + cātiyārukkuṭaiya > tamiṭ cātiyārukkuṭaiya
itaṉkīḻ + kaiyoppam > itaṉkīṭ kaiyoppam
tamiḻ + caṉaṅkaḷ > tamiṭ caṉaṅkaḷ

TAMILISATION

In Tamil l and r do not begin a word. But in the document, we find them at the beginning of words and this shows that the Tamil language has become democratic enough to admit these sounds initially. We find clusters of two consonants and three consonants like ḷḷ, ṟṭṭ, ṟcc and stt which are not admissible in Tamil. Some of the foreign words have been Tamilised as follows:

British > viṟuttāñar
George > yōṟccu
Ireland > ayaḷḷāntu
English > iṅkirēcu
Lieutenant General > luyittuṉāntu yeṉeṟāl
Robert Brownrigg > ṟōvaṟṭṭu piṟavuṉṟikku
majistrate > makisttiṟāttu
Christ > kiristtu
paragraph > piṟiti

MORPHOLOGY

The remote demonstrative singular pronoun atu becomes avai in the plural. But in the document, the plural suffix kaḷ is added to the form atu in atukaḷ.

The ablative of motion is expressed in two instances in the document by putting the noun in the accusative and adding the collurupu viṭṭu.

kaṇṭi nāṭukaḷaiviṭṭut turattappaṭṭirukkiṉṟa tamiṭ caṉaṅkal.
nītiyaiviṭṭuc collappaṭṭavaruṭaiya araciṉ kiṟikaikaḷum atiṉ iyaṟkaiyum akaṉṟirukkutu.

There are also instances of the use of the expanded case sign il iruntu.

ciṅkaḷa nāṭukaḷiliruntu varappaṭṭa mōṭṭiṟāḷaimār.
kaṇṭi nāṭukaḷiliruntu appaṟappaṭuttiyirukkiṟa aracu māṟippōṉa kaṇṭi irācāvuṭaiya pentukkaḷ.

In three instances, the genitive case is expressed by putting first the noun in the dative and then adding the collurupu uṭaiya.

tamiṭ cātiyārukkuṭaiya cakala varumaikaḷai.
ivarukkuṭaiya kuṭumpattaiyum pentukkaḷaiyum.
oru cuyātipatikkuṭaiya makā piṟatāṉikkacuttattaiyuṭaiya kiṟamaṅkaḷukku.

In the following instance, the instrumental is used in place of the ablative.

> kuṭumpattaiyum pentukkaḷaiyum kaṇṭi aracin cimmācaṉattāl eppōtaikkum piraṉīṅkarpaṇṇappaṭukutu.

The old viyaṅkōḷ was expressed by verbs of the ceya pattern. But it was found to be insufficient as it was used for the infinitive. Therefore a suffix -um was added to the ceya form. The resulting ceyavum form was used in the old viyaṅkōḷ. The v comes in as a glide āka + v + um > ākavum.

GLOSSARY

atikārmār
: This is from Sinhalese adikarama. In the Kandyan territory, it denotes the Chief Officer of State. In Dutch territory, it denotes a District Chief.

kōṟāḷaimār
: This is a loan-word from Sinhalese korala and denotes a native headman in charge of a korala, now usually of a pattuwa and confined to the Kandyan districts.

kovuraṉatōr
: This term is derived from Portuguese "governador" and means governor.

ticaimār
: Ticai is from Sanskrit diśā meaning direction. It is a Sinhalese title for a governor of a province.

mōṭṭiṟāḷaimār
: This is a corruption of the term mukaveṭṭi which is from Sanskrit mukha + Tamil veṭṭi. It is an honorific title for a clerk.

vitāṉai
: Vitāṉai is derived from Sinhalese vidana and means a headman. The Vidanes differed in rank and in the importance and size of their jurisdictions.

ṟōvarṭṭu piṟavuṉṟikku
: This is a Tamilisation of the English name Robert Brownrigg. Sir Robert Brownrigg was governor from 1812 to 1820 under the British occupation of Ceylon.

yōṟccu
: This is a Tamilisation of the English name George. George III was King of England, 1760-1820.

I am greatly obliged to Dr. W. M. K. Wijetunge, member of the Historical Manuscript Commission, for obtaining me photostat copies of these documents from the Government Archives.

I am very much indebted to Mrs. M. Ponnuthurai, for the help rendered in deciphering the signatures in Telugu in these documents.

SOME DUTCH LOAN-WORDS IN THE JAFFNA DIALECT OF TAMIL

S. THANANJAYARAJASINGHAM

Otto Jesperson in his *Language, its Nature, Development and Origin* says, "No language is entirely free from borrowed words, because no nation has ever been completely isolated. Contact with other nations inevitably leads to borrowings." This is almost a truism. The Tamil language as current in Ceylon came into contact with Portuguese, Dutch, English and other foreign languages and borrowed freely from them. It was not until the begininng of the sixteenth century when the Portuguese came that Ceylon began to make new and important contacts with the outside world. After the Portuguese, the Dutch in the seventeenth century and English in the eighteenth century came to Ceylon. These contacts developed her languages.

The Dutch ruled Ceylon from A.D. 1658 to 1796 and as a result of their rule, many Dutch words have infiltrated the Tamil language. The Dutch element in the Jaffna dialect of Tamil is a speciality that draws the line between the Jaffna dialect and those of the South Indian dialects of Tamil. Most of the Dutch words that have been borrowed by the Tamil language as spoken in Jaffna are those that denote new concepts. Although most of the Portuguese and Dutch words have now been replaced by English words in the Jaffna dialect, yet there are some words which are current in the vocabulary of the Tamils who are prompted by a need-filling motive to retain them. The Dutch not only introduced into the Jaffna dialect Dutch words but also a few words from French and Malay.

During the Dutch rule of Ceylon, the central and local governments issued proclamations which had to be obeyed and observed by the general public. Dutch publications of this type were called *plakkaats* and they were issued in Dutch, Sinhalese and Tamil. The Tamil plakkaats are a mine of information with regard to tracing the Dutch words that have crept into the Jaffna dialect.

OFFICE AND ADMINISTRATIVE TERMS

Let us first take the loan-words denoting office into consideration. The Dutch word for secretary is 'secretaris'. This word has been

Tamilised as *cakkaṭattār* in the Jaffna dialect. In the Tamil plakkaats of the eighteenth century, the secretary of the political council to the governor was designated *cekkiṭattār*.[1] This term has now become *cakkaṭattār*. It is today a term applicable to either the secretary of the Jaffna Municipal Council or the law court.

The Jaffna Tamils refer to the Dutch as *ulāntā* which is derived from the word 'Holand'. *Ulāntā* in the Jaffna dialect refers not only to any Hollander but also to any surveyor irrespective of the fact that he is of Dutch origin or not. During the Dutch rule, there was preferential treatment of the Dutch over the natives in appointments to key posts. Only the Dutch held important posts like that of surveyor. Hence the people began to refer to the surveyors who were of Dutch origin by the generic name *ulāntā*. Similarly the surveying pole or rod used by the surveyor was styled *ulāntāk kōl*. Even when Dutch rule had ended and people other than the Dutch held the post of surveyor, the people continued to identify them by the term *ulāntā*. This is an instance of expansion in meaning.

Under the Dutch, the 'Fiscal' was an officer who in civil cases deliberated and voted as a judge, and in criminal cases was considered the public assuser. In rank, he was next to the Dessave. He also superintended the carrying out of the orders of the government. Today, the Government Agent is considered the Fiscal and there is the Deputy Fiscal who is the head of the minor staff of the law court. The Dutch introduced the office of Fiscal into Ceylon. The Dutch term 'Fiskaal' has been rendered into Tamil as *piskkāl*.[2]

The Dutch word for office is 'kantoor' and this word has been Tamilised as *kantōr*.[3] The office of notary was introduced into Ceylon by the Dutch. The term *nottāricu* which denotes a notary in Tamil originated from Dutch 'notaris'. The Tamil word *appukkāttu* which means an advocate is derived from Dutch 'advokaat'.

[1] "*Collappatta komecayiruavarkalutaiyavum alocanait talaivamarutaiyavum kattalaippatikku rulankavu cekkitattar avarkalaleyum kaiyeluttu vaipatta palakkattutane.*" (This plakkaat is in accordance with the order of the said commissioner and his councillors and also signed by the secretary, Roland Cau.) This is from the plakkaat issued by the Dutch governor, Jacob Christiaan Pielat on the 25th of March-April, 1734.

[2] "*Perkalai avarkalukku atutta aykkinaiyaip puranamakkumpatikku etiriyay valakkatat takkatakap piskkalavarkalukkuk kaiyalikka venum.*" (Should hand over persons to the Fiscal so that he may prosecute them in order that they may undergo the proper punishment.) This is from the plakkaat issued by the Dutch governor, Jacob Christiaan Pielat on the 13th of January-February, 1734.

"*Itu cakalamum nanraka nitcittu nilaikontirukkumpatikku intak kottaiyile irukkappatta piskkalavarkalukku . . . pala tanmaiyinalun kurmaiyaka vicarikkiratukkuk kuturamakak kattalai pannukirom.*" (We sternly order the Fiscal of this fort to investigate sharply the several aspects so that all these (orders) may permanently be in force.) This is from the plakkaat issued by the Dutch governor, Jacob Christiaan Pielat on the 25th of March-April, 1734.

[3] In the *Madras Tamil Lexicon*, vol. II, which was published by the University of Madras in 1926, the etymology of *kantor* is erroneously traced to the Sinhalese language.

'Ronde' is a French word meaning the round or beat a policeman or any other patrolling officer makes in the course of his duty. In Ceylon, this word has been introduced into the Tamil language through the Dutch. The Tamil form *ṟōntu* is obtained from Dutch 'round'. The Tamil plakkaats of the eighteenth century speak of patrolling officers on their night rounds.[4]

TERMS FOR HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS AND MODERN CONVENIENCES

The Dutch influence can further be traced from some of the household utensils and modern conveniences. The Portuguese were the first European power to rule Ceylon and as such several Portuguese words denoting household things and modern conveniences were borrowed by the Tamil language. The Dutch also introduced into Ceylon certain new objects and amenities which were not introduced by the Portuguese and they are to this day referred by their Dutch names.

The term for a drawer in Tamil is *lācci*. This is derived from Dutch 'laatje'. It is interesting to note that the Portuguese who supplied us with terms for table and almirah did not introduce the term drawer from their language. Perhaps the fitting in of drawers to tables and almirahs was a development that took place during the Dutch times. Names denoting articles of domestic use like *tācci* a frying pan; *pōcci*, a pot made out of clay or glass; *rākki*, a rack; *vakku*, a tub turned out of stone or cement; *pōttil*, a bottle; *pīrō*, almirah on pedestal; *istirikkai*, a smoothing iron; *kiḷāmpu*, a clamp; *kēttil*, a kettle; and *pucar*, face powder are Tamilisations of Dutch: 'taatje', 'potje', 'rak', 'bak', 'bottel', 'bureau', 'strijken', 'klamp', 'ketel', and 'poeyer', respectively. The word for latrine in Tamil is *kakkūcu*, the origin of which can be traced to Dutch 'kakhuis'. 'Pakkūcu' is the name given to a kind of packing wood and the box made out of it is styled *pakkūcup peṭṭi* in Tamil. The Dutch term 'pakkist' which means a packing case has been Tamilised as *pakkūcu*.

VEGETABLES ETC.

The Dutch introduced into Ceylon a special kind of Muruṅkai which bore succulent drum sticks. The Jaffna Tamils call it *ulāntā muruṅkai* (Dutch Muruṅkai) after the people who introduced it. Muruṅkai is not included in the list of vegetables gifted to Hindu priests officiating at weddings and funerals. The reason is not far to seek. This vegetable was not known to the Tamils before the time of Dutch occupation in Ceylon and orthodox conservatism forbade the Hindus from including it in the list of vegetables for *dana* subsequently.

[4] *"Perkalai rontaikkarar patikavarkarar yustticavin panivitaikararenkilum kantupitittal."* (If the persons are caught by patrolling officers or watchers from watch towers or judicial officers.) This is from the plakkaat issued by the Dutch governor, Jacob Christiaan Pielat on the 13th of January-February, 1734.

'Sāmbil'[5] in Malay-Javanese meant a kind of relish generally made out of minced vegetables and this term was introduced into Ceylon by the Dutch. The Tamils referred to it as *campal.* As the Tamils knew the recipe for making *campal* before the coming of the Dutch to Ceylon, they referred to it as *paccaṭi* which is an indigenous term. But in course of time, the Tamil word *paccaṭi* came to be of limited occurrence as can be seen in popular expressions like *mankāyc campal,* mango campal; *miḷaku campal,* pepper campal; *cīṉi campal,* sweet campal, and the like.

The Dutch brought to Ceylon a kind of bean known as 'boontje' in Dutch. In Tamil, 'boontje' has beoome *pōñci.** Sometimes *avarai* which is a generic term for bean in Tamil is suffixed to *pōñci* and thus we have the compound *pōñci avarai* to mean a particular kind of bean.

The Dutch were the first to introduce coffee cultivation in Ceylon. Trade in coffee was a royal monopoly as is evidenced by two Tamil plakkaats issued in the time of the Dutch governor, Petrus Vuyst. The Dutch word for coffee is 'koffie' which is derived from Arabic 'qahweh'. The Tamil term *kōppi* is derived from Dutch 'koffie.'[6]

GAMES

The game of cards[7] was introduced into Ceylon by the Dutch and as such most of the Tamil terms denoting cards are of Dutch origin. *Kalāvarai,* clubs; *ēr,* king; *ācu,* ace; *āṭattaṉ,* heart; *puṟo,* queen; *vīṟu,* jack; *skōppaṉ,* spade and *ṟīttaṉ,* diamonds are derived from Dutch 'klaver', 'heer', 'aas', 'hearten', 'boer' 'vrouw', 'schoppen' and 'ruiten' respectively.

IDIOMS

'Idiom' is sometimes used in English as in French, to describe the form of speech peculiar to a people or a nation.[8] Most of our idioms come from the popular vernacular which still preserves the grammatical freedom. Several useful idioms coined out of Dutch words have succeeded in establishing themselves in spite of the opposition of purists and grammarians.

[5] HENRY YULE and ARTHUR COKE BURNELL, *Hobson-Jobson*: *A. Glossary of Anglo-Indian Colloquial Words and Phrases and of Kindred Terms,* ed. William Crooke, John Murray, London, 1903.

[6] "*Koppi marankal pericanalun ciritanalum yatoru campavippinale pattupporatait tavirap pitunkiyanalun tarittanalun koppukkalai vettiyanalum palakkappatatu.*" (Coffee plants whether young or grown up with the exception of those that die off due to unforeseeable circumstances should not be cut down or uprooted or their branches be cut off.) This is from the plakkaat issued by the Dutch governor, Petrus Vuyst on the 17th of May-June, 1727.

[7] A. E. BUULTJENS, "On Some Dutch Words Commonly Used by the Sinhalese", *The Orientalist,* vol. III, Education Society's Press, Bombay, 1888-1889, p. 104.

[8] L. P. SMITH, *Words and Idioms,* Constable, London, 1943, p. 167.

'Duit'[9] was an old copper coin of which eight went to make a stuiver. This Dutch coin was in circulation during the Dutch occupation of Ceylon. The Dutch 'duit' is pronounced as *tuṭṭu*[10] in the Jaffna dialect. It is very productive in idiom formation. The English idioms 'not worth a two pence' and 'good for nothing fellow' are effectively rendered in Tamil as *oru tuṭṭukkūṭap peṟātu* and *oru tuṭṭukkum utavāṉ* respectively. The Jaffna Tamils have a way of teasing those who give irrelevant answers to questions put to them: *Vaṭṭukkōṭṭaikkup*[10] *pōṟa (pōkiṟa) vaḻi etenṭu (eteṉṟu) kēṭṭāl tuṭṭukku renṭu (iranṭu) kottaippakku.* This expression when translated means "two dried arecanuts for a duit when asked about the way to *Vaṭṭukkōṭṭai*".[11] The phrase 'two dried arecanuts for a duit' in the expression "tuṭṭukku renṭu koṭṭaippākku" perhaps reminds us of the lucrative trade in arecanuts during the Dutch rule of Ceylon. *Tuṭṭu* is also a generic term for money in Tamil. The English slang "no dough" is expressed in Tamil as *tuṭṭu illai* (no money).

During the Crusades the French and the Franks took a leading role and in the East and their name came to be associated in general for the Westerners. The Indians first applied this name to the Portuguese and then extended it to all Europeans who came to India. The Europeans who came early to India in large numbers were the Portuguese and Dutch and they were referred to as *paraṅki* by the natives. *Paraṅki* is a corruption of the word 'Frank'.[12] Here is another instance of expansion in meaning. In Ceylon, the word must have been originally used to denote the Portuguese and Dutch. But today it is restricted to mean the descendants of the Portuguese and the Dutch who had intermarried with the natives. Some of the descendants of the Portuguese and Dutch were engaged in horseshoeing and other lower walks of life. They took to drinking, gambling and other vices. As a result, they become very poor and their dresses were an index to their poverty. The local people contemptuously referred to them as *pīttal paraṅki* (torn or poorly attired Burgher). *Pīttal* is derived from Tamil *pīṟṟal.* The geminated alveolar trill is changed into geminated dental plosive as is characteristic of the colloquial. Today the idiom *pīttal paraṅki* is used contemptuously by the Jaffna Tamils to refer to any person who is clumsily dressed or in needy circumstances.

In the Jaffna dialect, *ṟōntucuṟṟutal* is an idiom. It refers to any suspicious character who roams about a locality. The usage *ṟōntucuṟṟutal* comprises the Tamilised form of the foreign word and its

[9] *Memoir of Jacob Christiaan Pielat,* trans. Sophia Pieters, Government Printer, Colombo, 1905, p. 15.

[10] In the *Madras Tamil Lexicon,* vol. V, which was published by the University of Madras in 1926, the Sinhalese language is wrongly credited with having been the donor of this word to Tamil.

[11] Vattukkottai is the name of a place, seven miles off the Jaffna town.

[12] T. P. MEENAKSHISUNDARAN, "The Portuguese Influence Revealed by Tamil Words", *Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaran Sixty-First Birthday Commemoration Volume,* Annamalai University, January, 1961, p. 138.

Tamil equivalent. For *ṟōntu* and *cuṟṟutal* mean the same. Such a tendency is bound to arise when foreign words are borrowed. The borrowing language continues to use the borrowed word for some time and then if possible supplies a near equivalent in course of time. When the native equivalent is supplied it could gain currency into common parlance only with the help of the foreign word. We have other instances of such a tendency in expressions like *paḻipāvam* (guilt, slander), *poruḷpaṇṭam* (wealth) and the like.

PLACE NAMES

The settlement of the Dutch in Jaffna is remembered by the term *Paṟaṅkitteru* (Burgher's Street). *Paṟaṅkitteru* refers to the area close to the Dutch fort in Jaffna which was predominantly occupied by the Dutch. It continues to be the residential area of the descendants of the Dutch.

OBSOLETE TERMS

Several Dutch terms found in the Tamil plakkaats issued by the Dutch governors have now lost currency. They have been gradually replaced by English words. *Veliyattu* (handbill) from 'biljet', *palakkāttu* (proclamation) from 'plakkaat', *kommantōr* (commander) from 'commandeur', *komēcāyiru* (commissioner) from 'commissaris', *iskkīppiri* (master of sailing ship) from 'schipper', *luyittuṉāntu* (lieutenant) from *luitenant, kastēlai* (castle) from 'Kasteel', *kōveṟiṉamēntu* (government) from 'gouvernement', *tiyākkōṉi* (poor-relief board) from 'diakonie' and *stīviri* (a penny) from 'stuiver' are some of the Dutch words which have fallen into disuse in the Jaffna dialect.

TAMILISATION OF DUTCH WORDS

When foreign words are borrowed, they are adapted to the phonemic system of the Tamil language. The sounds in one language are rendered by the nearest phonemic shape in the borrowing language. Most of the changes are necessitated by the fact that there are no corresponding sounds in Tamil.

The history of Dutch words in Tamil is in a sense the record of the fortunes of two conflicting opposite processes. The one assimilates the foreign word to Tamil habits of spelling and pronunciation, the other preserves its alien shape and sound as in schoppen > *skōppaṉ*. The phonetic changes suffered by Dutch words in Tamil are of two kinds: changes undergone by (i) single sounds, (ii) groups of sounds.

In Tamil, voiced plosives are inadmissible at the beginning of words. There are no separate characters for voiced sounds in Tamil.[13]

[13] ROBERT CALDWELL, *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages,* 3rd edn. reprint, University of Madras, Madras, 1956, p. 138.

As such the initial voiced plosives in the foreign language are changed into voiceless plosives in Tamil.

duit > *tuṭṭu*   bottel > *pōttil*
boer > *puṟo*   bureau > *pīṟō.*
boontje > *pōñci*

Initial clusters are inadmissible in the Tamil language. We find initial clusters broken by vowels, *a, i* and *ī* in the following instances.

kl > *kal*   klaver > *kalāvarai*
kl > *kiḷ*   klamp > *kiḷāmpu*
vr > *vīṟ*   vrouw > *vīṟu.*

There is an instance of an initial cluster in schōppeṉ > *skoppan.*

The rules of Tamil grammar do not permit the sounds *l* and *ṟ* at the beginning of words. But the colloquial language has become democratic enough to admit these sounds initially as can be seen in the following instances.

laatje > *lācci*   rond > *ṟōntu*
rak > *ṟākki*   ruiten > *ṟīttaṉ*

The pharyngeal glottal slit fricative *h* occurring initially in foreign words is dropped in Tamilisation.

Holland > *ulāntā*   heer > *ēr*

The voiceless labio dental slit fricative *f* is foreign to Tamil and as such the voiceless bilabial plosive is substituted for it initially and medially.

Fiskaal > *piskkāl*   koffie > *kōppi*

The foreign medial cluster -tj- > *cc* in Tamil.

taatje > *tācci*   potje > *pōcci*
laatje > *lācci*

The loan-words discussed in this paper reveal to us something of the history of the Dutch contact with Ceylon. The most obvious motive for borrowing is to fill a gap in the borrowing dialect.[14] These loan-words have outlived the decay of the power of Holland in Ceylon. The contribution of the Dutch constitute a fraction of the foreign element to the Tamil language as spoken in Jaffna. Compared with the Portuguese words admitted in the Jaffna dialect, their number is small. Since the Portuguese were the first European power to rule Ceylon, their contribution had a much more lasting effect than that of the Dutch who came subsequently.

[14] CHARLES F. HOCKETT, *A Course in Modern Linguistics*, Macmillan, New York, 1958, p. 405.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE TAMIL LANGUAGE ON SINHALA LETTERS

REV. DHAMMARATNA THERO

Many scholars have acknowledged that like Pali and Sanskrit, Tamil also has had a considerable influence on the language and literature of the Sinhalese. Only a handful of scholars, however, have attempted to study the nature and extent of that influence, and to assess this an essential prerequisite is a knowledge of both the Tamil and the Sinhala languages.

Evidence for the influence of Tamil on Sinhala could be derived from two sources — inscriptions and literature, both secular and religious. It is clear that the ancient inscriptions and literature bear evidence of mutual relations that existed between Ceylon and India for over two thousand years.

That this relationship dates from prehistoric times is attested by Valmiki's *Ramayana*. According to the *Mahavamsa* and *Dipavamsa* — the ancient Pali Chronicles of Ceylon, the earliest immigrants who took up permanent residence in the island was a group of Aryans led by Vijaya. Tradition has it that they came from the Laṭa-desa, an area situated in North India. Until their arrival the island was believed to have been inhabited by Rakshasas and Nagas.

Though there is evidence now to indicate that there was a definite Pre-Vijayan Culture, it is not possible to give a clear picture of the language and culture of those ancient peoples.

Geographical proximity to India, however, makes it impossible to believe that various streams of Indian immigrants did not reach the island. It has been established that contacts with the Aryans pre-dated the advent of Vijaya. Similarly contact with the areas to the south of the Krshna and Godavari would have been a natural historical feature.

The Asokan inscriptions refer not only to the lands of Chola, Chera, and Pandya, but also to the island of Tambapanni by which name Ceylon had been known. Common contact with the Mauryan power would imply connections with each other also.

The earliest recorded reference to South India in the chronicles is the arrival of two adventurers, Sena and Guttika, who deposed the ruling monarch Asela and administered the kingdom *circa* third century B.C.

Their rule of twenty-two years in obviously hostile territory necessarily indicates that a large number of soldiers and settlers would have accompanied them. This was equally true of the rule of Elara the Just who ruled over the island for forty-four years.

South Indian rule came again during the time of King Valagamba and continued over the centuries due to dynastic wars and internal conflicts in the island which encouraged adventurers from outside. Ilanaga was installed with the support of mercenaries from South India. The process however was not one-sided. For in the time of Gajabahu attacks were directed against the mainland and over twelve-thousand prisoners were brought and settled in the island.

Natural involvements inevitable amongst neighbouring countries continued over the centuries. With the demise of King Narendrasingha, the last Sinhala monarch in the eighteenth century a South Indian dynasty was installed and continued until the treaty, by which sovereignty was handed over to the British.

The intimacy of connections with South Indian dynasties and peoples inevitably led to cultural impacts which are borne out by inscriptions and literature. The tenth century Hopitigama Inscription now at Badulla refers to the extensive intermarriage between the Sinhala and Tamil peoples. The Polonnaruwa Vellaikkara sannasa and the Gadaladeniya inscription are interesting in that both are in the Tamil language.

Apart from this there is evidence of Tamil words in purely Sinhalese inscriptions. The earliest example is the Maharatmale inscription, *circa* first century A.D., viz. "Siddham, devanapiyatisa maharaja marumakana kane..." In this line *marumakana* is indisputably derived from the Tamil *marumakan* meaning grandson.

It is interesting to note that in the Tamil the consonants g, j, ḍ, d, b, are also represented by k, c, ṭ, t, p. The influence of this peculiar linguistic feature is reflected in certain Sinhala inscriptions, viz.

(a) In the Perumiyamkulama Inscription of the first century:

(bhandagarika =) badakariya. k for g.
yākuhaṭa for yāguhaṭa.

(b) In the second century *nāgamahārāja* has been written as *naka maharaje*.

This tendency prevailed up to the tenth century.

Again we find in the inscriptions exclusively Tamil words such as:

kuḍi, miḍi, kanakkar, mekāppar etc.,

that refer to certain occupations. Sometimes words obviously of Tamil origin are used in the inscriptions. Examples are,

padi (city)	pāṭṭa (tax)
pali (fault)	veḍa (interest)
kuli (hire)	maravädi (slipper).

The use of the plural in place of the singular and the addition of special suffixes to signify respect is found in the Abhayagiri Inscription of Kasyapa V: "devisavajā salameyivan abahaya yutār". Here the suffix *-ār* in *yutār* has been added to denote respect. In Tamil too an *-ār* suffix is used to signify respect. Significantly these are peculiarly Tamil forms unknown to the Pali and Sanskrit languages.

The influence of Tamil is also seen in the standard work on Sinhala grammar, the *Sidat Sangarawa*, which bears resemblances to the Tamil work *Virasoliyam*. It is interesting to note the similarity features in sandhi connected with *i* and *u* sounds:

TAMIL	SINHALESE
mani + alaku = maniyalaku	piri + at = piriyat
ti + eriyum = tiyerium	mi + angunu = miyangunu
podu + idam = poduvidam	du + aga = duvaga
ko + il = koyil, kovil	tunu + aga = tunuvaga

Here again the Sinhala and Tamil share a like feature unknown to both Pali and Sanskrit.

A further interesting similarity is noted in the inflexion of nouns. The use of postpositions with case-forms to make the sense clear is a feature found in Tamil also, and is unknown to Pali and Sanskrit.

SINHALESE	TAMIL
Accusative — mosa, vina, hara	tavira, oliya
Instrumental — visin, saha, samaga karanakoṭa	odu, ōdu, udan, kondu
Dative — pinisa, sandahā	poruttu, āha
Ablative — keren	irundu
Genitive — haṭa, ge	adu, ādu, udaiya
Locative — kerehi	idam, idattil

The ending of the accusative case in Sinhala bears a resemblance to the ending of the dative case in Tamil.

In Tamil the indeclinable particles *mana* and *pola* are used with the accusative. In Sinhalese the particle *meñ* is used with the same case, e.g.

Sinhalese — nilupul meñ
Tamil — karunkuvalaiyamana

There is no doubt that the Sinhalese indeclinable particle *meñ* is derived from the Tamil *mana*.

The intimate nature of the Sinhalese-Tamil contact is seen in the absorption of many Tamil words into the Sinhalese language, some in

their original Tamil form, while others have been unconsciously absorbed so that they almost look indigenous. To the first category belong:

TAMIL	ENGLISH
adi	footmark
accu	mould
ilavu	death
pattiyam	wholesome
petti	box,

while to the second category belong:

SINHALESE	TAMIL
salamba	silambu
mirivedi	maram adi
kudukedu	kudi kedu.

Buddhism flourished in the south of India, and great scholars versed in the dhamma as well as in Pali, the language of the Buddhist scriptures visited the island. Their distinct contribution in the field of these studies influenced the local scholars to a considerable extent. We see these influences in the Sinhala commentaries (*Sanna* = *urai*) and glossaries (*Getapada* = *arumpada urai*) which reveal familiarity with Tamil letters.

The Jataka stories in their popular form were compiled in the Kurunegala period. They bear the distinct impress of Tamil scholarship. Tribute has been paid in the *Mahavamsa* to a learned monk from the Chola lands, a distinguished exponent of the dhamma, well versed in many languages, and fully acquainted with the Jataka stories, whose discourses were listened to with equal interest and enthusiasm by King Parakramabahu IV and his subjects.

Through a reading of the Jatakas compiled at this time we find a further stream of Tamil words entering Sinhala. Examples are:

The Jataka Atuva Getapadaya (*Jataka-Glossary*)

talasadden — kulutalam handin; nigam nam angani eti mahagramayay; ukkam — vilakku manjnsaya — karandunehi nohot pettagamehi etc.

The Vesaturuda-Sannaya

amma — anna, anniya.

kanhajinam dasim Jalim dasam ca . . . is explained as kanisiru daskota dalisiru daskota. . . . Herein *siru* = Tamil siru. Like siruvan — sirumi.

Upahana patimunchi — vahanliya; pakkamu — handamin Bosatun kara bala palaha. . . .

In these examples the Sinhala idioms clearly bear the influence of Tamil.

The auxiliary verbs *kotalā, hitalā, dalvālā* etc. also show the influence of Tamil verbs.

We find during the time of the Kurunegala period knowledge of Tamil being recognized as one of the distinct characteristics of scholarship. During the age of the great Pirivenas (seats of learning) the interchange of scholars also included visits by distinguished luminaries from South India. The learned Brahmin Chandrasekhara was closely associated with the Vijaya Bahu Pirivena of Totagamuva. His pupil Shelasingha, a Tamil physician, translated the Tamil medical work, *Vaidya Cintamani Bhaisajja Sangrahaya* which enriched the science of medicine in Ceylon. Through it came into popular parlance Tamil words like:

pottani (bundle)	tippili (long pepper)
ulukku (sprain)	tuttanagam (pewter)
kotta malli (coriander)	kottan (marking nut)
palmanikkam	kallipakku
sinduram (red lead)	nelli (myrobalan)
sadilingam (red lead)	mancadi (a red seed)
sarakku (drugs)	pattiyam (regimen).

But the impact of Tamil went deeper. Not only did it directly and indirectly add to the vocabulary of the Sinhalese; but their literary forms also inspired the Sinhala writers. Briefly we see this in new literary forms like:

(a) Asna literature which commenced with the *Dalada-sirita* (14th century). The style of these works is based on the Tamil alliteration (மோனை).

(b) The Blisama-padyas or the rhymed-stanzas that became popular from the ninth century as distinct from the free-verse forms that characterised the Sinhala poetry of the preceding period (for instance the sigiri graffitti), indicate the inspiration of Tamil literary forms to which, unlike Pali and Sanskrit, the rhymed stanza was known. The sudden popularity of this new style of versification appears to indicate a conscious search for new styles in Sinhala literature by scholars who were in all probability, acquainted with the efflorescence of Tamil culture of that time centred on the Vijayanagar kingdom.

(c) The Sandesa literature. There is no doubt that the prevalent Sandesa poems (poetical compositions conveying a message to some deity) were equally well known to the Tamil as well as the Sinhala litterateurs. But the Sinhala writers would have been equally aware of Tamil and other Indian works of this type, and it would probably be more correct to say that Tamil works stimulated rather than inspired the new literary forms

which so rapidly became popular in and forms a richer part of Sinhala literature.

(d) The Prasasti Kavyas. The panegyrical poems addressed to distinguished personages extolling their virtues were common to Tamil literature and reached their high water mark during the Pallava period. The *Sinhala Perakumbu-sirita* which eulogises the achievements of Parakramabahu VI and Alagiyavanna-mukaveti's *Kustantinu hatana* over a century later which is dedicated to the greatest of Portuguese governors, Constantine de Sa de Noronha, typify these literary forms.

(e) Didactical literature. The didactic literature which Alagiyavanna-mukaveti made popular with his poems like the *Subhasitaya* are commonly met with in the literature of North and South India. The author himself indicates his own familiarity with the Indian languages including Tamil when at the beginning of his work he states that he writes in the Sinhala language for his uninitiated countrymen who are not aware of Sanskrit, Pali and Tamil.

Similarly Attaragama Rajaguru Bandara, the close collaborator of Venerable Welivita Sri Saranankara Sangharaja in the religious and social reformation in the 18th century, brought out the *Ganadevi-hella* which placed him in debt to the *Naladiyar*.

It will not be out of place here to refer to dramatic forms which play an equally significant part as prose and poetry in the literary development of a people. The popular Nadagam style is almost exclusively from the South Indian kamban-kuttu plays. Pilippu-singho the progenitor of this style in Ceylon commenced his output by first translating the Tamil Nadagam *Harischandra* into Sinhala. The musical instruments that accompany these performances like nagasalam and maddala were themselves exclusively derived from South India.

The Kolam and Sokari plays which are part of the rural life in Ceylon are unsophisticated village entertainments that have come across from South India.

Similarly Tamil musical forms like Tamil and Vannam also became popular first at the court and subsequently throughout the island. The *Musaladi Vannama* by its very name indicates its Tamil connections.

In the field of direct translations one may refer to the efforts of some scholars of the Kandyan period like Kirimetiyava Dissava who translated the *Vetalan Kathava* from Tamil into Sinhalese, Matara Abayakoon Wijayasundara Mudali who translated the *Vallimata katha* and others into Sinhala.

The intimacy of contact between the Tamils and the Sinhalese was further strengthened during the last phase of the Sinhala monarchy when

South Indian kings of the Waduge line from Tanjore were invited to rule the country. During the period of their rule not only did centres of Hindu worship become popular but works relating to the worship of Hindu deities were also translated from the Tamil (such as the *Wadiga Siraspada*). Similarly this period brought into popular use many Tamil manuscripts relating to the occult sciences.

I have in my paper briefly shown the long and rich impact of the Tamil language on Sinhala letters. They are as important as the contact with Pali and Sanskrit. Sometimes the contribution was exclusively Tamil in inspiration but quite often it arose from the interest Sinhala scholars showed in Tamil works on Buddhist and Sanskrit studies in which the Sinhala scholar like his Tamil counterpart was interested.

The impact of neighbouring Indian languages on the mainstream of the island's linguistic evolution is a living process. Towards the quickening of this, Independence has contributed much, for the language of the ordinary citizen has received due recognition after the interlude of Western rule.

Recently the growth has been more vigorous and the translations from Sinhala into Tamil like the *Mahavamsa, Selalihini Sandesaya, Gamperaliya* etc., and Tamil into Sinhala with the *Silappadikaram, Tirukkural, Manimekhalai,* under the auspices of the Sri Lanka Sahitya Mandalaya established in 1958 indicate a natural impact on each other which must necessarily lead to a greater degree of cultural understanding and growth as well as the evolution of linguistic harmony in Ceylon.

SUGGESTIONS TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM OF INADEQUACY OF THE TAMIL ALPHABET

V. VALLIPURAM

Linguistic insularity is well nigh impossible today, for the improved amenities of modern transport and communication have brought peoples of diverse origins and languages closer and closer, the inevitable outcome of which is felt in the indigenous languages, especially in the Orient, owing to the impact of the more developed languages of the Occident. With the new awakening of Nationalism in the erstwhile colonial countries where English reigned supreme, the national languages are given pride of place to the extent of replacing English even at the highest seat of education, the University. Thus the need arises for producing advanced books, most of which have to be translated from English for the time being.

In the case of Tamil we can say that this is a period of translation. Books on various subjects are being translated from English into Tamil, both in India and in Ceylon. While translating a book especially in a subject like Geography, one comes across a host of foreign proper nouns (names of places as well as persons) which cannot be adequately represented in Tamil, with the existing Tamil alphabet and Tamil phonetic rules.

When proper nouns are transliterated into Tamil, they suffer mutilation and the resultant Tamil word at times may not retain even the semblance of the original word: e.g. (1) Dudley Stamp. This is written in Tamil either as இடட்டிலித் தாம்பு *idaddilittampu* or as தட்டிலித் தாம்பு *taddilittampu.* (2) Spain. This is written in three different ways, viz. இசுப்பெயின் *isuppeyin,* சிபெயின் *sipeyin* and பெயின் *peyin.* (3) Almirante. This word is written either as ஆலுமிரான்று *ālumirānru* or as ஆன்மிரான்று *ānmirānru.* The following words can be shown as examples for those which lead to confusion after transliteration: e.g. Corner Brook. This is written in Tamil as கோணர் புறாக்கு *kōnar-prūk.* But the word Gorner Brat is written as கோணர் பிறற்று *kōnar prat.* There is no distinction between Corner and Gorner after transliteration into Tamil. Hence it is apparent that there should be some method by which foreign words could be conveniently written in Tamil, without subjecting them to distortion and thereby leading to confusion.

BRIEF HISTORY OF THE TAMIL ALPHABET

At this jucture it is essential to trace the history of the Tamil alphabet in a brief survey. *Tolkāppiyam,* the earliest extant Tamil grammar states that the Tamil alphabet consists of thirty letters[1] which constitute the primary sounds. They are: (i) Vowels 12, viz. அ a, ஆ ā, இ i, ஈ ī, உ u, ஊ ū, எ e, ஏ ē, ஐ ai, ஒ o, ஓ ō, ஔ au. (ii) Consonants 18, viz. க் k, ங் ṅ, ச் c, ஞ் ñ, ட் ṭ, ண் ṇ, த் t, ந் n, ப் p, ம் m, ய் y, ர் r, ல் l, வ் v, ழ் ḻ, ள் ḷ, ற் ṟ, ன் ṉ. To these thirty primary sounds he adds another three secondary sounds, viz. the short i (kuṟṟiyalikaram) the short u (kuṟṟiyalukaram) and the āytam, which are distinguished from the primary sounds by a superscribed dot.[2] The use of the word 'enpa' (which means 'they say') by Tolkāppiyar in the first sutra of Eḻuttatikāram indicates that this alphabetical system was prevalent even before the time of Tolkāppiyar.

We do not know for certain who the predecessors of Tolkāppiyar were. In spite of the fact that Tolkāppiyar does not mention any particular author by name some modern scholars[3] are of opinion that Tolkāppiyar's authority must have been Agattiyar, who was the first Aryan to lead a colony of Aryans to the South. It is highly improbable that this Agattiyar wrote the first Tamil Grammar, even though later Tamil traditions maintain that he was the father of the Tamil language. The legends about Agattiyar came into existence in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. only, which was a period of active Aryanization of the Tamils. There is no clear reference to Agattiyar in any of the Sangham Literature. Professor Burnett[4] is of opinion that this story about Agattiyar was deliberately fabricated and popularised by the Aryans. But a close study of Tolkāppiyam will show that there had been a number of grammarians who had done pioneer work in this field to whom Tolkāppiyar refers by such cliches as 'enpa', 'enmanar pulavar' etc.

According to recent scholars, the beginning of Tamil can be traced to the Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa period. It is said that the early

[1] *Tolkappiyam,* Eluttatikaram: sutras 1 and 2, ed. S. Ganeshaiyar, Chunnakam, 1952, pp. 25, 38.

[2] The term mupparpulli in sutra 2 is interpreted by Naccinarkkiniyar as the aytam which is represented by three dots. But Perasiriyar takes it to mean the three secondary letters, all of which were written with a dot in early times. This interpretation seems to be more appropriate. Vide: *Tolkappiyam,* Porulatikaram: sutra 665, The South India Saiva Siddhanta Works Publishing Society, Madras, Reprint June 1959, p. 519.

[3] *Yapparungalam,* vol. 1. An ancient and comprehensive work on Tamil prosody by Amritasakaranar with an elaborate commentary, Longmans Green, Madras, 1916, p. 27.

M. Ragava Iyengar, *Araccittokuti,* Pari Nilayam, Madras, 1964, pp. 125, 126.

S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, *History of Tamil Language and Literature,* New Century Book House, Madras, 1956, p. 65.

[4] L. D. Burnett, *The Cambridge History of India,* vol. 1, footnote, ed. E. J. Rapson, first Indian reprint 1955, p. 540.

Tamil script, viz. the Vaṭṭeḻettu was directly evolved from the pictographic letters of the Mohenjo-Daro Civilization.[5] Whatever be the antiquity of Tamil, the number of primary sounds constituting the Tamil alphabet has remained the same throughout the centuries. With regard to the secondary letters there had been some variations which do not materially affect the earlier system. The author of Nannūl speaks of ten secondary sounds instead of the three mentioned by Tolkāppiyar. Excepting the āytam, the rest of the secondary sounds came to be written in the same form as their corresponding primary sounds. The system of differentiating the Kuṟṟiyalikaram, Kuṟṟiyalukaram etc. had been given up. Today the Tamil alphabet consists of 31 different characters, viz. 12 vowels, 18 consonants and the āytam.

Despite the fact that Sanscrit exerted much pressure on the Tamil language from the earliest of times, the Tamil grammarians have stuck fast to the original system of Tamil alphabet, whereas all the other Dravidian languages, such as Telugu, Canarese and Malayalam, have adopted the Sanscrit alphabet. Although Sanscrit words had flown into the language in ever increasing numbers from the Sangham period, yet the Tamil grammarians have striven hard to preserve the identity of the language, the proud heritage, by devising rules for naturalising foreign words, especially from Sanscrit. In this connection Tolkāppiyar states two cardinal rules:[6]

(i) Words borrowed from Sanscrit should be those which are composed of sounds common to both the languages. By this sutra Tolkāppiyar rules out the use of Sanscrit letters in Tamil.

(ii) The next rule states that when Sanscrit words having sounds peculiar to that language are borrowed, they should be adopted to suit the Tamil phonetic principles. But he has not specified how these sounds should be converted into Tamil. This has been taken up by the author of Nannūl in the 13th century when Sanscrit had much sway in the Tamil country. In the chapter of Pataviyal, he elaborates how Sanscrit words should be Tamilized.[7] Conforming to the earlier traditions, the author of Nannūl also does not allow the admixture of Sanscrit letters in Tamil alphabet. Even an ardent enthusiast of the Sanscrit language, as the author of Vīracōḻiyam, whose contention is that Sanscrit and Tamil have the same grammar, did not venture to introduce Sanscrit letters into the Tamil alphabet. According to him, the Tamil alphabet has only 31 sounds, viz. 12

[5] M. VARADARAJAN, *Mozhi Varalaru*, South India Saiva Siddhanta Works Publishing Society, Madras, 1957, pp. 432, 433.

[6] *Tolkappiyam*, Collatikaram, sutra 401, ed. S. Geneshaiyar, Chunnakam, 1955, pp. 361, 363.

[7] *Nannool Viruththiyurai*, sutras 146, 147, 148, 149, The South India Saiva Siddhanta Works Publishing Society, 1956, pp. 109, 110, 114.

vowels, 18 consonants and the āytam.[8] Thus we can see that since the earliest of times, no grammarian had advocated the use of Sanscrit letters in Tamil. It is because of the protection afforded by the grammarians that Tamil has preserved its individuality to this day. If it were not for the vigil of the Tamil grammarians, the same fate that befell the other Dravidian languages would have befallen Tamil also.

USE OF GRANTHA LETTERS

The Aryans, when they introduced the Sanscrit language in the Tamil Country at a comparatively early period, ingeniously devised a new script for Sanscrit, akin to the then prevalent Tamil, the Vaṭṭeḻuttu, with a view to making that language popular among the Tamils. This is commonly known as the Grantha character. In Sanscrit the word Grantha means a book or a treatise. This name came to be used for the script in which the Aryans in the Tamil country wrote their books. In the bilingual inscriptions of the late Pallavas the Grantha character is used to write the Sanscrit portion and the Tamil script for the Tamil portion. With the revival of Hinduism, Sanscrit became more and more the language of liturgy and religious literature. Because of the patronage extended to Sanscrit by the Tamil kings and because of the influence exerted by religion Sanscrit became increasingly popular among the Tamils. As a result the Grantha characters influenced the Vaṭṭeḻuttu to such an extent that by about the 14th century, the latter came to be completely modified and the present Tamil script was evolved.[9] All the same, the Tamil grammar did not admit Grantha characters into its alphabet.

The Tamil writers, however conversant they might have been in Sanscrit, always eschewed Grantha characters in their writings, the only exception being those written in that mongrel style known as the Maṇippiravāḷam, which never gained currency. Had the Maṇippiravāḷam style continued it would have radically altered the Tamil which we use today and it would have appeared as though it were an offshoot of Sanscrit. Fortunately, such a fate did not overtake our language. Great Tamil scholars, equally versed in Sanscrit such as Iḷampūranar, Parimēlaḻakar, Cēnāvarayar and Naccinārkkiniyar have guided the course of Tamil in the proper direction and thanks to them this tradition was maintained up to the time of the versatile scholar, Sivañānamunivar. Since then unfortunately there had been a tendency on the part of Tamil writers to mix Grantha characters in Tamil writings, expecially prose works.

[8] *Viracoliyam,* Peruntevanarurai, stanza 1, K. Gurumoorthy Iyar, Vaddukoddai, Jaffna, p. 1.
[9] M. VARADARAJAN, op. cit., p. 426.

At a time when Tamil showed tendencies of going back to the Maṇippiravāḷam style, Maraimalai Adikal, the champion reformer of modern Tamil, popularly known as the father of pure Tamil came into the scene and purged Tamil of its alien words and characters which were in use. Owing to the indefatigable efforts of this patriotic Tamil Savant a host of Tamil writers have championed the cause of pure Tamil. Once again Tamil has regained its pristine purity and individuality worthy to be called என்றுமுள தென்றமிழ் the everlasting sweet Tamil and கன்னித் தமிழ் the unaging Tamil.

Tamil occupies a unique position among the world languages as the oldest living language. Other languages of antiquity such as Sanscrit, Greek and Latin have become dead languages. Professor Sundarampillai refers to this fact in his invocation to Mother Tamil in his work, *Manōnmaṇīyam*, which can be summarized as follows: 'Tamil, like the Supreme God, has remained unchanged for ever while having given rise to other languages such as Canarese, Telugu, Malayalam and Tulu. While Sanscrit, the other ancient language, ceased to be a spoken language, Tamil has remained young and vigorous to this day, being used both in writing as well as in speech.'[10] It is because of the individuality and vitality of the Tamil language that it has resisted successfully the alien intrusion. Even a foreigner like Rt. Rev. R. Caldwell has appreciated this fact and says as follows: "It is true it would now be difficult for Telugu to dispense with its Sanscrit; more so for the Canarese; and most of all for Malayalam: those languages having borrowed from Sanscrit so largely, and being so habituated to look up to it for help, that it would be scarcely possible for them now to assert their independence. Tamil however, the most cultivated *ab intra* of all Dravidian idioms, can dispense with its Sanscrit altogether, if need be, and not only stand alone, but flourish without its aid."[11] Hence it is unwise on our part to undo the good done by our forefathers from time immemorial.

BORROWING LETTERS FROM OTHER LANGUAGES

There is a school of writers who maintain that the 31 letters of the Tamil alphabet are inadequate to meet the demands of modern times and they advocate the use of Grantha letters in Tamil. Four such letters are commonly used, viz. ஜ j, ஸ s, ஷ ṣ, and ஹ h in addition to the palatal sibilant ஶ s'. These sounds have no corresponding letters in Tamil. But these are not the only sounds we require today. Sanscrit no more holds the dominant position which it once held. It has yielded

10 P. SUNDARAMPILLAI, *Manonmaniyam*, intro., invocatory song to Mother Tamil, The South India Saiva Siddhanta Works Publishing Society, 1942, p. 13.

11 R. CALDWELL, *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages*, London, 1913, p. 45.

place to English which is the more modern and highly developed language, especially in the realm of Science and Technology. As a result we have come across new sounds which are not found even in Sanscrit, e.g. f, z. If we accept the principle of borrowing Grantha letters then we have to borrow letters from English as well to meet the inadequacy. This will lead to complication and there will be no end to this sort of borrowing, which will result in Tamil having a hotch-potch alphabet. Although English has drawn its vocabulary from various sources such as Latin, Greek etc., it has never borrowed letters from these languages. With the 26 letters of its alphabet it is able to represent all the possible sounds by effectively using certain symbols to the existing characters. This could be the guiding factor in the case of Tamil also.

When letters are indiscriminately borrowed from other languages, it will lead to confusion in the minds of children as well as the laymen. Even a person of such scholarship as Swaminatha Thesikar who had mastered the *Tolkāppiyam* and all the existing grammars in his time, has doubted the independent origin of Tamil. He has gone to the extent of saying that Tamil cannot be considered a language because it consists only of 5 letters in its alphabet,[12] implying thereby that all the other letters of the Tamil alphabet are borrowed from Sanscrit. On the contrary, all the evidences tend to show that the Aryans themselves got their script from the early Dravidians.[13] Notwithstanding this historical fact, the confusion in the minds of certain erudite Tamils was caused probably by the preponderant use of Sanscrit letters and words in Tamil. Therefore borrowing words indiscriminately from alien languages is bad in itself; but borrowing letters from them is certainly detrimental to the language.

SUGGESTED REFORM

The need to devise some method for representing foreign sounds in Tamil has remained a problem with us since the time we came in contact with the western world. From time to time, scholars and writers have suggested various means of achieving this end. Professor T. P. Meenakshi Sundaran has suggested the borrowing of Grantha letters. In his article on "The Tamil script Reform"[14] he says as follows:

> "There are already the symbols in use for some of the Grantha letters included in the new alphabetical list of the Twentieth century such as ஜ, ஷ, ஸ, ஶ, ஹ, க்ஷ. These symbols are

[12] SWAMINATHA THESIKAR, *Ilakkanakkottu*, intro., ed. Arumuga Navalar, Madras, 1952, p. 9.

[13] V. I. SUBRAMONIAM, "The Evolution of Tamil Script", *Tamil Culture*, vol. 2, no. 1, (Jan. 1953), p. 40. M. Varadarajan, op. cit., pp. 314, 315.

[14] T. P. MEENAKSHI SUNDARAN, 'The Tamil Script Reform', *Tamil Culture*, vol. 2, no. 1 (Jan. 1953), p. 34.

and ி used in ஸி, ஜி etc. Therefore there is no necessity for going in for any new letter face at all, and nothing except prejudice prevents the editors and authors using these forms uniformly for all the letters."

We have already shown that borrowing is not a satisfactory solution and that there will be no end of borrowing if that principle is accepted. Although the learned professor says that these Grantha sounds are adequate to meet the present day needs, yet we have to find letters for such sounds as f, z, b etc. for which there are no letters in current use. Though the b sound is found in the Sanscrit alphabet yet the corresponding Grantha letter is not at all used in Tamil.

The author of the article "Transliteration of Tamil in Roman characters and vice versa" who goes by the name 'A Senthamilan'[15] has suggested the use of certain symbols and combined sounds of existing letters. We appreciate the fact that he has gone to the root of the problem; but the combined letters advocated by him are unwieldly. The method of placing a dash by the side of a letter will come in conflict with the hyphen and some other conventional symbols such as minus sign. A Senthamilan deserves our compliment for suggesting the use of symbols to related letters in Tamil. We have taken the clue from him and suggest the following system for the new sounds:

(1) a single letter for a single sound
(2) the use of symbols to the existing letters to represent related sounds
(3) using the symbols in such a way as to avoid clash with the conventional signs and the form of the letter.

The symbols are given below:

1. அ' .... ae (as in cat)
2. ஆ' .... ae: (elongated)
3. வ̲ .... fa (labial)
4. ப̲ .... ba (labial)
5. ய̲ .... ja (palatal)
6. க̣ .... ga (guttaral)
7. க̲ .... ha (glottal)
8. ச, ... za (sibilant)
9. ச̣ .... sa (dental)
10. ச̲ .... śa (palatal)
11. ச̳ .... sa (cerebral)

The diacritic marks used in these letters are found in the ordinary Tamil

15 "A Senthamilan", 'Transliteration of Tamil in Roman Characters and Vice Versa,' *Tamil Culture*, vol. 4, no. 1 (Jan. 1955), p. 64.

typewriter and they can be used without much difficulty. The system of using symbols to variations in sound is not altogether new to Tamil as we have seen in the case of Kurriyalikaram, Kurriyalukaram etc.

We advocate the use of these symbols in the case of proper nouns only, such as names of persons and places, and as these terms do not form part and parcel of the Tamil vocabulary, grammatical rules with regard to the initial letters, final letters and the intervening combinations of consonants may be overlooked. Thus the words shown earlier can be rewritten according to this system as follows: (1) டட்லி த்ரும்ப், (2) த்பெயின், (3) ஆல்பிரான்ற், (4) கோணர் புறாக், (5) தோணர் பிறற்.

This will ensure uniformity and accurate pronunciation. All other new terms, whether technical or not, which form part of the vocabulary should be coined in conformity with the grammatical principles.

ADJECTIVES IN TAMIL

A. VELUPILLAI

The Dravidian linguists still do not seem to be unanimous in recognising the existence of adjectives, as a separate part of speech in the Dravidian languages. Though the Tamil grammatical tradition has a history of about two thousand years and though the schools of grammatical thought represented by *Tolkāppiyam* and *Vīracōḻiyam* differ in many ways, yet the traditional Tamil grammars are unanimous in having no grammatical category exactly equivalent to adjectives. Hardly, ten years back, *The Grammatical Structure of Dravidian Languages*, an English translation of a French work by Jules Bloch, was published and this work reiterates the viewpoint of traditional Dravidian grammars and asserts that there are no adjectives in the Dravidian languages. But eminent Dravidian linguists like Alfred Master, Thomas Burrow and Kamil Zvelebil think that adjectives exist as a separate part of speech in the Dravidian languages.

The idea of the existence of adjectives as a separate category in the Dravidian languages, was first put forward by early European authors of the grammars of the various Dravidian languages. As there was no one category of words exactly equivalent to adjectives in traditional Dravidian grammars, Caldwell mentions that certain words were wrongly styled adjectives which in reality, are appellative nouns, not adjectives and which acquire the force of adjectives, merely from the addition of the relative participle of the verb *ā* 'to become', i.e. *āṉa*. When *āṉa*, that has become, is added to the appellative nouns like *nallavaṉ*, a good man, *nallavaḷ*, a good woman and *nallatu*, a good thing, these formations become adjectives in effect, though in grammatical form, they remain precisely what they were before.[1] Dr. F. Kittel refers to gunavacana or attributive nouns as adjectives,[2] and these are equivalent to appellative nouns. A. H. Arden refers to adjectives formed by the addition of *āṉa* to nouns.[3] Though these early European authors were wrong in

[1] ROBERT CALDWELL, *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages*, Madras, 1956, pp. 308-318.

[2] F. KITTEL, *A Grammar of the Kannada Language*, Basel Mission Book and Tract Depository, Mangalore, 1903, p. 242.

[3] A. H. ARDEN, *A Progressive Grammar of the Tamil Language*, The Christian Literature Society, Madras, 1962, p. 193.

identifying adjectives, the idea of the existence of adjectives persisted. Linguists who work on modern scientific lines, have come to accept the idea. Caldwell has shown that there are adjectives in the Dravidian languages, especially in Tamil. Alfred Master speaks about adjectives in Telegu.[4] Thomas Burrow and S. Bhattacharya refer to adjectives in the Parji language, an uncultivated member of the Dravidian family.[5] G. S. Gai and Dr. R. C. Hiremath devote sections to adjectives in their study of the Kannada language.[6] A. C. Sekhar, who has worked on Early Old Malayalam inscriptions, treats adjectives exhaustively in his work.[7]

The adjectival function in the Dravidian syntax is generally performed by nouns of quality or relation which acquire the signification, merely by being prefixed to substantive nouns, without declensional change. Caldwell says that *uriccol*, qualitative words, a class of words mentioned by Tamil grammarians, refer to such words. G. U. Pope also felt that *uriccol* must be either adjective or adverb. Kamil Zvelebil also refers to *uriccol* as adjective.[8] Dr. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri argues that *uriccol* denotes the roots of both nouns and verbs.[9] Varadarajan concludes that *uriccol* are just qualitative words etc.[10] What really transpires from all their references and arguments, is that it it very difficult at the present time to determine what Tolkāppiyar could have meant by *uriccol*. Leaving aside *uriccol*, most grammarians would hesitate to call nouns which stand in attributive relation as adjectives since they name not a quality but substantive concepts. It will be observed that the relation set forth in these noun groups is transitory, variable or accidental.[11] Therefore, substantives of this type need not be treated as adjectives.

Caldwell also says that relative participles of verbs are largely used as adjectives in all the Dravidian languages. Dr. F. Kittel, in his grammar of the Kannada language, mentions that the so-called relative participles have been called adjectives in modern grammars. Relative participles have three different forms to express the three tenses: *vanta*,

[4] ALFRED MASTER, *Introduction to Telegu Grammar*, Luzac, 1947, p. 12.

[5] T. BURROW and S. BHATTACHARYA, *The Parji Language*, Stephen Austin, Hertford, 1953, p. 32.

[6] R. C. HIREMATH, *The Structure of Kannada*, Karnatak University, Dharwar, 1961, pp. 90-91.

G. S. GAI, *Historical Grammar of Old Kannada*, Deccan College, Poona, 1946, pp. 64-66.

[7] A. C. SEKHAR, *Evolution of Malayalam*, Deccan College, Poona 1953, pp. 93-97.

[8] KAMIL ZVELEBIL, "More about adverbs and adjectives in Tamil", *Tamil Culture*, vol. IX, no. 3, 281-290, 1962.

[9] P. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI, *History of Grammatical Theories in Tamil*, University of Madras, 1934.

[10] M. VARADARAJAN, *Moli Nul*, The South Indian Saiva Siddhanta Works Publishing Society, Madras, 1955, p. 270.

[11] HOMER C. HOUSE & SUSAN EMOLYN HARMAN, *Descriptive English Grammar*, Prentice Hall, 1957, p. 73.

past; *varukiṉṟa,* present; and *varum,* future; from the verbal root *vā/var* 'to come'. These forms are always followed by nouns and therefore they are also called adjectival participles. But as these forms denote time and action, it is better to consider them as verbs and to exclude them from adjectives.

Caldwell also points out a number of devices employed by Tamil to denote attributive relation when certain nouns are followed by other nouns. Tamil includes pronouns under the category of nouns and therefore what applies to nouns, applies to pronouns as well. In Tamil, when a noun ending in *-am* is used as an adjective, *-am* is generally rejected and *-attu,* the inflexion suffixed instead, i.e. *puṟam,* outside, becomes *puṟattu,* external. Many Tamil nouns ending in *-ṭu, -ṇṭu* or *-ṟu* double their final consonant when they are used like adjectives, e.g. *nāṭu,* country, becomes *nāṭṭu,* of the country. When Tamil nouns ending in the formative *-mpu* are used adjectivally, *-mpu* changes into *-ppu.* Inflexional increments, in *-attu* and *-am* are also used with substantives to make them attributes. These are oblique forms and these are the ones that take case terminations or post-positions. But these changes take place only in few examples. They can be better dealt with under formation of cases.

Kamil Zvelebil says that during the analysis of words into primary root morphemes and derivational suffixes, it is possible to discover a number of primary roots, which may become substantives only with the help of derivational morphemes generally on the second layer (cf. *per-u-mai,* greatness) and which on the other hand, behave in the syntax of the language as qualifiers in their very root-forms or in the forms of the stems (cf. *nal tamil* > *naṟṟamil,* good Tamil, *per-u nāḷ* > *perunāḷ,* great day, festival, *cil/ciṟ il* > *ciṟṟil,* small house, hut). He also points out that the adjective roots *per, nal, cil* etc. and stems *peru, ciṟu* cannot be under any condition combined with case-endings like substantives or personal pronouns. Among the traditional Tamil grammarians, Naṉṉūlār makes an attempt to analyse words into bases, infixes, terminations, etc. in his *Pataviyal* and he is at once confronted with the difficulty of explaining forms, referred to as adjectives by Kamil Zvelebil. Naṉṉūlār defines base as that which stands at the beginning of a word and as that which cannot be segmented further. The very next sūtra gives a list of abstract nouns of quality:

Cemmai ciṟumai cēymai tīmai
vemmai putumai meṉmai mēṉmai
tiṇmaiy-uṇmai nuṇmaiy-ivaṟṟ-etir
iṉṉavum paṇpiṟ pakā nilai ppatam ē.[12]

He refers to them all as bases and in the next sūtra, tries to deduce from

12 ARUMUKA NAVALAR, *Nannur Kantikaiyurai* — Mudlr. G. Subrahmanyam, Madras, 1953, p. 91.

them in the following manner, the shorter forms without the suffixes of the second layer.

> *īṟu pōtal iṭaiyukaram iyyātal*
> *āti nīṭal aṭiyakaram aiyātal*
> *taṉṉoṟṟ-iraṭṭal muṉṉiṉṟa mey tirital*
> *iṉa mikal iṉaiyavum paṇpiṟk-iyalpē.*[13]

Explaining adjectival bases as derivations from abstract nouns of quality by dropping of suffixes etc. is quite unnatural and contrary to general trends in the development of language. The existence of adjective roots and bases have to be accepted and abstract nouns of quality have to be derived from them.

Tamil grammarians from Tolkāppiyar downwards, follow the same circuit way in explaining adjective bases and nouns denoting directions.[14] Again, Naṉṉūlār is explicit on this point.

> *ticaiyoṭu ticaiyum piṟavuṉ cēriṉ*
> *nilaiyīṟṟ uyirmey kavvoṟṟu nīnkalum*
> *ṟakaram ṉa lav-ā ttiritalum ām piṟa*

He explains the existence of adjective bases like *vaṭa*, northern as the modification that *vaṭakku*, north, has undergone in sandhi. The Tamil noun of direction should be considered as the result of adding the suffix *-ku*/*-kku* to the adjective base denoting direction.

The relationship between numeral adjectives and numerals proper, is explained in a similar way. Though numerals, both of the cardinal and ordinal varieties are considered adjectives in a way, the short forms of numerals like *oru*, one; *iru*, two etc. deserve the term numeral adjective to a greater degree. Tolkāppiyar and Naṉṉūlar refer to numeral adjective as modifications undergone by cardinal numerals like *oṉṟu*, one; *iranṭu*, two etc. in cases of sandhi.[15]

Tolkāppiyar refers to demonstrative *a*, *i* and *u* and interrogative *e*. Naṉṉūlar and other grammarians follow him.[16] Ārumuka Nāvalar, the author of *Naṉṉūl Kānṭikai Urai*, assigns these bases to the section on particles. These can be treated as pronominal demonstrative and interrogative adjectival roots while *anta*, *inta*, *unta* and *enta*, found mostly in colloquial language, can be considered as pronominal demonstrative and interrogative adjectives, derived from those bases. However, these can be dealt with under the section on pronouns.

[13] Ibid., p. 92.
[14] S. GANESAIYAR, *Tolkappiyam* Eluttatikara mulamum Naccinarkkiniyar uraiyum, Ceylon, 1952, p. 328.
ARUMUKA NAVALAR, op. cit. p. 154.
[15] S. GANESAIYAR, op cit. pp. 329-356.
ARUMUKA NAVALAR, op. cit. pp. 156-163.
[16] S. GANESAIYAR, op. cit. pp. 62, 274.

Caldwell says that a very numerous class of Dravidian adjectives is formed by the addition to crude nouns of quality, of the suffixes of the relative participles, more or less modified. In the class of words now to be considered, the signs of tense are modified or rejected to correspond with their use as adjectives and the idea of time is entirely merged in that of relation. Many Tamil adjectives of this class are formed by the addition of *-iya* to the root, e.g. *per-iya,* great; *ciṟi-iya,* small. Some adjectives are formed by simply suffixing *-a,* the sign of the relative participle without the preterite *i* or any other sign of tense whatever, e.g. *nalla,* good. *uṭaiya,* the ordinary colloquial suffix of the genitive which literally signifies that belongs to, that is the property of, is from *uṭai,* property, to which *-a,* the sign of the relative participle is simply suffixed. Many adjectives of this class are formed by the addition to nouns of quality of the sign of the relative participle or aorist, i.e. *perum,* great. *Kuṟippu viṉai ppeyar eccam,* relative participle of the appellative verb, is the designation used by the traditional Tamil grammarians to adjectives formed in this manner. *Kuṟippu viṉai,* appellative verb of traditional Tamil grammarians, is really appellative noun used as predicate and *peyar eccam* under that classification is adjective proper. Being used also in aorist as well as future tense, *-um* is more capable of being used as a sign of adjective than *-iya.* Both Arumuka Navalar and Varadarajan say that *-a* only is the sign of the adjective. Ārumuka Nāvalar feels that *-um* cannot be a sign of adjective as it denotes tense, i.e. future tense.[17] Varadarajan writes that forms like *perum, veṟum* etc. are wrongly formed in analogy with the *-um* ending relative participles.[18] As Tolkāppiyar himself mentions, that *-um* ending forms denote present tense and that present tense forms should be used to express aorist tense,[19] *-um* can be used as a sign of adjective as much as *-a.*

G. S. Gai, R. C. Hiremath and A. C. Sekhar seem to differ in their concept of adjective. Sekhar appears to have taken adjective as a word used with a noun or other substantive as a modifier to describe or define it. Hence under adjectives, he has included many forms which can better be treated under other parts of speech. His section on numeral adjectives could have been left over with his discussion of numerals. The section on declinable participles can be said to belong to the section on verbs. The adjectival function of nominal forms could have been referred to in the sections on nouns and on case-formation. According to G. S. Gai, words denoting quality or quantity qualify nouns and they do not necessarily agree with nouns in regard to gender, number

17 ARUMUKA NAVALAR, op. cit., p. 99.
18 M. VARADARAJAN, op. cit., p. 226.
19 KANTACAMIYAR and N. DEVANEYAPPAVANAR, *Tolkappiyam* Collatikaram Cenavariyar urai. The South India Saiva Siddhanta Works Publishing Society, Madras, 1952, pp. 148, 158.

and case, i.e. they undergo no change. He also says that adjectives which are used attributively and predicatively are also found and that in the latter case, it agrees with the noun in gender and number. Thus, he has included appellative nouns also within the adjectives. Hiremath refers to adjectives in the following words: 'A group of words in Kannada are not inflected and declined. A group of them precede nouns. They are known as adjectives.' This explanation narrows the concept of adjective and approximates it to apply to adjectives which form a separate part of speech. But even here, verbal forms formed by adding suffixes to the verbal base, could have been treated under the section on verbs.

The present writer had the good fortune of working, under Professor Burrow of the University of Oxford, on the language of about one hundred and seventy-six Tamil inscriptions of the period A.D. 800-920.[20] Three types of adjectives are found in those inscriptions: (1) Verbal bases/verb and noun bases, performing the function of adjectives in the particular context in which they are found, (2) Adjectives, and (3) Adjectives with suffixes.

1. Verbal bases/verb and noun bases performing the function of adjectives:

   viri poḻil 'extensive flower gardens'
   virai varaviṟ 'of speedy coming'
   pukaḻ nīratu 'which has the characteristic of fame'
   viḷai nilam 'cultivable land'
   oli kaṭal 'roaring ocean'
   puṉai maṇi 'precious stones which are laid'
   kurai kaḻal 'resounding anklet'
   kurai kaṭal 'roaring ocean'
   varu puṉal 'flowing river'
   cuṟi ālaikku 'for surrounding halls.'

   Nouns which define the action of such bases, come in front of it:

   aṉṟ-āḷ kōvukku 'for the king who reigns at that time'
   mākan tōy kuṭai 'umbrella which touches the sky'
   uyar taru perum pukaḻ 'exalted great praise'
   cēval uyar koti 'the lofty cock banner'
   poḻil puṭai cūḻ matiḷ 'walls surrounded by groves'
   kai nilan tōy kari 'elephant whose hand touches the ground'

[20] Inscriptions were selected from:
South Indian Inscriptions: thirteen volumes, Madras.
Epigraphia Indica: Volumes up to 1962, Calcutta.
Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, 1936, Madras.

nala miku Bhāskaraṉ 'Bhaskaran whose fortune was rising'
pacuviṉ ṟōy tayir 'curd of the cow'
nīr ōṭu kāl 'channel where water flows'
tēṅ kamaḻ poḻil 'groves with sweet smell'
poṟ ṟaṭam pūṇ ciri Parāntakaṉ 'Sri Parantakan who was wearing golden jewel'
maṭai ppakar nīr 'water given out by sluice'.

2. Adjectives:

(i) Bases denoting quality:

oṇ ṭamiḻ 'illustrious Tamil'
veṇ ṭiṅkaḷ 'white moon'
teḷ-amirtattōṭu 'with pure ambrosia'
veḷ vaḷai 'white bracelet'
ciṟu vāykkālukku 'of small channel'
puṉ cey 'dry cultivation'
vaṉ pākkattu 'of hard ground'
nal viḷakku 'good lamp'
naṟ kalaikaḷ 'good arts'
uṇ ṇilam 'inside land'
peru nāṉk-ellai 'four great boundaries'
putu puṉcē 'new dry cultivation'
taṇ puṉal 'cool water'
tiṇcilaivāy 'from strong bow'
karu vāḻaippaḻam 'dark plantain fruit'
ciṟu kaṭuku 'small Indian mustard'
ciṟu payaṟṟu 'of small lentils'
naṟu ney 'fragrant ghee'
ceṉ ṉeṟ rīṭṭal 'well polished rice of high quality paddy'
taṇ ṇīr 'cool water'
veṇ kūṟai 'white cloth'
putu ttiruttil 'in newly recovered land'
peru makkaḷ 'great men'
nall-ā 'good cow'
nall-erutu 'good bull'
peru nakar 'great town'
uṭ ciṟu vāykkālukku 'of inner small channel'
pēr-āṭu 'full grown sheep'
mēṟ-ṟōl 'outer covering'

(ii) Bases denoting directions:

kīl- 'eastern'
kīḻ pāṟku 'of eastern side'
kīḻ pputūr 'eastern Putūr'
kīḻ vēmpanāṭṭu 'of eastern Vēmpaṉaṭu'
kīḻ ellai 'eastern boundary'
teṉ- 'southern'
teṉ piṭākai 'southern suburban hamlet'
teṉ pāṟku 'of southern side'
teṉ karaiiṉ 'of southern bank'
teṉ-ṟamiḻiṉ 'of Tamil of the South'.
mēl- 'western'
mēṟ ppulattu 'of the western land'
mēl piṭākai 'western suburban hamlet'
mēṟ-ṟaḷi 'western temple'
mēl pāṟku 'of western side'
kuṭa- 'western'
kuṭaticai 'western direction'
vaṭa- 'northern'
vaṭa karaiyiṉ 'of the northern bank'
vaṭa pāṟku 'of the northern side'
vaṭa kaḻaṉi 'fields of the north'.

3. Adjectives with adjective suffixes:

(i) Adjectives of quality:

aruñ cīr Akattiyaṉai 'Akattiyan of rare eminence'
perum pukaḻ 'great fame'
karuṅ kallāl 'with granite'
paḻav-arici 'old rice'
neṭun tōḷ 'tall shoulders'
vem muṉai 'harsh battle front'
veṅ kaṇai 'cruel arrow'
cem poṉ 'pure gold'
taṉi ppurucar 'lone man'
cañ caṭai 'golden locks of hair'
ceṅ kōl 'sceptre'
ceṅ katir 'bright rays'
ceṅ nīr 'blood'
neṭum paṇṇākaṭam 'great Pennakotam'
perum puṉal 'flood'
perum poṟai 'great weight'
perun tāṉai 'great army'
periya ēri 'great tank'

ceḻiya vāṇiyarkaḷōm 'we, the rich merchants'
peruṅ kāviti 'great kaviti'
perum pārppāṉ 'great Brahmin'
neṭuṅ kālam 'long time'
peruñ cekku 'big weaver's loom'
naṟum pū 'fragrant flower'
paḻaṅ kācu 'old Kācu'
paḻan tiru mēṟ ṟaḷi 'old sacred temple in the west'
aruñ ciṟappiṟ 'of rare eminence'
yāṉ ... uṭaiya bhūmi 'land which I possess'
nāṉ ... uṭaiya irunūṟṟeḻupattaiñcu kuḻi 'two hundred and seventy-five kuḻis which I possess'
uḷḷa aḷavu 'extent of what is'
itaṟk-uriya nīr 'water that belongs to this'.

(ii) Adjectives of quantity:

pala muṟai 'many times'
pal yāṉai 'many elephants'
taṭākaṅkaḷ pala 'many tanks'
dēvadānam pala 'many temple lands'
brahmadēyam pala 'many piramateyam'

From this study of inscriptions, it is clear that many bases, both nominal and verbal, can function as adjectives, when prefixed to substantives. There are also roots and bases which are primarily adjectives. Adjectives are found with terminations too. Tolkāppiyar, the ancient Tamil grammarian, does not mention adjectives and adverbs but has a special section called uriccol. The sūtras and the commentary of *Tolkāppiyam uriccolliyal* can be quoted, here and there to support each of the theories about uriccol. Looking at uriccol as a whole, it seems quite possible that Tolkāppiyar includes all roots/all bases, found in the Tamil language, in this category. Therefore, adjectives too, have to be looked for in his chapter on uriccol.

PART V

TRANSLATION

TRANSLATION

INTRODUCTION

Though the number of papers received for this section is rather small, the papers are very interesting in that they treat a variety of problems encountered in different types of translations. The papers presented to this section were followed by long and useful discussion.

THE TAMIL LANGUAGE AND PROBLEMS OF TRANSLATION

S. SELVANAYAGAM

The paper deals with certain aspects of the problems of translation of text books and other scientific and technical works from English to Tamil. The translation of such works into Tamil is a matter that has attracted the attention of scholars and educationists in Ceylon especially in the recent years. This matter of translating foreign works into native languages is also becoming an important question in the other South and South-east Asian countries, and problems more or less similar to the ones we are confronted with in Ceylon, are being experienced in these countries as well.

In Ceylon the subject of translation became an important and essential task with the adoption of the national languages, Sinhalese and Tamil, as the media of instruction in schools and in the universities. The change-over from English to these languages was gradually effected after Independence in 1948. This change-over was first effected in the secondary school level. It was extended to the universities in 1960. Although instruction in the national languages was earlier limited to Arts subjects, its use has been progressively extended to Science, and other technical and professional subjects. It is envisaged that by 1968 the entire education including professional and technical studies in the universities will be in these two languages.[1]

THE TAMIL LANGUAGE AND HIGHER EDUCATION

Students who are learning the various subjects through the mother tongue especially in the higher classes are now facing many problems. Several factors are responsible for this state of affairs. The dearth of competent teachers to give instruction in the mother tongue in the higher forms of schools and universities is an initial difficulty. But the main difficulty is caused by the lack of text books and suitable equivalents for English terms, ideas, concepts and so forth in Tamil. It is true that in

[1] Already since 1964 Sinhalese has been used to instruct a few students who gained admission to the University of Ceylon through this medium. The official date for the switch-over to the national languages in the faculties of Science, Engineering, and Medicine however remains 1968.

Ceylon certain steps have been taken to produce glossaries of technical terms and translations of some basic English text books. A government department was established in 1955 to handle this task. This department which is now known as the Department of Official Language Affairs, is the only organisation in Ceylon which has undertaken the task of producing glossaries of technical terms and translations of text books and other technical works. There is on the other hand no private publisher who has undertaken the publication on a large scale of translated works or original books for use in the higher institutions. This is a severe handicap.

It is pertinent here to review the work so far attempted by the Department of Official Language Affairs. The work falls into three categories:

1. TECHNICAL TERMS. For most popular subjects in Arts and in Science glossaries of technical terms in Tamil have been published. The glossary of mathematical terms was first published in 1956. Following this, glossaries of terms for subjects such as Physics, Chemistry, Botany, and Zoology, and those relevant to Arts subjects were published. At present this Department is engaged in the preparation of glossaries of terms for subjects such as Medicine, Engineering, Law, and Geology. The glossaries already published contain terms which are largely used in the secondary school and pre-university levels. These are by no means comprehensive and therefore inadequate for use in the higher forms especially in the universities.
2. TRANSLATIONS. A few basic English text books have been translated and published by this Department. These works, like the glossaries of technical terms, are generally meant for use in the pre-university standards. There are very few books published which could be exclusively used for university education.
3. ORIGINAL WORKS. Although this Department is engaged primarily in the publication of translated works, it has indeed produced a couple of original books in Tamil, written by Ceylonese authors in subjects such as Economics and Mathematics. As these are only a few in number, it cannot be said that these books would adequately meet the needs of students in the higher institutions such as the universities.

Even in regard to what little has been done in this sphere there are many problems. In the method of translating English books and coining new terms this Department is observing certain practices. These practices are as follows:

(a) Foreign terms are borrowed and adapted in Tamil in strict conformity with the phonological laws of the Tamil language

laid down in works on traditional grammar.

(b) When terms are compounded into single units for the sake of brevity caution is exercised to preserve the primary meaning of those words thus compounded.

(c) In coining new terms from borrowings the root meaning of the borrowed terms as applicable to the parent language is accepted irrespective of considerations for the new shades of meaning with which such terms would be associated with in the borrowed language (e.g. பன்றி இரும்பு for 'pig iron').

(d) Grantha characters which are alien to the phonetic system of the Tamil language are excluded.

These rules are strictly adhered to by the Department whenever it publishes translations of text books or glossaries of terms. Consequently it is difficult to follow correctly or to understand even what little has been the output of this Department in Tamil. The glossaries published contain Tamil equivalents which can be classed as (i) those from pure Tamil, (ii) those from ancient Tamil literature and inscriptions which are now not in common usage, (iii) those coined from the roots of foreign terms, (iv) hybrids. A reasonable number of the terms in these glossaries are acceptable and can be used. But the remaining ones are rather ambiguous in meaning. There is also distortion. This is particularly true of compounded terms. It is of course true that in the interest of brevity, terms should be taut but at the same time clarity of meaning should not be sacrificed in the process.

With regard to names of people and places, these are Tamilised in strict accordance with the traditional rules of grammar. In the books published by this Department such names often appear indistinct and some totally distorted (e.g. இடட்டிலித் தாம்பு for Dudley Stamp, குக்கு for Cook, முத்தன் for Mukden etc.). Although Grantha characters have been in use in the Tamil language for several centuries, they are now not used. The use of such characters would considerably help to write and pronounce foreign sounds. But by rejecting totally the use of such characters and by strictly following the traditional rules of grammar the Department has made it almost impossible for one to understand many of these foreign names of people and places.

SOME SUGGESTIONS TO OVERCOME THESE DIFFICULTIES

The Tamil language which had hitherto only been a medium of literary works should perforce undergo changes so that it could be used for the teaching of science and technology at all levels. With a view to overcome, at least partially, the difficulties we are now faced with in the matter of translation and coining of technical terms, the following suggestions are made:

1. In the hitherto published glossaries of technical terms there are

quite a few clear and suitable terms which can be adopted for use. The ambiguous and unsuitable terms should be corrected so as to make these terms clearer in Tamil. Where there are no suitable equivalents in Tamil, terms should be freely borrowed from foreign languages. In this matter a certain degree of flexibility is always desirable.

2. Names of people and places should not be Tamilised purely to meet the needs of traditional grammar. Instead they should be written and used as far as possible in their original form.
3. Grantha characters should be used wherever necessary. The use of these characters would certainly facilitate the expression of foreign sounds clearly in Tamil. It is however true that there are no particular means by which certain foreign sounds (eg. f. b. z etc.) can be properly expressed in Tamil. Therefore some system should be devised to render such sounds suitably in the Tamil language. This would perhaps require certain changes in the Tamil script.
4. The language in most translated works has been made rigid. One reason for this is the strict observance of all grammatical rules although some of these are obsolete and meaningless today. The language should not be made artificially rigid and it should conform as far as possible to the present day use and application.
5. In Ceylon and to some extent in the Madras State in India[2] education through Tamil is taking place. As a result new terms are being coined, foreign works are being translated, and original books are being written in both these countries. But since there is no uniformity with regard to the manner in which translations should be made or new terms be coined, there are considerable differences in the books and the glossaries of technical terms published in these two countries. The books translated and published in Ceylon are difficult to be understood even by readers in Ceylon. It would be still more difficult or almost impossible for other readers of Tamil in places like India to understand or to comprehend these translations. Therefore it is desirable that in the matter of translation a uniform system should be followed. When this is done such books could be used in either of the countries and probably in other areas with Tamil settlements. As there appears to be no co-ordination in the programme of work in translation between India and Ceylon the same work is often translated into Tamil

[2] From 1960 the Coimbatore Government Arts College in Madras State, South India adopted the use of Tamil as its medium of instruction up to the degree level.

in both countries (e.g. Crowther, Kendrew, *Mahavamsa* etc.). If there is some agreement and collaboration between these two countries it would help a great deal to eliminate the unnecessary duplication of work and also the wastage of useful resources. In the matter of translation it is extremely vital to adopt a rational approach, and also to avoid regional bias.

Unfortunately in Ceylon, the subject of translating text books and other materials has not been given sufficient attention. At present the Department of Official Language Affairs is the only organization which is devoting its time and effort for the production of translations of books and glossaries. Even this Department is rather ill-equipped. As it has not got enough competent personnel, and as the funds allocated to it are insufficient, its output is slow and poor. It is therefore necessary that this Department should be expanded forthwith. Staff, more competent both in Tamil and English, and in the various subjects concerned, should be provided for. As this is a vital question affecting education in general and higher education in particular, the government must certainly grant more funds for the efficient working of this Department. There must be a permanent glossary committee in this Department and it should meet on and off to coin new terms, find new equivalents, and to review and revise this work in the light of usage and experience. *Ad hoc* committees compiling glossaries hurriedly are unsatisfactory. New terms may have to be coined, changes in old ones may have to be made, and therefore the glossaries published once and for all soon become obsolete.

In the university, too, there must be an organisation to handle this work of translating advanced works, coining terms and compiling glossaries mainly to meet the needs of university education.[3] This should be composed of competent personnel and endowed with sufficient funds to undertake this work systematically and regularly. It is vital that this organisation should have the co-operation and collaboration of the university academic staff for it is only they who would know in the light of their experience what translations and glossaries would really prove satisfactory to students. At the same time there should be co-ordination between the university organisation and the government Department of Official Language Affairs.

Further, efforts should also be made to produce original books, learned journals and magazines in Tamil. These original publications should be of a sufficiently high standard to meet the requirements of undergraduate and even graduate students. In this task the government has to play a large role for publication costs are high because of the

[3] A very slight effort had been made in the University of Ceylon to produce some Tamil and Sinhalese equivalents for terms in English in the various subjects. This arrangement cannot at all be considered satisfactory, and certainly not good enough to meet the needs of education through Tamil at University level.

limited circulation. Therefore there should be financial assistance from the Government in the form of subsidies and grants to enable writers to get their works published. The university lecturers as well as teachers in other higher institutions should also devote their attention and time towards the production of original works. Works such as this would require much time and labour and those capable of it must, in the interest of higher learning, be given the facilities to pursue their research, writing, and publication.[4]

[4] The author is much indebted to the Department of Official Language Affairs for the assistance given in obtaining first hand information on this particular subject. He has had the benefit of experience in having been personally associated in the production of translations and glossaries of technical terms. He is also grateful to Messrs. B. Bastiampillai and S. Thananjayarajasingham for their comments on the draft paper.

SOME PROBLEMS IN SIMULTANEOUS TRANSLATION OF SPEECHES (INTERPRETATION) FROM ENGLISH INTO TAMIL AND VICE-VERSA

K. SIVATHAMBY

INTRODUCTION

With the advent of Tamil as the medium of instruction in higher studies and as the language of administration, there has arisen a situation wherein Tamils with no knowledge of any other language can participate in the deliberations of legislatures and conferences where people who do not know Tamil also participate. In such situations, a system of simultaneous translation becomes an essential necessity for the smooth working of democracy.

HISTORY OF SIMULTANEOUS TRANSLATION FROM AND INTO TAMIL

It was in this spirit that the system of simultaneous translation of Tamil and Sinhala speeches into English was introduced in both the houses of Ceylonese legislature — the House of Representatives and the Senate — in 1956. Later in 1961 the system was extended to include the simultaneous translation of English speeches into Tamil and Sinhala and of Tamil speeches into Sinhala and vice-versa. Simultaneous interpretation of Mandarin, Malay, Tamil, and English was introduced in the Singapore legislature in 1958.

THE PROCESS OF SIMULTANEOUS TRANSLATION

Simultaneous interpretation is the system of translating a speech, as it is delivered, for the benefit of those who are unable to follow that speech in the language it is delivered.

Thus the most important characteristic of this system of translation is the immediacy in the translation. The simultaneous translator cannot spend time choosing the best word. Nor should he use a word which would not give the meaning of the original speech. Accuracy and immediacy are the important aspects of this system and they are so indispensable to this system of translation, that they make the simultaneous translator completely different from the general translator.

PROBLEMS IN SIMULTANEOUS TRANSLATION

(A) SYNTAX

The great difference in English syntax and Tamil syntax is perhaps the most important problem a simultaneous interpreter faces.

As pointed out by Arden, "The order of words and clauses in a Tamil sentence is very different from that of English and much more regular. Two invariable rules are always observed in Tamil; namely,

> FIRST RULE: The verb always stands last and so concludes the sentence.
>
> SECOND RULE: That which is governed always precedes that which governs it. All subordinate sentences expressing purpose, condition etc. precede the sentence to which they are subordinate."[1]

Illustrations could be taken from the *Hansard* of the House of Representatives.

> "சிங்கள மக்களுக்குச் சிங்கள மொழி எப்படியோ, அதே போன்றுதான் தமிழ் மக்களுக்குத் தமிழ் மொழியும் என்று நம்புபவர் நாங்கள். சிங்கள மக்களின் மொழி உரிமையை மறுக்க வேண்டுமென்பது எங்கள் கொள்கை அல்ல. இதனைவிட்டு, இவ்விஷயங்களை மறைப்பதற்காகத் திருகோணமலை நகர சபைத் தலைவர் மீது அபாண்டமான பொய்யான பழியை உள்ளூராட்சி அமைச்சர் மேற் சபையிலே சுமத்தியிருப்பது வெட்கத்துக்கும் வேதனைக்குரிய விஷயம்."[2]
>
> "பத்திரிகைகளை எடுத்து மக்களின் உரிமைகளைப் பறிக்கின்ற அக்கிரமத்தை எதிர்க்கின்றோம். இந்திய-இலங்கை ஒப்பந்தம் என்ற பெயரிலே இந்நாட்டுச் செல்வத்தில் மூன்றில் இரண்டு பங்கை உற்பத்தி செய்து, இத்த நாட்டுக்காகத் தமது உடலையும் உயிரையும் அர்ப்பணித்த இலட்சோப இலட்சம் தமிழ்த் தொழிலாளர்களுடைய வம்சாவழியினரை நாட்டைவிட்டுக் கப்பலேற்றி நாடுகடத்துகின்ற அக்கிரமத் திட்டத்தை எதிர்க்கின்றோம்."[3]

In translating such speeches the simultaneous interpreter has to let the first sentence or clause pass, to start off. By that process, he will be able to maintain the continuity of flow, without making mistakes in sentence construction. When once he falls in line with the thinking of the speaker, the speed of translation naturally increases.

In English sentence construction, relative pronouns occupy a very important place. But Tamil knows no such pronouns. In parliamentary debates, these clauses carry a lot of punch and meaning. When

[1] A. H. ARDEN, *A Progressive Grammar of Common Tamil*, Madras, 1910, p. 86.

[2] Parliamentary Debates (*Hansard*) Official Report, House of Representatives, Ceylon, 2.12.64, vol. 59, no. 5, col. 439.

[3] Ibid., col. 442.

interpreting such clauses, the simultaneous interpreter has to translate the clauses into separate sentences.

Thus the translation of the following portion of a speech, would be as indicated below.

> "There may be many citizens of this town who are not partisans, but who have a right to walk on the streets, who have a right to come to their work places, who have a right, inspite of your demand for a token strike, to turn their backs on your demand, as the vast majority of Public Servants did and come to work."[4]

> "இந்த நகரத்திலேயுள்ள பல பிரசைகள்-அவர்கள் இந்த விஷயத்தில் பக்கம் பிரிந்து நிற்காதவர்கள்-அவர்களுக்குத் தெருக்களிலே உலவ உரிமையுண்டு. தங்களுடைய வேலைத்தலங்களுக்கு வர அவர்களுக்கு உரிமையுண்டு. நீங்கள் அடையாள வேலை நிறுத்தம் செய்யும்படி கேட்டும்கூட அதற்குச் செவிசாய்க்காதிருக்க அவர்களுக்கு உரிமையுண்டு. பெருந்தொகையான அரசாங்க ஊழியர்கள் அப்படிச் செய்துதான் தங்கள் தங்கள் வேலைகளுக்கு வந்தார்கள்."

If each of those clauses is not taken as a separate sentence, the spirit of the speech will be lost.

In the case of those speeches which are made with a lot of rhetoric there will be enough time for the interpreter to render it as effectively as the speaker, but in the case of highly complicated ideas, where shades of meaning matter, interpretation is no doubt very difficult.

An ideal illustration would be the following:

> "We have been told by the Hon. Finance Minister, what is — if I may say so, without offence — an elementary truth, that in the under-developed countries when it comes to the problem of development one must always carry in mind the fact that in countries and peoples with their standard of living so low, you cannot, so to speak, talk of this tightening of belts, and austerity; there has to be a simultaneous improvement in the general social services."[5]

In the case of a speech like this, unless the interpreter is in complete unison with the thinking of the speaker, it will be difficult to express in Tamil, all what the speaker means in English. Simultaneous translation in such cases would tend to be very conversational in style. And since simultaneous interpretation is for the benefit of the listener, it will be the apt style.

4 Parliamentary Debates (*Hansard*) Official Report, House of Representatives, Ceylon, 26.1.1966, vol. 64, no. 6, col. 1221.

5 Ibid., 16.8.1961, vol. 43, cols. 2410-2411.

(B) TRANSLATION OF TERMS

The problem of translation of scientific and political terms assumes great importance in simultaneous translation. Most of the terms today are explanations and due to the lack of familiarity they are not so crisp as the original term. In the course of simultaneous interpretation one cannot afford to lose time using such explanatory terms. It would therefore be easy and more effective if the English terms themselves are used — if those terms are the popular ones. The term 'budget' is so well known a parliamentary terminology that it will be more effective than வரவு செலவுத் திட்டம்.

In the case of the word mentioned above, it could be taken as a matter of convenience. But in certain cases, where we do not have exact parallel terms the problem becomes very acute. An ideal example would be the term *risk* in a commercial sense. It would take at least two minutes to put across the idea in a clear way. But such long-winded explanations cannot be given in simultaneous interpretation. In such circumstances it would always be advisable to repeat the term and follow it up in a more concise way as this:

> "risk எனப்படும் வியாபார அபாயநிலை."

This problem doesn't arise in translation of speeches into English.

(C) LITERAL FORMS OF ENGLISH IN TAMIL SENTENCES

It is only when speeches which deal with such subjects that are expressed better in English — technical matters etc. — are made in Tamil that this problem arises, and usually, in such speeches, if the speaker is one who knows his English, the English term is maintained. We find the unconscious retention of word order and metaphors.

> "இந்த நாட்டிலுள்ள அரசாங்க இயந்திரம், அமைச்சர்கள் தொடக்கம் அரசாங்க ஊழியன் வரை, ஒழுங்காகவும், நேர்மையாகவும், முழுச்சக்தியோடும் இயங்கினுலொழிய எந்த விதமான பலனையும் பெறமுடியாதென்பது நான் சொல்லித் தான் தெரிய வேண்டுமென்பதில்லை."[6]

In Tamil speeches on such matters, we find the speakers often use the literal translation forms which affect the word-formation pattern.

> "அங்கு வழங்கிவருகின்ற கருவிகள் மிகவும் பிற்போக்கான கருவிகளாயிருக்கின்றபடியால், அதனையிட்டு மூன்று வருடங்கட்கு முன், அரசாங்கத்துக்கு எடுத்துச் சொன்னபொழுது, High Frequency Radio Transmitters என்று சொல்லப்படுகின்ற கருவிகள் மூன்று, வரவழைக்கப்பட்டன."[7]
>
> "இந்த விலை கூட்டலைப் பற்றி உண்மையிலே சிந்திக்கும் பொழுது, மனச்சாட்சிக்கு விரோதமற்ற முறையில் சிந்திக்கும் பொழுது, இது பொருத்தமற்றதெனக் கூறுகின்றேன்."[8]

[6] *Hansard,* House of Representatives, Ceylon, 8.2.1963, vol. 50, col. 1594.
[7] Ibid., 28.9.1963, vol. 57, col. 3273.
[8] Ibid., August 1961, vol. 43, col. 1522.

But one safe and sure observation could be made and that is in the Tamil speeches made in Ceylon's House of Representatives those terms which are very 'high sounding' and uncommon are never used. 'Constitution' has been translated as யாப்பு by the Official Language Commission of Ceylon. But in the legislature, the word is ஆட்சித் திட்டம். The official term for 'clause' is முறி but it is either வாசகம் or ஷரத்து that is used. 'Parcel' is never referred to as பொதி but as பார்சல்.

(D) TRANSLATION OF IDIOMATIC EXPRESSION AND TRADITIONAL USAGES

The most difficult task the simultaneous interpreter faces is the rendering of the idiomatic usages from one language into another. In that lies the clear understanding of the speech. When translating such portions, every effort should be made to relate it to the parallel usage obtainable in the other language.

In the case of translating English idioms, it is not so difficult, for there is already a tradition of telling the meaning of the idioms. It should be observed that such rendering has not resulted in the loss of the spirit of the speech.

Thus 'chauvinism would be அதிதீவிரவாதம்.

But it becomes a real problem to translate such concepts as கன்னித் தமிழ், என்றுமுளதேன் தமிழ், தமிழ்த் தாய்மார் etc. in English adequately. In political speeches such phrases occur too often.

A new height was established by a Tamil M.P. of the House of Representatives, when he selected the names of some outstanding Tamil films to refer sarcastically to the then Prime Minister, Mrs. Bandaranaike.

> "1960-ஆம் ஆண்டுத் தேர்தலுக்குப் பின், ஸ்ரீ மாவோ அம்மையார் ஆட்சி பீடத்திலே ஏறியபொழுது, பலர் பலவிதமாக அவரை வரவேற்றார்கள். சிலர் கூறினார்கள், மக்களைப்பெற்ற மகராசி ஆட்சி பீடத்திலே அமர்ந்திருக்கிறார். இனி எங்களுக்கு எதுவித குறையும் இருக்காது என்று. இன்னும் சிலர் கூறினார்கள் மங்கையர் திலகம் ஆட்சி பீடத்திலே அமர்ந்திருக்கிறார்கள். அதனால் எங்களுக்கு எதுவிதகுறையும் ஏற்படாதென்று. ஆனால் தமிழ் பேசும் மக்களைப் பொறுத்தவரையிலே, தமிழ் பேசும் அரசாங்க ஊழியர்களைப் பொறுத்தவரையிலே, அவர், மங்கையர் திலகமாகவோ, மக்களைப்பெற்ற மகராசியாகவோ காட்சியளிக்கவில்லை ஆயிரம் தலைவாங்கிய அபூர்வ சிந்தாமணியாகத்தான் காட்சியளிக்கின்றார்."[9]

[9] Ibid., 4.11.1964, vol. 58, col. 122.

(E) TRANSLATION OF NUMBERS

'Million' is the term used in English to denote hundred thousand. But when translating such big figures into Tamil, they should be expressed in terms of lakhs and crores. One million is ten lakhs and ten million is a crore. But translating into English is not difficult because 'lakhs' and 'crores' are used in that language.

(F) TRANSLATION OF QUOTATIONS

Very often, in th ecourse of a speech, the speaker refers to documents to substantiate his contention. Reading is always faster than speaking and therefore, unless the script had been given earlier, it would be difficult for the interpreter to give a faithful translation of all that is read. In such cases the interpreter has to give a brief summary of the facts.

But in the case of Tamil speeches, literary quotations are very often used. Bharathi and Valluvar are the oft-quoted poets. In simultaneous translation the poesy of the language can never be brought in. But the meaning should always be told.

(G) TRANSLATIONS OF INTERRUPTIONS

Translation of interruptions is an essential part of simultaneous translation. If A interrupts the speech of B with some remark the interpreter has to say 'A says so' and continue interpreting the speech of B.

CONCLUSION

The simultaneous rendering of speeches into other languages has been very advisedly called interpretation. Thus the emphasis is laid on the expression of the idea and not on the translation of the word.

Simultaneous interpretation will be meaningful only when the interpreter gets himself in unison with the thinking of the speaker.

THE TRANSLATION OF CAṄKAM LITERATURE

J. R. MARR

One of the problems in translation work is that of what I might term the relevance of the translation, both in diction and subject-matter, to the language-ethos of the tongue into which the translation is made. By language-ethos I mean the spirit that informs a given language at any particular time as seen in both style of writing and literary form on the one hand and in the acceptability of any given subject-matter on the other.

Thus, translations of what we in the West regard as Classical Literature were in a sense a mirror of the English language of the day. The prose of Gibbon was no more periodic than that of Cicero: the latter was indeed stylistically relevant to the former. This was of little consequence in an age wherein, among the wholly literate at least, a classics education was an assumed adornment of the educated man. That such people were in a minority was an irrelevance in a society such as ours, semi-literate till the advent of compulsory schooling in the 1870's. It was they who, to use a dreadful contemporary idiom, were the trend-setters of the language.

But familiarity with the Classics can no longer be assumed, and even the stories in them as retold by such writers as Nathaniel Hawthorne[1] are probably less familiar than they were. It has become necessary for a whole new body of, to us, very readable translations and 'racy' historical novels to appear. As an example of the latter we may cite Robert Graves: *I, Claudius*, probably one of the earliest in what has become a flood of writing.[2]

English is highly evolutionary, and translation has had to evolve too. Thus, while the Victorians did not mind "fillets" as a rendering of the braided hair of Homeric ladies, to our ears in the sixties the word is suggestive of fish, prepared without bones for the table.

1 NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE, *Tanglewood Tales*. First published in 1853, London, Nelson Classics, n.d.

2 ROBERT GRAVES, *I, Claudius*, first published, London 1934, London, Penguin Books, 1 vol. edn., 1953.

It is doubtful whether we can now read, without exasperation, the following:

> "The matrons of Phylace gather about, and cry to me: 'Put on thy royal robes, Laodamia!' Shall I, then, go clad in stuffs that are saturate with costly purple, while my lord goes warring under the walls of Ilion? Am I to dress my hair, while his head is weighed down by the helm? Am I to wear new apparel while my lord wears hard and heavy arms? In what I can, they shall say I imitate your toils — in rude attire; and these times of war I will pass in gloom."[3]

Our exasperation, I submit, is not with the subject-matter, common enough in a romantic tale, but with the diction. However irrelevant the fashionable hold latinity to be to education in Britain, there is no need to make such heavy weather of a translation.

One of the most graphic of Pattuppāṭṭu is *Nĕṭunalvāṭai,* and one of its most picturesque descriptions of the wet weather culminates in the passage about the bedraggled pigeons on the rooftops:

> "மனையுறை புறவின் . . . இருப்ப."[4]

But can we be anything but impatient with:

> "Confused as to day or night, the domestic pigeons do not go out in search of food with their mates, but remain dull on the ridge-boards of houses now on one leg then on the other to relieve the strain."[5]

Hilaire Belloc once said that the business of a translator is not to ask: "How shall I make this foreigner talk English?" but "What would an Englishman have said to express this?"[6] How not to translate was perhaps best summed up in an amusing way by Ronald Knox, writing about the Douai or Challoner translation of the Bible:

> "But when the Latin had 'Renew a right spirit within my bowels.' that was what Challoner put; and when the Latin had 'Examine, O Lord, my kidneys', Challoner put that down too; only he changed kidneys to the obsolete word 'reins', hoping that his readers would not look it up in the dictionary."[7]

If language is relevant to translation in the 20th century in order that it may appeal to the general reader and not merely, as a crib, to

[3] P. Ovidius Naso, *Heroides and Amores.* With an English Translation by Grant Showerman. Loeb Edition, first printed 1914. Reprinted, London, 1963, passage quoted: *Heroides XIII,* ll. 35-42 tr. ibid, p. 161.

[4] *Netunalvatai,* lines 45-48.

[5] J. M. Somasundaram, *Two Thousand Years of Tamil Literature,* Madras, 1959, p. 105.

[6] In a lecture at the Taylorian in 1931.

[7] Mgr. Ronald Knox, *On Englishing the Bible,* London, 1949, p. 7.

the specialist, emphasis, I suggest, is no less so. One of the difficulties in translating Caṅkam literature is that most clauses are really dependent upon one central idea, both syntactically and in subject-matter. Moreover, in the matter of word-order, this idea very often comes right at the end.

Paṭṭinappālai is a good illustration of this. The essence of the poem is that the poet makes a choice between all the splendour of the Cōḻa town and his loved one, and decides in her favour. But it is doubtful whether the modern reader, unless he was acquainted with the conventions of Akam poetry, would appreciate that *Paṭṭinappālai* is in fact a love-poem. In 301 lines, Uruttiraṅkaṇṇaṉār only reveals his sentiment twice, in lines 218-9 and in 300-1. Should we just ignore the point, and treat the poem as a brilliant piece of description, a compliment to the author's Cōḻa patron, a propaganda poem if you like that we know was well-rewarded?

No, I suggest we accept modern directness and, dispensing with the original order, start by putting our translation of lines 218-9 somewhere near the beginning. It will be argued that this does violence to the poem's structure wherein lines 218-9 serve to separate the descriptive part of the poem from the ensuing praises of Karikālvaḷavaṉ which, in the same way, are rounded off by lines 300-1, the second Akam 'aside'. The solution, I think, is to place the translation of these latter lines in the position in the whole that would have been occupied by that of lines 218-20.

The relevant portions of translation, of lines 1-7; 218-20; 300-1 and 220 et seqq. would appear as follows:

> "Though the silvery planet that is without blemish may change course and go southward, though the gathering clouds disperse so that the bird that longs for raindrops grieves, the Kāviri that rises in the hills does not fail, but spreads its water even to the sea."
>
> "Yet, were the city of Pukār itself bestowed upon me, I would not be parted from my beloved of the dark spreading tresses and fine ornaments. Rejoice, heart of mine!"
>
> "The river washes particles of gold, and its broad fields are always fertile . . . . ."

and: "Yet the soft broad shoulders of my beloved are cooler than the sway of Tirumāvaḷavaṉ, and the forests more cruel than his spear."

> "As the cub of the sharp-clawed striped tiger, though held captive, grows, so does the king's valour, even though he was imprisoned by his enemies." — and so on.

What of the relevance of the subject-matter of Caṅkam literature to contemporary taste in English? It is here that, of all Tamil writing

up to the most recent, the secular Caṅkam poetry has the most to offer the non-specialist reader. It is probably fair to say that, mystical poetry (as relating an experience) apart, there is something of a recession of interest in religious writing, especially in relation to dogma and apologetics. A translation of *Civañāṉapōtam*, then, is likely to have a limited appeal only, to scholars and missionaries for instance. Much other religious literature in Tamil is so full of puranic material as to be unreadable without constant reference to footnotes. But Caṅkam literature, treating of matters of common experience, has an immediate appeal even in a language that has not been preconditioned to accept it.

I have in mind the way that much writing in English had a 'classical pedigree' in some form, analogous to the matter of diction mentioned earlier. An obvious example is Milton's *Lycidas*, published in 1638. A lament on the death by drowning of his friend Edward King, this poem owes a good deal to Vergil's IXth Eclogue, while the lines:

> "Where were ye, nymphs, when the remorseless deep
> Closed o'er the head of your loved Lycidas?"[8]

are almost a translation of the line of Theocritus:

> "πᾷ ποκ' ἄρ' ἦσθ', ὅκα Δάφνις ἐτάκετο, πᾷ ποκα Νύμφαι"[9]

wherein Thyrsis is bewailing the death of Daphnis.

But, in addition to Homer and other classical praise-poets, bardic literature has in general appealed to English readers. Even *Gilgamesh* exists in paperback format[10] though its graphic flood episode, with its obvious biblical echoes, in part perhaps accounts for this.[11] The bardic poetry of *Puṟanāṉūṟu* and *Patiṟṟuppattu* should present few difficulties in translation.[12]

When we come to consider Akam poetry we come to the fact that, for the average reader, love-poetry in English means the poetry of actual experience of such writers as Byron, Shelley and Keats. The characters were real people, and even in our day we can feel their lives through their writing. Lady Caroline Lamb's veritable siege of poor Byron really happened and, in her passionate intensity, she is as real today as when she lived.

[8] JOHN MILTON, "Lycidas", lines 50-51. In Milton's *Minor Poems*, Oxford, 1938.

[9] THEOCRITUS, *Idyll* I, 66.

[10] N. K. SANDARS, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, London, Penguin Classics, 1960.

[11] Ibid., chap. V, pp. 105 & seqq.

[12] In his comprehensive study of bardic literature *Heroic Poetry*, Sir Maurice Bowra excluded the Indian epics as they were overlaid with literary and theological matter. He presumably had in mind Sanskrit works such as *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*. See Bowra, M., *Heroic Poetry*. London, 1964 paperback edition, preface, p. v.

In this sense, it is difficult to make the formal characters of Akam poetry 'live'; the Talaivan̲, Talaivi, Tol̲i and the rest are stock characters, anonymous by the very rules of the rhetoric.[13] Tolkāppiyan̲ār states:

> "மக்கள் நுதலிய அகனைந் திணையுஞ்
> சுட்டி ஒருவர் பெயர்கொளப் பெறாஅர்."

The most one can do, according to Iḷampūraṇar,[14] is to refer to the hero as Nāṭan̲, Ūran̲ or Cērppan̲, as lord of the tract of land appropriate to the aspect of love being described. It is probably better to forget the rather cold-blooded prescriptions in *Tolkāppiyam* about who may speak, and when,[15] if one seeks a purely reading pleasure in the Akam poems. It is perfectly possible to derive great enjoyment, for instance, from Peyan̲ār's decade in *Aiṅkur̲unūr̲u*[16] wherein the foster-mother lovingly describes the hero, his wife and child, without unduly worrying that this decade occurs in the century on Mullai, the patience in separation of the beloved.

In some aspects, notably Pālai, the separation of lovers that is likened to the desert's burning heat, and the two aspects of love that are, cavalierly perhaps, put on one side by the theorists: Kaikkiḷai or unrequited love and Pĕruntiṇai, forced love, Akam poetry seems to approach both poetry of experience and the courtly poetry of medieval Europe. It shares the natures of our two main streams of love poetry, though, in its resemblance to the medieval, it nowhere approaches it in the sense of cruel servitude, even in the convention of riding the palmyra-palm horse, *Maṭal ēr̲utal.* And, distinguished by the term Akam, Inner, from the praise-poetry that is Pur̲am, Outer, it observes a difference between private and public that would not have been very meaningful to the troubadours and their successors, but one which is quite acceptable to us. Archibald MacLeish writes that:

> "There was no distinction between public world and private world so far as the meanings of poetry were concerned down to the time we live in."[17]

But Pālai, separation's pangs, and the aspects that seem to stem from it, Mullai, patience in separation and Nĕytal, weeping in separation, put us in mind not only of Caroline Lamb's plight, but of one of the 12th century definitions of the romantic, *l'Amor de Lonh,* love at a distance; the sentiment was held to be aggravated by distance.

[13] *Tolkappiyam,* Akattinai., cu. 54.
[14] Ilam. on the above. Madras, Saiva Siddhanta, 1952, p. 71.
[15] E.g. *Tol.* Akat. cu. 36-43, listing those characters entitled to speak during Palai, or as causes thereof.
[16] *Ainkurunuru* V, Mullai, vv. 401-410.
[17] ARCHIBALD MACLEISH, *Poetry and Experience,* Harmondsworth, 1965, p. 110.

Akam poetry, then, recalls perhaps the medieval and vernacular part of our European heritage, rather than the classical (with the exception of Sappho); it is nowhere so frivolous as Ovid's *Ars Amatoria,* for instance. We cannot but be moved by the plaint in *Kalittokai:*

> "Consuming my soul with insupportable desire, so young are you that you realize it not! No fault is it of yours. O say that it is not wrong that you have excelled in loveliness those around you who are conscious of your beauty that makes love-sick the very one who would avoid it."

> "Every day your poise has afflicted me with love, but too child-like are you to realize this! No fault is it of yours, but say, if you can, that it is no fault either that you have made jealous for their own looks those around you who have perceived your loveliness and the slenderness of your waist."[18]

Though Kapilar's poem appears in the portion of *Kalittokai* that deals with the union of lovers, it is noteworthy that this poem was taken by the commentator Naccin̲ārkkin̲iyar as depicting Kaikkiḷai, unrequited love.

It finds in Europe a ready echo in the 15th century *Villancico* of Enrique: *Mi querer tanto vos quiere:*

> "So sharp is my desire, sweet lady, and my pain,
> I feel my life expire yet dare not to complain.
> So deeply loved you are by me, with tender care,
> That I can nothing say, when you my will deny.
> I cannot but obey.
> If sharp is my desire your beauty is to blame.
> I feel my life expire yet dare not to complain."[19]

[18] *Kalittokai* 58, lines 7-14, J.R.M. tr.
[19] ENRIQUE, *Mi querer.* Nigel Glendinning tr., Barcelona, Ars Musicae, 1961.

SOME PROBLEMS OF SHAKESPEARE-TRANSLATION INTO TAMIL

S. MAHARAJAN

Translation, says Sir Walter Scott, is the noble alchemy, which converts gold into lead. Some hold the more cynical view that all translation is treachery. A distinguished English writer has gone to the length of defining poetry as that which escapes translation. These statements are merely angular presentations of a half-truth. While they may warn us against the intrinsic limitations of the medium of translation, they ought not to blind us to the achievements of translators in the past.

Many Persian scholars regard Omar Khayyam's *Rubayat* as third rate poetry, but we know how Fitz-Gerald has, with his sovereign touch, turned it to immortal poetry. This illustrates the reverse alchemy of a translator making gold out of lead. The admirable translation of Tagore's *Gitanjali* from Bengali into English is a striking instance of the achievement of the translator's art.

Having gone through the travail of translating *Hamlet, King Lear* and *Macbeth* into Tamil, I wish to share, with my co-translators, my experience of the difficult terrain and the pit-falls we have to guard against. It is my claim that within the limitations of my faculties, I have found it possible to put across in Tamil 99% of the contents of the original, 60% of the moods of Shakespeare and about 20% of the shadow of his poetry.

Fortunately for the translator, Shakespeare offers through his plays not only untranslatable imponderables, but also other things, which are worthwhile translating and which are susceptible to translation, such as his presentation of the great panorama of Life, the motive springs of human action, the grand play of impulses and emotions, the march of Destiny, his reflections on the incongruities between life and death, between human weal and human woe, between Finitude and Infinity. As an incomparable story-teller, as a Psychiatrist, as a Philosopher, as an Artist and as a Mystic, he conveys many things, which can be caught by the translator. His tricks as a playwright, his technique of dramatization, his architectonics, his crafty resort to angle characters and back narration equally lend themselves to translation.

IDEALS OF THE TRANSLATOR

The supreme purpose that the translator should constantly bear in mind is that the spirit of Shakespeare should, *at any cost*, be put across in Tamil. In fulfilling this purpose, the translator may permit himself certain freedoms. He must not fetter himself with the exact word and letter of the original. The curse of literalness has vitiated many a translation of Shakespeare, turning life into death and poetic dynamics into ludicrous insipidity. On the contrary, the translator should not, under the pretext of distilling the pure essence of the original, abuse the admissible freedoms. Such liberty as he may take with the original, shall be directed solely towards achieving essential fidelity to the original and shall not degenerate into an adaptation or an irreverent adulteration of the original.

Faithfulness to the original frequently makes the translation outlandish and unreadable. A readable and powerful translation is very often found to be faithless to the original. The translator is constantly in the awkward predicament of that puzzled bridegroom, who is forced to choose between a charming wife and a faithful wife. Charm without fidelity is as tantalizing as fidelity without charm. It is by unsleeping vigilance and constant self-restraint and self-scrutiny that the translator can hope to adhere to the narrow path of translating Shakespeare, charmingly and yet truthfully.

LIBERTY OF OMISSION

In some cases omission to translate certain words occurring in the original may not impair the functional efficiency of the translation and may in fact be called for in order that the general mood of the original may be better conveyed. I shall illustrate this proposition with reference to the most vituperative passage in Shakespeare, which is to be found in *King Lear* (Act II, Scene ii). Oswald, the Steward of Goneril, is accosted by Kent in the following words:

> "A knave, a rascal, an eater of broken meats;
> A base, proud, shallow, beggarly, three-suited, hundered-pound
> Filthy, worsted-stocking knave; lily-livered, action-taking,
> Whoreson, glass-gazing, super-serviceable, finical rogue;
> One-trunk-inheriting slave; one that woulds't be a
> Bawd, in way of good service, and art nothing but
> The composition of a knave, beggar, coward, pander, and
> The son and heir of a mongrel bitch."

I think it is needless to translate religiously all these words. It would serve the purpose of the original if the mood of the vituperation

is transported. I make the tentative suggestion that this passage may be translated as follows:

கயவன், அயோக்கியன், எச்சில் பொறுக்கி, தரங்கெட்ட, திமிர் பிடித்த வெங்கன், அட்டுப்பிடித்த ஓசிச் சட்டை, கூலிக்காரச் சல்லி, பயந்தாரி, டம்பாச்சாரி, வேசிமகன், தளுக்குக்காரப் போக்கிரி, ஒற்றை டப்பாப் புழுக்கை, கூட்டிக்கொடுக்கிறபயல், போக்கிரியையும், பிச்சைக்காரனையும், கோழையையும், டாப்பர் மாமாவையும் ஒன்ருகப் பிடிச்சு வைச்ச நரி நீ, ஜாதி கெட்ட நாய் போட்ட சொரிக் குட்டி, அதுக்குத் தனி வாரீஸ்.

This is certainly not a word for word translation of the original, for some of the words in the original have been omitted and a new combination of words of abuse has been effected, but I think the freedom of omission has not compromised with the spirit of the original.

LIBERTY OF ACCLIMATIZATION

I may next refer to what may be called the Liberty of Acclimatization. Occasionally it would be necessary to acclimatize certain Shakespearean sentiments and ideas and turns of language to the Tamil climate.

After all, words are symbols and they are conditioned by the culture, speech-habits, traditions and even the geography of the people who use the symbols. The translator must, therefore, be constantly aware of the difference in the entire range of culture represented by two languages, which are so alien to each other in temperament and genius as English and Tamil.

Loose masses of snow are known to Englishmen as white flakes, and as flakes are of frequent occurrence in the climatic conditions of England, they naturally play a large part in the linguistic "repertoire" of a great poet like Shakespeare. The problem of the translator is, how to translate, into Tamil, metaphors and similes involving objects totally unknown in the climatic conditions of Tamil Nad. Flakes are as untranslatable as "Iddies". I think the translator may be permitted in these circumstances to use a homelier metaphor or simile, in order that the mood of the original might be truthfully conveyed. Take, for instance, a passage from *King Lear* (Act IV, Scene vii), where Cordelia, after learning of the cruel treatment meted out by her sisters to King Lear, is moved to exclaim as follows:

"Had you not been their
Father, these white flakes
Had challenged pity of them. Was this a face
To be opposed against the warring winds?"

Perhaps, this passage may be translated into Tamil as follows:

"தந்தையென்று பார்க்காவிட்டாலும், பிச்சிப்பூப் போன்ற இந்த வெள்ளை முடியைப் பார்த்தாவது அவர்கள் இரங்கியிருக்கக் கூடாதா? குமுறும் காற்றினோடு போராடுவதற்குரிய முகமா இது?"

"பிச்சிப்பூ", I admit, is a far cry from "white flakes", but I can offer no better solution to the problem on hand. Acclimatization in this sense is regrettable, but the only other alternative is dismal unintelligibility.

Take, again, a passage from *Macbeth* (Act I, Scene v). Lady Macbeth is tuning herself up psychologically and physiologically for the murder of the King and invokes the evil spirits to unsex her and fill her with cruelty. She exclaims:

> "Come to my woman's breasts
> And take my milk with gall, you murdering ministers,
> Wherever in your sightless substance
> You wait on Nature's mischief!"

"Woman's breasts" do not perhaps sound as indelicate to the English ear as the raw Tamil equivalent would to the Tamil ear. The translator has, therefore, to choose a less sexy word like "கொங்கை" or even a loan-word from Sanskrit like "ஸ்தன்யம்". But the right word "முலை" loses its vulgar sexiness in a particular company as in "முலைப்பால்" in which context it becomes a symbol of maternal love.

"கொலைக்கு உடந்தையாயிருக்கும் சக்திகளே, என் பெண்மைக் கொங்கைகளினுள் புகுந்து முலைப்பாலைப் பித்தமாக மாற்றி உங்களுடைய வன்கண்மையின் துணைகொண்டு இயல்பான தீவினைக்கு ஏவல் புரியுங்கள்."

This translation of the original illustrates the need for acclimatization in the manner of expression.

The need for a third kind of acclimatization may next be indicated. There are numerous mythological references in Shakespeare and there are very few Gods and Goddesses in the Tamil or Hindu Pantheon corresponding to those mentioned by Shakespeare, but when there is close correspondence between the two, I think it permissible, and even necessary, from the evocative point of view, to use the corresponding Tamil God or Goddess. Consequently, I suggest the translation of Neptune into "Varuna" and of "Cupid" into "Manmada". In matters of religious culture the problems of translation are the most perplexing.

LIBERTY OF INVERSION

In the matter of syntactical structure, there is great dissimilarity between English and Tamil. In narrating the temporal sequence of events, English is illogical, as for instance, in the sentence:

> "This morning I met the man who came from Singapore yesterday."

Though the coming of the man from Singapore yesterday is an event which has taken place anterior in point of time to the meeting of the man this morning, the sentence puts the later event earlier and *vice versa*. Tamil, on the contrary, preserves inviolate the time sequences:

> "நேற்று சிங்கப்பூரிலிருந்து வந்தவரை இன்று நான் சந்தித்தேன்."

The Tamil translator, who fails to invert the syntax of the original, will produce something hideous and unacceptable.

UNTRANSLATABILITY OF PUNS AND BOOTS

The clowns of Shakespeare are chronic punsters and it is impossible to translate their puns into Tamil. I have been trying my best to find a Tamil equivalent for "lying", which could connote at once physical posture and the uttering of untruth. I have given up the attempt in despair.

Similarly, the translator has to give up finding Tamil equivalents for peculiarly English institutions like boots, shoes, socks, stockings, garters, cakes, beer, ale, Duke, Marquis, Earl, etc. The flora and fauna peculiar to England do not lend themselves to translation either.

VERBAL INVENTIONS OF SHAKESPEARE

A libertine critic said of the English Language that it is like a woman who will not love you unless you take liberties with her. Shakespeare has not only taken liberties with this lady, but has also molested and outraged her, as no other man has done, and yet this chary maid has unmasked her beauties to Shakespeare, as she has to no other English-speaking man, since or before. Shakespeare intimidates nouns into performing the function of verbs as in, "He childed as I fathered." (Act III, Scene vi, *King Lear*.) He mixes and compounds words with incredible and audacious inventiveness. Take, for instance, the ingredients that boil and bubble in the Witches' Cauldron:

> "Nose of Turk and Tartar's lips
> Finger of birth-strangled babe,
> Ditch-delivered by a Drab-"

It is an open question whether the translator's art can rise equal to the inspired inevitability of these words.

SPLITING UP OF SHAKESPEAREAN SENTENCES

Shakespeare does, by a strange aerial magic, weave complex sentences together with the aid of long parenthetical clauses, without at the same time sacrificing lucidity. Here is a passage taken at random from *Hamlet* (Act III, Scene ii), where the Prince of Denmark gives advice to actors:

> "Speak the speech I pray you, as I
> Pronounced it to you, trippingly on the tongue;
> But if you mouth it, as many of your players
> Do, I had as lief the Town-crier spoke my lines;
> Nor do not saw the air too much with your
> Hand, thus; but use all gently; for in the very
> Torrent, tempest and, as I may say, the whirl-wind
> Of passion, you must acquire and beget a temperance,
> That may give it smoothness. O, it offends me to the soul, to hear a robustious periwig-pated
> Fellow, tear a passion to tatters, to very rags,
> To split the ears of the groundlings, who, for the most part, are capable of nothing but inexplicable dumb-shows and noise."

Such long-winded passages constitute a puzzle to the translator, who will get into a breathless mess, if he tries to convey in Tamil the involutions and nodosities of the sentence-structure of the original. The only way in which the problem can be solved is by boldly splitting up the sentences, rearranging the pieces in a different rhythmic pattern, and communicating the intensities of the original by adopting a different syntactical structure. The following draft translation illustrates my suggestion:

> "நான் பேசினமாதிரி அந்தப் பேச்சைப் பேசுங்கள். சொற்கள் நாக்கிலே சுகமாக உருளவேண்டும். உங்களில் சில நடிகர்களைப் போல சொற்களைக் குதப்புவதாக இருந்தால், ஊர்ப்பறையனை (there is no other equivalent for the town-crier) அழைத்து இதைப் பேசச் சொல்லிவிடலாமே. காற்றைப்போட்டு ரம்பத்தால் அறுப்பதுபோல் இப்படிக் கையை ஆட்டாதீர்கள். மென்மையாக மெய்ப்பாடுகளைக் காட்டுங்கள். உணர்ச்சி மழையாகப் பெய்யலாம், புயலாக வீசலாம், சூருவளியாகச் சுற்றியடிக்கலாம். ஆனால் அப்படி அடிக்கும்போதும், நிதானத்தைக் கைவிட்டு விடாதீர்கள். நிதானம் இருந்தால்தான் நடிப்பிற்கு ஒரு மெருகு உண்டாகும். டோப்பா அணிந்த தடியர்கள் உணர்ச்சிகளைக் கிழித்தெறிந்து களமாக்கி, கேட்பவர்களுடைய காதைப் பிளக்கும்போது என் ஆன்மா பதைபதைக்கிறது. கேட்கும் தரைமகாஜனங்களோ, அர்த்தம் புரியாத ஊமை நாடகத்தையும் கூப்பாட்டையுந்தான் ரஸிப்பார்கள்."

Uninhibited translation of this kind is subject to many criticisms. A distinguished critic complains that this mode of translation is guilty of oversimplifying Shakespeare. There might be some truth in this

charge, but the illusion of over-simplification might be the result of converting 16th Century English blank verse into 20th Century Tamil prose. To a Tamilian, the former is more opaque and obscure and the latter is more direct and lucid. There are two kinds of obscurity in Shakespeare; one is there, by the necessary intendment of Shakespeare, who uses obscurity as an artistic symbol for those spiritual experiences which can only be half-revealed. It is wrong for the translator to attempt to remove such obscurities, for he would thereby succeed only in blurring the half-occult visions of the great Master. But there is another kind of obscurity in Shakespeare, which is due either to the slovenliness of hasty improvisation or to the words, current in his times, having become obsolete and, therefore, opaque. There is no sanctity about this kind of obscurity and it is the duty of a translator, as an interpreter of Shakespeare, to remove these obscurities.

Another charge against this mode of translation is that it indulges in disreputable colloquialism. The obvious answer to this charge is that Shakespeare would not have achieved much of his dramatic appeal but for his deft handling of live, pulsating colloquial words. His main merit is that he raised the common speech of his people to undying literary status. Any translator of Shakespeare, who fights shy of colloquialism, may, therefore, turn his prudish gifts to the translation of heavier, more respectable and less popular poets like Milton.

One other criticism against uninhibited translations of the kind quoted above is that they contaminate the Tamil language by impure foreign words. Importation of a foreign word, which is not current among the Tamils is certainly to be abhorred, not only because it contaminates the Tamil language, but because it has no connotative significance to the Tamils. If, on the other hand, the foreign word has acquired, by long usage among the Tamils, a power of articulation, which a pure Tamil equivalent does not possess, it is the duty of the translator to employ it unblushingly. As has been already observed communication of the spirit of the original to the Tamil-speaking people must be the paramount consideration of the translator and any other consideration, which is ineffectual from this point of view, must be discarded as irrelevant. Emphasis must, therefore, be laid on the difference, not between an indigenous word and a foreign word, or between a reputable word and a disreputable word, or between the spoken word and the written word, but between a live word and a dead word, between a word that puts across the flavour and aroma of the original and a word that does not.

UNTRANSLATABLE IMPONDERABLES

We shall next consider how best the translator can tackle the almost untranslatable imponderables of Shakespeare such as his poetry and his exquisite moods.

Pedestrian prose is totally ineffective to deliver these goods, for such prose is amorphous and has no form, whereas the poetry of the original resides in the very form of the poetry. If we reduce a Persian rose to pulp, the contents of the rose may remain intact, but its form, which is about the most significant thing about the rose, would be most certainly destroyed. How best can the translator preserve the form of the original? He must aim at recreating the rose, even though the recreated rose may be less ruddy and less fragrant than the Shakespearean rose.

It is my view that verse translations of Shakespeare have failed to do justice to the original. All of them are anaemic, inexpressive and for the most part, unintelligible. Lack of requisite poetic efficiency on the part of the translator is one reason for this defect. Another reason is that the exigencies of rhyme and alliteration tempt the translator to go farther away from the original.

'Ahaval' in Tamil is the nearest approximation to the Shakespearean blank verse, but it is the most difficult of metres and it has to be skilfully handled in order to compensate for the absence of rhyme and in order to make it an effective and arresting poetic movement. In modern times, no one with the possible exception of Bharathy Dasan, has handled the Ahaval metre forcibly and arrestingly.

I would, therefore, reject conventional verse forms as ineffective to translate Shakespeare. Probably my own inefficiency in handling verse-forms might explain part of my prejudice, but I advocate resort to rhythmic Tamil prose as the best available and the most supple instrument for translating the blank verse of Shakespeare. By rhythmic prose, I mean a prose, which may not conform to conventional rules of prosody and yet has a hidden metrical pattern, that is to say, a flexible pattern which enables you to communicate the original Bhavas by deft variations of the pauses, by an ever-changing distribution of caesura, by a skilful combination of long and short vowels and by consonantal variations and assonance.

It may be useful to illustrate this point. Let us take one of the loftiest passages in Shakespeare, which occurs in Scene iii of Act V, *King Lear*. Lear and Cordelia have been taken prisoners and the shock of his new-found love for Cordelia purges Lear of his insanity and temporarily elevates him to a transcendental level, from where he looks at mankind with the clear and steady sight of a Jivan Mukta. This is what Lear tells Cordelia:

> "Come, let's away to prison;
> We two alone will sing like birds in the cage;
> When thou dost ask me blessing I'll kneel down
> And ask of thee forgiveness: so we'll live,
> And pray, and sing, and tell old tales, and laugh
> At gilded butterflies, and hear poor rogues

Talk of Court news; and we'll talk with them too
Who loses and who wins; who's in, who's out;
And take upon's the mystery of things
As if we were God's spies: and we'll wear out
In a wall'd prison packs and sects of great ones
That ebb and flow by the moon."

A lover of Shakespeare may think it a sacrilege to translate this intensely elevating passage, but if we must translate it, we may do it in the following words:

"வா நாம் சிறைச்சாலைக்குப் போய்விடுவோம். கூண்டுக்குள்ளிருக்கும் பறவைகளைப்போல, நாமிருவரும் தனித்திருந்து பாடுவோம்: நீ என்னிடம் ஆசீர்வாதம் கேட்கும்போதெல்லாம் நான் மண்டியிட்டு உன்னிடம் மன்னிப்புக் கேட்பேன். தொழுதும், பாடியும், பழங்கதைகள் பேசியும் பசப்பும் வண்ணத்திப் பூச்சிகளைப் பார்த்து நகைத்தும், அரண்மனைச் செய்திகளைப் புல்லோர் சொல்லக் கேட்டும், யாருக்குத் தோல்வி, யாருக்கு வெற்றி, பதவி யாருக்குக் கிடைத்தது, பதவியிழந்தவன் யார் என்று ஊர்வம்பு பேசியும், பேரண்டத்தின் அற்புதத்தையே மேற்கொண்டவர்களாய் இறைவனுடைய வேவுகாரர்களைப் போல, நாம் வாழ்க்கை நடத்துவோம்."

This translation may not be perfect, but, in my view, it does indicate the direction in which the translator may usefully bend his energies in his attempt to reproduce Shakespeare in Tamil.

PRE-VERBAL 'TAPAS' OF THE TRANSLATOR

The most important prerequisite to the translation of Shakespeare is that the translator must discipline himself by performing a prolonged Tapas. He must walk in the constant company of Shakespeare. He must steep himself in the pages of Shakespeare, in an attempt to participate in his creatorial functions. He must efface his own ego and merge himself, without reservations, in the characters of Shakespeare and souse himself in the moods and rhythms of the poet. If the translator can keep his mind long enough in this dedicated condition of reverence, humility and Advaita, his Sub-conscious would become a fit medium for receiving and communicating the width, volume and richness of Shakespeare's genius. In this condition of intensity, the Sub-conscious invents appropriate combinations of words and patterns of rhythm, which have the power to crystallize the authentic Shakespeare in the Tamil language.

But this process of crystallization is conditioned and limited by the medium's knowledge and understanding of the linguistic and cultural traditions of English and Tamil. Further, the translator must have made a thorough study of the different readings of Shakespeare with reference to the Variorium edition and exercised a sound discretion in choosing the most appropriate text. He must also have studied deeply the interpretations of wise Shakespearean critics such as Johnson and such sensitive critics as Charles Lamb and Coleridge, and come to a

definite and independent conclusion of his own as to the meaning and purport of every controversial passage in a play. If, after equipping himself with an intellectual preparation of this kind, the translator has the courage to consciously throw all these accretions overboard and then enter into a Tapas of the kind already described, he is bound to succeed in recreating Shakespeare in Tamil.

As for the ballads and folk songs of Shakespeare, I think they can be effectively translated in popular "Themmangu" tunes.

POTENTIALITIES OF TAMIL AS A TRANSLATION MEDIUM

Speaking of the difficulties of catching the subtleties of the English language in French and Bengali, Shri Aurobindo has some penetrating remarks to make. He says:

> "There is one supreme faculty of the English language, which none other I know possesses, the ease with which it finds the packed allusive turn, the suggestive unexpressed, the door opening on things ineffable. Bengali like French is very clear and living and expressive, but to such clear languages, the expression of the inexpressible is not so easy. One has to go out of one's way to find it. Witness Mallarame's wrestlings with the French language to find the symbolic expression — the right turn of speech for what is behind the veil."

Aurobindo winds up with the hope that even in French and Bengali the power to express the inexpressible with less effort must come, but meanwhile the difference remains.

In my judgement, though Tamil is clear and living and expressive enough, it has also developed the capability of communicating the incommunicable. A perusal of the songs of Tirumoolar and the 18 Tamil Siddhas would show how the Tamil language has been trained by them to effortlessly express those occult experiences, which linger on the border-land between language and wordless thought.

Here is a song of Thirumoolar, which illustrates my proposition:

> ஆறு தெருவில் அகப்பட்ட சந்தியில்
> சாறு படுவன நான்கு பனையுள
> ஏறற் கரியதோர் ஏணியிட்டு அப்பனை
> ஏறலுற்றேன், கடல் ஏழுங் கண்டேனே.

The Tamil translator need not, therefore, despair of those passages of Shakespeare, which impinge on the inexpressible.

Take, for instance, the context in which Seyton announces to Macbeth the death of Lady Macbeth with an abruptness, full of pathos:

> "The Queen, my Lord, is dead."

Macbeth is moved by these words to reflect upon the emptiness of human life, in words, at once sublime and obscure. He exclaims:

> "She should have died hereafter,
> There would have been a time for such a word
> Tomorrow, and Tomorrow and Tomorrow
> Creeps in this petty pace from day to day
> To the last syllable of Recorded Time
> and all our yesterdays have lighted fools
> the way to dusty death"... etc.

There is an eerie spaciousness and mysticity in the expression,

> "To the last syllable of Recorded Time"

In this line we hear the footfalls of Man, marching to his inexhorable doom — a march along the unending corridors of Time. This line can be translated without loss of mysticity as follows:

> "காலக் கணக்கின் கடைசி எழுத்துவரை."

"காலம்", which is the Tamil equivalent of "Time" has a richer metaphysical connotation than its English compeer. "எழுத்து", while communicating the impression of "Recorded Time", does more; it evokes in the Tamil mind, by sheer association, the tyranny of Destiny.

Numerous instances can be given of the superiority of Tamil over English in the matter of expression of the eternal verities of life. This superiority is due to the fact that some of our greatest mystics and metaphysicians have, by expressing their experiences in Tamil, trained the Tamil language to effortlessly express the ineffable.

But it is a said fact that in expressing the everyday occurrences of modern secular life, Tamil lags far behind English and requires to be tutored and trained. This deficiency can be made good only by a conscious effort on the part of the intelligentsia of Tamil Nad to think in Tamil and to express in Tamil all the facts and subtleties of contemporary thinking and living.

CONCLUSION

By translating Shakespeare into Tamil, the translator performs a double service. In the first place, he offers to the Tamils glimpses of a new world of vision and experience. In the second place, in the very process of translation the translator will be amazed to find how Shakespeare forces the Tamil Language to speak in new accents, and adds to Tamil a new dimension of expression. The afflatus of Shakespeare, the creative breath of his inspiration is bound to quicken and energize the Tamil language. In fact, Shakespeare-Translation is a wholesome mode of blood-transfusion, which can impart a fresh vigour to our language and strengthen the seeds of future creativity.

PART VI

FINAL PLENARY SESSION IN TAMIL

FINAL PLENARY SESSION IN TAMIL

SATURDAY, APRIL 23.

The final Plenary Session was presided over by Prof. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam. The following delegates were the chief speakers: Mr. Sethu Kavalar, Jaffna, Ceylon; Mr. K. Modelly, Mauritius; Mr. V. Tirunavukkarasu, Singapore; Mr. R. Ukira Pandyan, Burma; Mr. T. K. Shanmugam, Madras; Mr. K. V. Jaganathan, Madras; and Navalar V. R. Nedunchezhiyan, M.L.A., Madras.

The Chairman at the outset of the meeting drew attention to the valuable translation of *The Theory of Literature* by Rene Wellek and Austin Warren into Tamil by Miss Gloria Sundaramathi under the supervision of Prof. V. I. Subramoniam of the University of Kerala, and its publication under the auspices of the International Association of Tamil Research. He also paid tribute to Mr. A. Subbiah, Regional Secretary of I.A.T.R., Madras, for having donated copies of the work to delegates from Ceylon, Malaysia, and Singapore, and also to scholars from the Western countries. He thanked Mr. Subbiah for organizing Indian participation at the Conference.

Mr. Sethu Kavalar spoke on the subject of "India's religions and Indian philosophy". Mr. K. Modelly spoke on the "Tamils of Mauritius", while Mr. R. Ukira Pandyan spoke on the "Tamils of Burma". Mr. K. V. Jaganathan spoke on the "Poetry of Sangam Age", while Mr. T. K. Shanmugam entertained the gathering of delegates wtih Tamil songs. Mr. V. Thirunavukkarasu drew the attention of the delegates to certain fields of Tamil Studies which should receive their early attention. He pointed out that there should be closer collaboration between scholars in linguistics and those in the fields of practical usage of Tamil, such as Tamil journalism, broadcasting and television. He stressed the need for a scientific dictionary of the Tamil language, a glossary of technical terms in Tamil, and Tamil text-books for use by non-Tamils in various parts of the world.

Navalar Nedunchezhiyan, M.L.A., Madras, who spoke on the characteristics of the Tamil language congratulated the Organizers of the Conference on the tremendous success it has achieved. He also expressed, both on behalf of those present and on his own behalf, the sincere thanks to Prof. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam, the University of Malaya authorities, the Malaysian Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, and the Malaysian Ministers, Tan Sri V. T. Sambanthan,

and Enche V. Manickavasagam, the Government of Madras and the Governments of other countries, the members of the Conference Secretariat, the local Malaysian newspapers, radio and all those who were responsible for the success of the Conference Seminar.

IATR BUSINESS SESSION

SATURDAY, APRIL 23

The Chairman of the informal business session, PROF. XAVIER S. THANI NAYAGAM explained in his introductory remarks that the special session had been called to hold a post-mortem on the Conference itself, and to exchange views concerning future conferences, and the lines along which the activities of the IATR should develop. He apologised for any shortcomings that delegates might have experienced, and thanked the Hon. Ministers, the Secretary Mr. V. Selvanayagam, and all the chairmen and members of the Committees, for the selfless collaboration which they had rendered. He thanked especially the members of the Department of Indian Studies and the Conference Secretariat who had contributed to the success of the Conference.

With regard to the IATR, he stated the circumstances in which it had been formed (see Appendix I on the IATR). He thanked the regional Committees of the IATR, and announced that Mr. H. W. Tambiah had been nominated a Vice-President of the IATR. He then invited delegates to make their suggestions.

MR. K. P. RATNAM (CEYLON) said that the IATR had created a landmark in the history of Tamil Research, and suggested that it should have a Constitution and an Executive Body. He also suggested the formation of a high level committee to co-ordinate technical terms, and also to see to the translation of the *Tirukkural* into various languages.
The Chairman remarked that Mr. Ratnam's suggestions had been already anticipated by the Governing Body, and that a Constitution would be ready by the next Conference.

PROF. V. S. P. MANICKAM (INDIA) suggested that the IATR should sponsor an international Tamil phonetic script. The Chairman observed that the same suggestion had been made by the German colleagues, and that the Association might well work towards the acceptance of an International phonetic script for Tamil.

MR. K. V. JEGANATHAN (INDIA) suggested that there be a quarterly journal in English so that knowledge of Tamil Research might be communicated to the non-western world, to which the Chairman replied that the

quarterly journal *Tamil Culture* had anticipated his wishes, and that it had performed this role very successfully since 1952.

DR. R. E. ASHER (ENGLAND) said that the Conference had been a great success. He had one observation to make, namely that these Conferences should be held every three years, and not every two years since Conferences held every two years would not allow sufficient time for scholars to prepare serious research papers. He suggested the Second Conference be rather held in Tamil Nad in 1969 than early in 1968.

MR. R. NEDUNCHEZHIAN (INDIA) welcomed the proposal to have a constitution for the IATR. He felt that the constitution should also refer to a permanent headquarters for the Association. He recommended that the IATR publish the *Proceedings* of each conference for the benefit of scholars all over the world. He endorsed further the suggestion of Mr. K. P. Ratnam that steps be taken through UNESCO for the translation of *Tirukkural* into the languages of the world. He further suggested that both English and Tamil be used at Conference sessions.

JUSTICE H. W. TAMBIAH (CEYLON) expressed his thanks for having been made a Vice-President of the IATR. He also wished to congratulate and thank the organisers on behalf of the delegation from Ceylon.

MR. K. MATHIAPARANAM (CEYLON) said he would like to correspond with delegates engaged in research on the *Tiruvaacakam.*

DR. JOHN R. MARR (ENGLAND) partially endorsed what Dr. R. E. Asher had said concerning the frequency of holding Conferences. He also suggested the presentation of fewer papers so that time might be available for discussion.

SIR P. T. RAJAN (INDIA) referred to the progress made in Tamil Studies since 1901 when Pandithuraisamy Thevar founded the Fourth Tamil Cankam in Madurai. In 1920 the National Indian Congress began the use of the regional languages. In 1930 the Annamalai University was founded for the purpose of encouraging Tamil Studies, and in 1966 this august assembly has met in Kuala Lumpur and given Tamil an international status. He could be never too thankful to the organisers.

THE CHAIRMAN while thanking Sir P. T. Rajan also referred to a few complaints which had been voiced concerning the loss of papers as well as the failure to pre-print some of the papers. The last date by which papers were to be received was 28th February, but by then *only twenty* papers had been received. All the other 140 papers were received after that date. The late receipt of papers made it impossible to make a

rigorous selection or to find time to have all of them pre-printed. The full responsibility on the academic side was heavy on six or seven members of the Department of Indian Studies. Typists had kept working until 2 a.m. every morning. Where scholars had sent three or four papers each, one or two had been pre-printed. Not only did the Department of Indian Studies organize the Conference, but had also brought out several scholarly publications. His colleagues in the Department of Indian Studies deserved the warmest praise for the work they so selflessly accomplished.

MR. K. SIVAPRAGASAM (CEYLON) suggested that simultaneous translations be done of papers and discussions at future conferences, and that audio-visual aids be utilised in the teaching of Tamil as a foreign language.

MR. T. K. SHANMUGAM (INDIA) suggested that the Tamil Drama and Theatre, and Music should have a special section at future Conferences, and that the IATR should plan to have all books on drama, theatre etc. translated so that this branch of literature might grow. He also offered the services of his troupe to stage plays for raising funds for the organisation.

MR. SHANMUGASUNDARAM (INDIA) observed that there was a need for uniformity in the use of technical terms.

DR. A. KANAGARATNAM (CEYLON) suggested that there should be a section in future Conferences for Tamil medicine.

DR. M. MANUEL (INDIA) observed that an Annual Bibliography of Research Papers and Books on Tamil Studies should be published to which the Chairman replied that this has been anticipated and periodical bibliographies would be published by the IATR.

PROF. KARL H. MENGES (U.S.A.) stated that he had felt very much at home during the Conference and that this Conference was bound to create a great deal of interest and further Tamil Studies and Dravidian Studies in the U.S.A. and in Germany where they had been underdeveloped. He also endorsed the suggestion that this Conference should not take place at short intervals.

THE CHAIRMAN concluded saying that the session had resulted in a very useful exchange of ideas. He thanked everyone concerned very warmly, and said that it had been a great pleasure for the University and the Tamil speaking people of Malaya to host the first ever International Conference of Tamil Studies. He thanked all delegates, members of the Organizing Committee and Functional Committees, the Tamil

school teachers and children in Malaysia for their unstanted help and cooperation.

PROFESSOR M. B. EMENEAU (U.S.A.) proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman and his colleagues for the magnificant organisation of the Conference, even under difficulties.

FAREWELL BANQUET AT PARLIAMENT HOUSE

Speakers at the Farewell Banquet on Saturday, April 23rd were Hon'ble Tan Sri V. T. Sambanthan, Hon'ble Mr. V. Manickavasagam, Hon'ble Mr. H. W. Tambiah, Sir P. T. Rajan, Prof. X. S. Thani Nayagam, and Mr. V. Selvanayagam (Master of Ceremonies).

CONFERENCE MEMBERS

(An asterisk denotes registrants in absentia)

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* Ravindra Kumar Jain, Dr.	*Australian National University*
* Subramaniam, Dr. V.	*University of Western Australia*

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Rutnam, James T.	*Colombo*
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Hamzah bin Sendut — *University of Malaya*
Ho Peng Yoke, Prof. — *University of Malaya*
Hyacinth Leo — *Malaysia*
Ismail Hussein, Dr. — *University of Malaya*
Jeyadevi Ponnudurai (Mrs.) — *Malayasia*
Loganayagi, Miss N. — *University of Malaya*
Murugu Subramaniam — *Malayasia*
Palaniappan, M. — *University of Malaya*
Pathmanaban, K. — *Malayasia*
Radhakrishnan, R. — *University of Malaya*
Rama Subbiah, Dr. — *University of Malaya*
Richard Job — *Malayasia*
Singaravelu, S. — *University of Malaya*
Sushila Nair — *Malayasia*
Thani Nayagam, Prof. Xavier S. — *University of Malaya*
Veerappan, R. N. — *Malayasia*
Verhoven, Dr. F. R. J. — *Malayasia*

OBSERVERS

Alwi Jantan — *University of Malaya*
Ampalavanar, Rajeswary (Miss) — *University of Malaya*
Anasuya Nair (Miss) — *University of Malaya*
David Gunaratnam — *University of Malaya*
Eswary Somasundram (Miss) — *University of Malaya*
Gomathy Shankar (Miss) — *University of Malaya*
Janagi Subramaniam (Miss) — *University of Malaya*
Jeyamalar Kathirithamby Dr. — *University of Malaya*
Karthigesu, R. — *University of Malaya*
Kesavapany, K. — *University of Malaya*
Lalita Hariharan (Miss) — *University of Malaya*
Mariammal Arumugam (Miss) — *University of Malaya*
Markandan, S. — *University of Malaya*
Mohamed Ariff — *University of Malaya*
Nesamalar Chitravelu (Miss) — *University of Malaya*
Nesamalar Ramanathan (Miss) — *University of Malaya*
Paranjothi, N. — *University of Malaya*
Rathi Devi Sinnappoo (Miss) — *University of Malaya*
Robert Selvaratnam — *University of Malaya*
Sarah Thomas (Miss) — *University of Malaya*
Saroja, N. (Miss) — *University of Malaya*
Sivajothi, M. — *Malaysia*
Subramaniam, S. — *University of Malaya*
Sushila Devi — *University of Malaya*
Vimala Pillai, M. (Miss) — *University of Malaya*
Yagambaram, N. — *University of Malaya*

MAURITIUS

Arunachalam, P. — *Mauritius*
Modelly, K. — *Mauritius*
Sangeelee, M. — *Mauritius*

PHILIPPINES

Francisco, Prof. Juan	*University of the Philippines*

PORTUGAL

* A. da Silva Rego, Prof.	*University of Lisbon*
Pintado, Rev. M. J.	*(Malacca) University of Lisbon*

SINGAPORE

Arasu, M. T. R.	*Radio Singapore*
Joseph Minattur, Dr.	*Nanyang University*
* Kernial Singh Sandhu, Dr.	*University of Singapore*
Meyappa Nadarajan	*University of Singapore*
* Murugaian, A.	*Radio Singapore*
* Ramani, R.	*Radio Singapore*
Sarangapani, G.	*Singapore*
Thirunavukarasu, V.	*Singapore*
* Treggonning, Prof. K.	*University of Singapore*
Willets, William	*University of Singapore*

SOUTH KOREA

Kim Young Hee, Prof.	*South Korea*

SWEDEN

* Diehl, Dr. C. G.	*Uppsala University*
Frykholm, Rev. Y.	*Uppsala University*

SWITZERLAND

Keller, Carl A.	*University of Lausanne*

THAILAND

Boeles, J. J.	*Society Research Centre, Bangkok*
* His Highness Prince Dhaninivat Kromamun Bidyalah	*President of the Privy Council Siam*

UNITED KINGDOM

Asher, Dr. R. E.	*University of Edinburgh*
Cowan, Prof. C. D.	*University of London*
Gaur, Dr. A.	*British Museum*
Killingley, D. H.	*University of Malaya*
Marr, Dr. J. R.	*University of London*

U.S.S.R.

* Andronov, Dr. M.	*Asian Nations Institute*
* Glasov, Dr. Yuri	*Asian Nations Institute*
* Makarenko Valdimir	*Moscow University*
* Pjatigorskij, M. A.	*Asian Nations Institute*
* Rudin, S. G.	*University of Leningrad*

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Beals, Alan R.	*American Institute of Indian Studies*
Beck, Brenda (Miss)	*Research Fellow, Oxford University*
Buck, Harry M.	*Wilson College, U.S.A.*
Burkhart, Geoffrey L.	*American Institute of Indian Studies*
Emeneau, Prof. Murray B.	*University of California*

U.S.A. (CONTD.)

Few, Ellen Hale (Mrs.)	*Kuala Lumpur*
* Franklin, Dr. Albert E.	*U.S. Consul, Madras,*
Frykenberg, Robert Prof.	*University of Wisconsin*
* George Gardons, Prof.	*American Institute of Indian Studies, University of Washington*
* Glick, Prof. Clarence E.	*University of Hawaii*
Harper, Edward B.	*University of Washington*
Heimann, Judith M. (Mrs.)	*Kuala Lumpur*
* Irschick, Prof. Eugene F.	*University of California*
Knowlton, Prof. Edgar C.	*University of Hawaii*
Menges, Karl H.	*Columbia University*
* Ramanujam, A. K.	*University of Chicago*
Schiffman, Harold P.	*American Institute of Indian studies*
* Spellman, John W.	*University of Washington*

VIETNAM

Bau-Lich, Prof.	*Ministry of Education, Saigon*
Nguyen-Khac-Kham, Prof.	*Ministry of Education, Saigon*
Nguyen-Duy-Can, Prof.	*Ministry of Education, Saigon*

APPENDIX I

THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TAMIL RESEARCH

A NOTE ON ITS FORMATION

THE INITIAL STEPS

The origin of the IATR has been the subject of enquiry, and the following note is made from documents available with those who originally planned the formation of an international association to promote Tamil Studies. Further information concerning the origin of the IATR should also be sought in the circumstances which brought about the publication of the quarterly journal *Tamil Culture* in 1952, and in the founding of the Academy of Tamil Culture in Madras, on September 18, 1954, and the Tamil Culture Society in Colombo in June 1952.*

Professor Xavier S. Thani Nayagam in an interview to the Madras *Indian Express* soon after assuming duties at the University of Malaya as Professor of Indian Studies made the following statement, which was published in its columns on October 28, 1961.

> "Tamil studies had great need to be modernized as any other arts group or modern European language." he said. He had been to Annamalai University as well as to the Tamil Research and Development Council in Madras, and had suggested an annual conference of university heads of departments of Tamil, so that common problems of courses, methods of teaching, and items of research might be discussed. "Professors of Tamil in Ceylon, Malaya, and even in London, Paris, and Prague would be interested in participating in such conferences. It was for a Tamil University in Tamil Nad to initiate such a move," he said.

At this time Prof. Thani Nayagam was a member of the Tamil Research and Development Council of Madras. It was his conviction that it would be appropriate to hold the first Conference of this nature in Tamil Nadu, and hence he sought the support of Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaram, then Professor of Tamil at the Annamalai University. He addressed a formal letter to the then Minister of Madras State, the Hon'ble Mr. C. Subramaniam with whom he had oral discussions earlier. The letter was signed by both Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaram and Prof. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam.

*See *Tamil Culture*, vol. 1 (1952), p. 320; vol. 4 (1955), pp. 99 ff.

Annamalainagar,
October 27, 1961.

To:
The Hon'ble Mr. C. Subramaniam,
Chairman, Tamil Research Development Council,
Fort St. George,
Madras-1.

Dear Sir,

We suggest that the Heads of Departments of Tamil in the various Universities (Madras, Annamalai, Kerala, Ceylon and Malaya) meet under the auspices of the Tamil Research and Development Council at least once a year, and constitute a permanent sub-committee of the Council. Such meetings are essential in the interests of devising a modernised syllabus and methods of teaching, as well as in collaborating in research projects of common interest, and even in preventing duplication of research.

Heads of Departments of Tamil even in other foreign countries [e.g. London, Leningrad, Prague] may be invited occasionally to such Conferences.

We would urge that a first such meeting of Heads of Tamil Departments be held as early as possible in 1962, say in February or March; and that the Professor of Tamil of the Annamalai University be named Convenor and make the preliminary arrangements for such a Conference.

Yours sincerely,
Sgd. T. P. Meenakshisundaran,
HEAD, DEPT. OF TAMIL,
ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY.

Sgd. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam,
HEAD, DEPT. OF INDIAN STUDIES,
UNIVERSITY OF MALAYA,
KUALA LUMPUR.

Copy to the Secretary,
Tamil Research and Development Council,
Fort. St. George, Madras.

Mr. C. Subramaniam's transfer to Delhi as a Minister of the Central Government made his intervention remote.

In the meantime Prof. Thani Nayagam explored the possibilities of Malayan sponsorship of a Conference of Tamil Studies either to be held in India or in due time in Malaya. The Secretary of the National Education (Indian Schools) Development Council, Mr. V. Selvanayagam, was most enthusiastic about the holding of such a Conference, and at a formal meeting of the body, held at his residence on August 12, 1962, invited the Professor of Indian Studies to offer his suggestions for the development of Tamil Studies in Malaya. The holding of an international Conference was one of the suggestions which was commented on by Hon'ble Enche V. Manickavasagam, the President, who said that

the NEDC could be a co-sponsor of such a Conference and help with funds should the University of Malaya take the initiative in the matter. (NEDC Minutes of Meeting, August 12th, 1962 at 25, Maxwell Road, Kuala Lumpur.)

MADRAS PROJECT

At a meeting of the Tamil Research and Development Council in August, 1963, under the Chairmanship of the Hon'ble Mr. M. Bhaktavatsalam, then Chief Minister and Minister for Education, Prof. X. S. Thani Nayagam proposed that an International meeting of Tamil scholars might be convened under the auspices of the Tamil Research and Development Council, immediately following the XXVI International Congress of Orientalists to be held in New Delhi in January 1964.

The following letters received from the Secretary of the Tamil Research and Development Council explain some of the suggestions made by Prof. Thani Nayagam and the steps taken to organize the proposed Conference.

To: 31st October, 1963.
Rev. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam,
Professor of Indian Studies,
University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur.

Dear Sir,

"WORLD TAMIL CONFERENCE" — STEPS TAKEN FOR CONVENING THE CONFERENCE.

Prof. R. N. Dandekar, Head of the Department of Sanskrit and Prakrit languages, University of Poona, who is a Joint Secretary of the Organising Committee of the XXVI International Congress of Orientalists, was addressed for furnishing a list of foreign scholars coming to India for participation in the Indology section (Dravidian group) of the International Congress to be held at New Delhi, so that the scholars may be invited to the World Tamil Conference to be convened by the Bureau of Tamil Publications. Professor Dandekar replied stating that he could not send the list of foreign scholars interested in Dravidian studies since they had not prepared lists on that basis.

The Chief Minister of Madras has written on 19th October 1963 to Shri Humayun Kabir, Minister for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, New Delhi, requesting for a list of Dravidian scholars coming for participation in the 26th International Congress. Reply from the Minister for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs is awaited.

Under the circumstances, it would be much appreciated, if you can furnish me with a list of Dravidian scholars from abroad participating in the 26th International Congress.

You are also welcome to give your suggestions regarding the details of the programme for the "World Tamil Conference".

Yours faithfully,
Sgd. A. S. Gnanasambandan,
THE BUREAU OF TAMIL PUBLICATIONS,
MADRAS STATE.

To:
Rev. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam,
Professor of Indian Studies,
University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur.

26th November, 1963.

Dear Sir,

YOUR LETTERS DATED 13th AND 16th NOVEMBER, 1963.

I am to state that your letter dated 6th November, 1963 which you have mentioned was not received either by me or by Dr. Varadarajan to whom a copy seems to have been marked. I presume Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaram also had not received a copy of it since he has not intimated to me anything regarding that matter.

We have written to Mrs. Kapila Vatsyayana, Joint Secretary to the International Congress of Orientalists and we have received replies from her and from the Minister for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, Government of India. Both of them have said that it would be possible to select Indologists who are interested in Dravidology only by the second week of December and they have agreed to send a list to the Bureau by the second week of December. I have informed this to Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaram also. Under the circumstances the Bureau may not be able to do anything further unless we know for certain who are the foreigners attending the International Congress of Orientalists and among them who are interested in Dravidology. Anyhow I am in contact with Government of India and as soon as a list is provided by them I will write to the individuals concerned. In addition to this I have also written to the Deputy Secretary, Cultural Affairs Ministry, asking him to inform the prospective invitees that they may contact the Secretary, Bureau of Tamil Publications if they wish to participate in the "WORLD TAMIL CONFERENCE" to be held at Madras.

With reference to your letter dated 16th November, I am sorry to state that the Bureau of Tamil Publications is not in a position financially to pay the T.A. from Delhi to Madras and back. It may be specifically understood that the Bureau will take charge of the visitors only from the moment they arrive at Madras. The Bureau is thinking of arranging a meeting at Madras, another at Annamalainagar and another at Madurai and the travelling and other expenses will be met by the Bureau of Tamil Publications and so I would request you to inform those to whom you might have written already that the T.A. from Delhi to Madras and back will not be met by the Bureau.

As for the programme of the conference, I shall discuss with the President, Bureau of Tamil Publications in the light of your suggestions and as soon as a decision is taken, I will let you know.

Professor Dandekar also has written that he will give a list by the first week of December.

Yours sincerely,
Sgd. A. S. Gnanasambandan,
THE BUREAU OF TAMIL PUBLICATIONS,
MADRAS STATE.

Copy to the President, Bureau of Tamil Publications,
„ Dr. M. Varadarajan,
Prof. of Tamil, University of Madras, Madras-5.

The Secretary of the Tamil Research and Development Council drew up plans in consultation with members of the Tamil Research and Development Council for a meeting of scholars interested in Tamil Studies to be held on the following dates with sessions at three different institutions.

To: 28th November, 1963.
Rev. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam,
Professor of Indian Studies,
University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur.

Dear Sir,

"WORLD TAMIL CONFERENCE" TO BE HELD AT MADRAS.

It is proposed to hold a "WORLD TAMIL CONFERENCE" in Madras next month. The first session will be held in Madras City on 13th and 14th January, 1964. The second session of the conference will be held at Annamalainagar on 15th January, 1964 and the third session at Madurai on 17th January, 1964. Papers on various subjects will be read as indicated below:

(1) Tamil Studies and Tamil History at Madras.
(2) Linguistics and International Collaboration at Annamalainagar.
(3) Archaeology and Religious Philosophy at Madurai.

I would request you to read a Paper on "International Collaboration" at Annamalainagar. The Paper may be for a duration of 20 minutes which will be followed by a discussion. All these papers will be published in one volume.

You will be a guest of the Bureau of Tamil Publications and a visit to important places in Madras State will form part of an itinerary. The Bureau will meet only the expenses for your stay at Madras and for the visits to important places in the State.

Yours sincerely,
Sgd. A. S. Gnanasambandan,
THE BUREAU OF TAMIL PUBLICATIONS,
MADRAS STATE.

The plan of a First Conference in Madras could not materialise for a great many reasons.

IATR – INAUGURAL MEETING

Professor Thani Nayagam hence planned (see *Tamil Nesan*, Kuala Lumpur dated 17.8.1963) to make the XXVI meeting of Orientalists in New Delhi the occasion of forming an Association of Tamilologists. Prof. V. I. Subramoniam and he issued the following notice through the Conference Secretariat.

XXVI INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS
INDOLOGY (MODERN INDIAN LANGUAGES AND LINGUISTICS) SECTION

SPECIAL MEETING OF SCHOLARS IN THE FIELD OF TAMIL STUDIES

There will be an informal meeting of scholars interested in different fields of Tamil Studies on Tuesday, 7th January, 1964, at 12 noon in Committee Room F (1st Floor).

Sgd. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam *Sgd.* V. I. Subramoniam.

The following were present at the inaugural meeting:

Prof. T. P. MEENAKSHISUNDARAM, Annamalai University; Prof. J. FILLIOZAT, Collège de France, Paris, Institut Français d'Indologie, Pondichery; Prof. M. VARADARAJAN, University of Madras; Prof. T. BURROW, Oxford University; Prof. F. B. J. KUIPER, University of Leiden; Prof. A. C. CHETTIAR, University of Madras; Prof. K. KANAPATHI PILLAI, University of Ceylon; Prof. V. I. SUBRAMONIAM, University of Kerala; Prof. M. A. DORAI RANGASAMY, University of Madras; Prof. XAVIER S. THANI NAYAGAM, University of Malaya; Dr. KAMIL ZVELEBIL, Czechoslovakia; K. P. RATNAM, University of Malaya; K. ARUMUGAM, University of Delhi; Dr. S. SHANKAR RAJ NAIDU, University of Madras; CHARLES T. FEUYVESI, University of Madras and Harvard; HAROLD S. POWERS, University of Pennsylvania; Dr. R. E. ASHER, S.O.A.S. University of London; A. K. RAMANUJAN, University of Chicago; Miss VAUDEVILLE, EFEO Paris; Dr. K. MAHADEVA SASTRI, S. V. University Tirupati; M. R. JAMBUNATHAN, Bombay; R. SHANMUGAM, University of Delhi; SAALAI ILANTHIRAIAN, University of Delhi; ILAM. KANAKASOUNDARI, University of Delhi; Rev. Fr. S. RAJAMANICKAM, St. Xavier's College, R. PARTHASARTHY, University of Delhi.

Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaram was proposed to the Chair. Prof. X. S. Thani Nayagam explained the reasons for convening a meeting of those interested in Tamil Studies and proposed the formation of an International Association of Tamil Research which proposal was seconded by Dr. Kamil Zvelebil. A suggestion was made by Dr. Shankara Raj

Naidu, Reader in Hindi, University of Madras, that the Association might call itself 'International Association of Dravidian Research' and might include all Dravidian Languages and Literatures. The Convenors explained that while a separate body for such a purpose might be useful, the meeting was called for the express purpose of promoting Tamil Studies, and the invitation had been issued only to those interested in Tamil Studies.

Prof. Jean Filliozat, Prof. Thomas Burrow, Prof. F. B. J. Kuiper, Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaram, and Dr. Kamil Zvelebil spoke on the possible activities of the Association and the fields of research open to Tamilologists. Prof. X. S. Thani Nayagam explained that a proposal to hold an International Conference of Tamil Studies immediately following the Delhi Conference had not materialised, but that such a conference could be an objective of the association. It was also proposed that exchange of research information should be made through the quarterly journal, *Tamil Culture,* or through a newsletter.

The meeting proceeded to the election of office bearers. Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaram proposed and the meeting unanimously voted that Prof. Jean Filliozat be the President of the Association. The following were unanimously elected as Vice-Presidents and Secretaries:

Vice-Presidents: Prof. Thomas Burrow (Oxford)
Prof. M. B. Emeneau (Berkeley)
Prof. F. B. J. Kuiper (Leiden)
Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaram (Madurai)
Prof. M. Varadarajan (Madras)

Secretaries: Prof. Kamil Zvelebil (Prague)
Prof. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam (Kuala Lumpur).

The meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chair proposed by Prof. V. I. Subramoniam.

OTHER OFFICE BEARERS

Since Prof. M. B. Emeneau was not present at the Delhi Conference, the Governing Body subsequently nominated him as a Vice-President of the Association. Mr. A. Subbiah was nominated as Treasurer prior to the holding of the Kuala Lumpur Conference.

Mr. H. W. Tambiah was nominated as a Vice-President at the closing session of the Kuala Lumpur Conference.

APPENDIX II

THE KUALA LUMPUR CONFERENCE

PRELIMINARY CIRCULARS

A letter to Dr. Kamil Zvelebil dated 20th August, 1964, from Prof. Thani Nayagam contained the following paragraph:

> With regard to the International Association, I am thinking of planning a Conference. Malaya is the place which could finance such a Conference. I am not quite sure about visa facilities for certain countries. Perhaps we could hold the Conference in Singapore.

The following is the exploratory circular sent to members of the Governing Body of the IATR and to a few other scholars, after consultations with the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Malaya and the President and the Secretary of the National Education (Indian Schools) Development Council, and the Staff of the Department of Indian Studies. The NEDC was to be a co-sponsor and would particularly help in the raising of necessary funds.

Department of Indian Studies,
University of Malaya,
Kuala Lumpur.
30th October, 1964.

Confidential

Dear Colleague,

After consultations here, I find that it will be possible to hold a Conference of the International Association of Tamil Research anywhere between March 20, 1966 and April 24, 1966, at the University of Malaya. We shall invite all members of the International Association of Tamil Research and other scholars who are even remotely associated with Tamil Studies and its various fields.

I shall be thankful if you will be so kind as to let me know as early as possible which week within these dates (March 20, 1966 and April 24, 1966) would be suitable to you and to scholars in your area, and let me have a list of scholars in your area whom we might invite for the Conference. For the present we are sure that we can look after their lodging and board and provide other amenities during their stay in Malaya, in short, offer full hospitality during the period they are attending the Conference, and even for a few days before or after the Conference. These expenses will be borne by the hosts, the Malayan section of the International Association of Tamil Research. We shall not be able to pay travel grants to members, but we shall request some Foundations, or

Universities, or Cultural Departments of Governments, to provide such travel grants.

This is just a tentative proposal. On hearing from you regarding the suitability of dates, I shall proceed further. The above dates are the only ones during which a Conference could be held here at the University of Malaya.

I believe we should invite Archaeologists, Anthropologists, Historians, Geographers, South-east Asian specialists, Linguists, Sanskritists, Philosophers, all those who are interested in areas even remotely connected with Tamil Culture and Civilization. The orientation of the Conference should be such that we obtain as many papers as possible relevant to Tamil and Dravidian Culture contacts in South-east Asia. I should, therefore, like to have your ideas concerning the programme of the Conference and whether it will be possible for you to attend. We shall be very lost if we were to hold the Conference without you.

We should have a pre-publication with a complete summary of the papers to be read. I am sure such a Conference will create a new interest and reorientate programmes in Tamil Studies, and promote and plan essential areas of research for the future. I am very hopeful of large donations from Malaya for the expenses of the Conference, and for publications. Two members of the Cabinet have given their support, and there is great enthusiasm here for such a Conference.

I should like to emphasise that this is a preliminary note and only on hearing from you, shall we decide on the dates and the programme. I am sending this letter to all the office-bearers, and to a few of the members.

Yours sincerely,
Sgd. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam.

The exploratory circular was followed by this invitation:

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TAMIL RESEARCH
CONFERENCE-SEMINAR, APRIL 1966

Department of Indian Studies,
University of Malaya,
Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.
February 1, 1965.

INVITATION

The International Association of Tamil Research has pleasure in inviting you to attend a Conference-Seminar to be held at the University of Malaya, Kaula Lumpur, from Sunday 17th April to Saturday 23rd April, 1966.

The International Association of Tamil Research and the National Education (Indian Schools) Development Council of Malaya, will be happy to have you as their guest at the Conference. Particulars regarding guest accommodation and board, cultural visits and entertainment, will be sent in January, 1966. We should like as many scholars as possible to attend this Conference and we shall be thankful if you will suggest the names of other scholars in your area who should be invited,

and who, even if unable to attend, will contribute papers to the Conference. We should also like to have a list of Institutions and Associations which might be interested in sending delegates. Since no funds are provided by the Conference for travel, prospective participants are advised to explore possibilities of obtaining travel grants from their own Institutions or from Foundations and other bodies in their own area.

CONFERENCE TOPICS

The following is a draft list of sections and of topics of papers which might be discussed at the Conference, or on which papers might be presented to the Conference.

LITERARY THEORY

Literary Criticism. Literary History. Integrated courses in Tamil Literary Studies. Literature and Anthropology. Literature and Psychology. Traditional and Modern methods of Interpretation and Criticism. Research in Literary Theory.

Section Secretary, Dr. V. I. Subramoniam, University of Kerala, Trivandrum.

SOCIAL HISTORY

Social History of various periods. Specific Institutions and their social history. Social History of Tamil-speaking communities and settlements in South-east Asia. Research in Social History. The teaching of Social History.

Section Secretary, Dr. S. Arasaratnam, University of Malaya.

CULTURE IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

Cultural aspects of the life of Indian and Ceylonese communities in Malaya. Culture contacts with Malay and Chinese Culture; Court ceremonies. Malaysian elements in Indian Culture. Indianised Culture contacts in South-east Asia (e.g. Burma, Cambodia, Indonesia, the Philippines).

Literary influences — *Kambaramayanam*, the Tiruppavai-Tiruvempavai festival in Thailand. The Manimekalai Cult in South-east Asia. Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam in South-east Asia. Pallava and Chola Art and Architecture in South-east Asia. Progress of Research in these fields.

Section Secretary, Mr. S. Singaravelu, University of Malaya.

LANGUAGE

Tamil Language. Structural and historical Linguistics. Comparative Dravidian Linguistics. Teaching Tamil to non-Tamils. Compilation of Tamil Language lessons. Tamil and Malay. Tamil and Sanskrit in South-east Asia. Common Linguistic Elements in South-east Asia. Romanised Tamil.

Section Secretary, Dr. Kamil Zvelebil, Oriental Institute, Prague.

TRANSLATION PROJECTS

Translations of Tamil Literary works into non-Indian Languages. Projects for compilation and translation of Anthologies. Representative works to be translated into Modern Languages.

Section Secretary, Dr. R. E. Asher,
School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

Foreign Literary works translated into Tamil. Representative foreign works recommended for translation into Tamil in order to promote Research and Study in the subjects suggested under various sections.

Section Secretary, Dr. Rama Subbiah, University of Malaya.

Each section will provide a comprehensive study on research and literature already available for that particular section, and discuss future Research and Teaching.

PRE-PRINTING

All correspondence regarding papers, books to be published etc. are to be addressed to Co-ordinating Secretary, IATR Conference-Seminar, Dept. of Indian Studies, University of Malaya. Funds are available for the pre-printing of outstanding contributions, both papers and books. The earlier these papers are ready, the better are the chances of their being pre-printed. They could then be circulated for study well in advance.

FUTURE CONFERENCES

Though papers on other topics may also be submitted to this Conference, we hope to restrict discussions mostly to the topics listed above, *since future Conferences might be able to deal with remaining themes.* A Conference, for instance, in India, in the years 1968-69, might include such topics as Sanskrit works in Tamil, Tamil works in Sanskrit, Comparative Dravidian Literatures, South Indian Religion and Philosophy, Critical Editions of the Classics, and other topics for the discussion of which South Indian Universities might present more favourable opportunities. A third Conference might be held in 1971-72 in Ceylon, and might include such topics as the History of the Tamils in Ceylon, Tamil Language and Literature in Ceylon, Tamil Law, Lexicography, Ceylon's contacts with India, Tamil-Sinhalese cultural affinities, Buddhism in Tamil Literature, Art in Ceylon and South India, Folk Literature, Folklore etc.

MEMBERSHIP

Ordinary Membership of the Conference is open to all scholars engaged in studies even remotely connected with fields pertinent to any aspects of Tamil Studies — Anthropology, History, Language, Literature, Religion, Archaeology, Epigraphy, Economics, Geography etc. (A Ladies Committee will look after lady members and wives.)

Associate Membership is open to all students registered for post-graduate degrees in Universities, and to teachers.

OBSERVERS

A limited number of observers representing Educational Institutions and Cultural Associations will be admitted to the Conference.

LANGUAGE

The language of the Conference will be English. All papers are expected to be in English. Papers may also be presented in other languages provided English translations are attached.

ORGANISING COMMITTEE

The Conference-Seminar is being sponsored by the International Association of Tamil Research, the University of Malaya, and the National Education (Indian Schools) Development Council. A Committee consisting of the following persons has been formed to organise various aspects of the Conference: Chairman: Hon'ble Dato V. T. Sambanthan, P.M.N., Vice-Chairman: Prof. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam; General Secretary: Mr. V. Selvanayagam, A.M.N.; Committee Members: Hon'ble Mr. V. Manickavasagam, J.M.N., P.J.K.; Senator S. O. K. Ubaidullah, J.M.N., Prof. C. J. Eliezer, Mr. G. Leo, J.M.N., Mr. S. Palanivelu, Mr. K. Ramanathan, Mr. A. K. Sabapathy, Mr. Murugu Subramaniam.

Various sub-committees will be announced later.

Kamil Zvelebil,
Xavier S. Thani Nayagam,
JOINT-SECRETARIES,
INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TAMIL RESEARCH.

V. Selvanayagam,
GENERAL SECRETARY,
NATIONAL EDUCATION (INDIAN SCHOOLS)
DEVELOPMENT COUNCIL.

The invitation contained the following enclosures along with registration forms.

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TAMIL RESEARCH

c/o Department of Indian Studies,
University of Malaya,
Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

We have pleasure in inviting you to be a member of the International Association of Tamil Research, the scope of which is to promote studies of the Tamil language, literature, history, religion, philosophy and other aspects of culture, within the larger context of Dravidian, and South and South-east Asian Studies.

The International Association of Tamil Research was formed on January 7, 1964 in New Delhi, at the XXVI International Congress of Orientalists, as a free association of scholars from all over the world who are doing research work in the field of Tamil and Dravidian studies.

The following participated at the Inaugural Meeting held in Vigyan Bhawan . . . (*Here names were given.*)

The first project of the Association is to prepare, by the end of every year an Annual Report on the research work which has been completed or is in progress.

The first report (to be published in 1966) will cover the period of the last five years (1959-1964).

The second project is the 1966 Conference-Seminar of Tamil Studies.

Prof. Jean Filliozat (Institut Français d'Indologie, Pondichery, and L'Ecole des Langues orientales vivantes, Paris) was elected President of the Association. The Vice-Presidents are Prof. Thomas Burrow (Oxford), Prof. F. B. J. Kuiper (Leiden), Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaram (Annamalai), and Prof. M. Varadarajan (Madras).

We invite you to become a Member of the Association, and we await your valuable suggestions for international co-operation in the field of Tamil Studies. The membership in the Association does not involve any subscription. The postal address of the Association for the present is:

care DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN STUDIES,
UNIVERSITY OF MALAYA,
KUALA LUMPUR, MALAYSIA.

Kamil Zvelebil,
Xavier S. Thani Nayagam,
Joint-Secretaries.

On receiving encouraging replies from those to whom the confidential circular had been addressed, a preliminary meeting was held under the auspices of the NEDC on Friday December 4, 1964 in the Indian Studies Seminar Room of the University of Malaya to elect office bearers and members of the Organizing Committee. The minutes of the fifteen meetings of the Organizing Committee and the several accounts of meetings of the sub-committees are available with the NEDC and the Department of Indian Studies. (Functional Committees: see names in *Proceedings*, vol. I, p. xxviii.)

INTERNATIONAL PARTICIPATION

Ad hoc committees to promote participation of scholars and observers were set up in India with Mr. A. Subbiah as Secretary and Convenor, and in Ceylon with Mr. K. C. Thangarajah as chief organiser and promoter. Particulars concerning these committees are available in the Conference Newsletter and IATR Newsletters and in the files of the respective committees. Mr. A. Subbiah of Thamilakam, Madras, was greatly responsible for ensuring the large participation from India.

The following are among the Governments, Institutions, and foundations, which provided travel grants for participants.

The Government of Malaysia
The Government of Madras
The Government of Ceylon
The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany

The French Institute of Indology
The Royal Netherlands Government
The Swiss Government
The British Council
The Asia Foundation
The Shaw Foundation
The Lee Foundation
The American Association of Learned Societies
The British Museum

The Government of Madras also sponsored an exhibition of large-sized photographs on Art and Architecture in the Tamil country. The exhibition was held in the Library of the University of Malaya and was open to the public. The Royal Netherlands Government, the University of Singapore, Museum authorities in Malaysia, the National Archives of Malaysia and Mrs. M. Tiruchelvam of Ceylon lent objects d'art and valuable manuscripts, books and photographs for the exhibition.

PUBLICITY

The Press in South and South-east Asia gave great publicity to the first ever international meet. The Tamil press in India, Ceylon and Malaya was particularly delighted and jubilant. The *Tamil Nesan* of Malaya and the *Tamil Murasu* of Singapore created popular enthusiasm and obtained financial support for the Conference. .The *Tamil Nesan* of the year preceding the Conference provides valuable documentation concerning the preparations for the Conference; it also obtained popular financial support raising through its columns the sum of M$12,463.58. The expectancy and interest on the non-academic aspects was expressed editorially in the *Indian Express*:

> "A Tamil empire, based on Tanjore, once comprised Ceylon and parts of Malaya, Burma and Indonesia. The culture and tradition of these areas were Indian, the degree depending on the interaction of the local and also Chinese civilisations. They were and are strongest in Ceylon. But beginning from the last century the former ruling race became indentured labourers and traders. It was in this humble fashion that the Tamils helped to develop the economies of these countries. A Sinhalese has said that for every tea bush in Ceylon ten Indians have died. But the great Tamil and Indian culture has become a dim memory now in these lands.
>
> It is, therefore, satisfactory to learn that the University of Malaysia is to help in the recovery of the glorious past. *Thirukkural* is being translated into Malay and also, it is interesting to find Mandarin Chinese. The vast appeal of the classic will be further expanded. These renderings should stimulate translations into the languages of Malaysia or more classics from Tamil.
>
> What India has not been able to do Malaysia is to achieve. An international conference of Tamil studies is to be held next April at Kuala Lumpur. It should make a beginning in the study of innumerable

fruitful topics. The history books speak in bare outline of what, in fact, was a great achievement. The conquest by Indians of South-east Asia and, what is more important, the absolute cultural supremacy they established were achievements comparable to the conquest of Asia and Africa by the West in the last two or three centuries. . . ."

T.V. Malaysia and *Radio Malaysia* offered all facilities for the popularisation of the idea of the Conference, and the various events of the Conference. Film Negara Malaysia produced a 20-minute documentary on the Conference. Special representatives from *All India Radio* and *Radio Ceylon* supervised the broadcasting of the speeches and proceedings of the sessions in their respective countries.

FROM THE CONFERENCE ALBUM



Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-haj, Prime Minister of Malaysia, speaking at the Opening Ceremony of the First International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies in the Dewan Tunku Abdul Rahman, Kuala Lumpur on April 16, 1966. Others seated on the rostrum are (*from left*): Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaram, Mr. V. Selvanayagam, Prof. R. L. Huang, Prof. F. B. J. Kuiper, Prof. M. Varadarajan, Tan Sri V. T. Sambanthan, Mr. A. Subbiah, Sri. M. Bhaktavatsalam, Prof. J. Filliozat, and Prof. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam.

Tan Sri V. T. Sambanthan welcomes the delegates at the Opening Ceremony of the Conference.





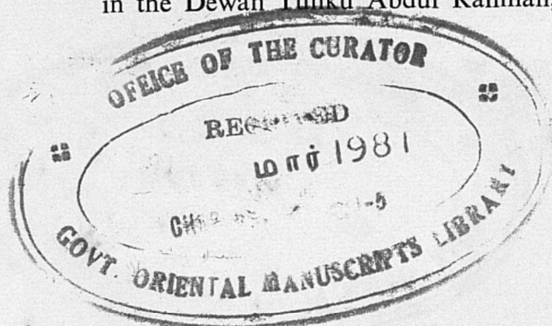
Prof. Jean Filliozat, President of the International Association of Tamil Research, speaking at the Opening Ceremony of the Conference.

Sri. M. Bhaktavatsalam, Chief Minister of Madras and leader of delegates from India, delivering his Address of Thanks on behalf of delegates at the Opening Ceremony of the Conference.





Distinguished guests and delegates at the Opening Ceremony of the Conference in the Dewan Tunku Abdul Rahman, Kuala Lumpur.

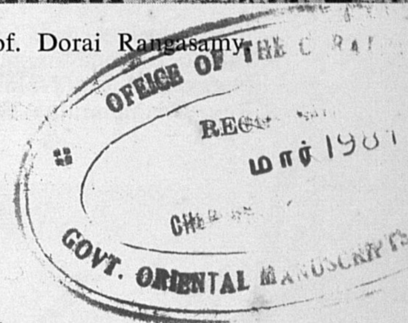


The Third Residential College, University of Malaya, which was the venue of the Conference sessions, as well as the residence of most of the delegates during the Conference.





Three speakers at the Literary Session in Tamil, Prof. Dorai Rangasamy, Prof. L. P. K. Ramanathan and Prof. V. I. Subramoniam.



Plenary session on TAMIL SOCIETY IN THE MODERN PERIOD. Those on the rostrum, who presented papers, are (*from left*): Mr. B. Bastiam Pillai, Dr. A. Jayaratnam Wilson, Mr. B. L. Panditharatne, Mr. A. M. A. Azeez, Dr. R. Frickenburg, Dr. Toru Matsui (Chairman), Dr. S. Arasaratnam, Dr. M. Arokiaswamy, Prof. C. J. Eliezer, and Miss Brenda E. F. Beck.





Delegates who presented papers at the Group Session on SOCIETY OF THE PERIOD OF THE THREE EMPIRES (*from left*): Mr. Justice H. W. Tambiah, Dr. B. Natarajan, Mr. Noboru Karashima, Dr. R. Frickenburg, Dr. S. Arasaratnam, Rev. Dhammaratna Thero, Mr. N. Subramaniam, and Mr. K. S. Nadarajah.



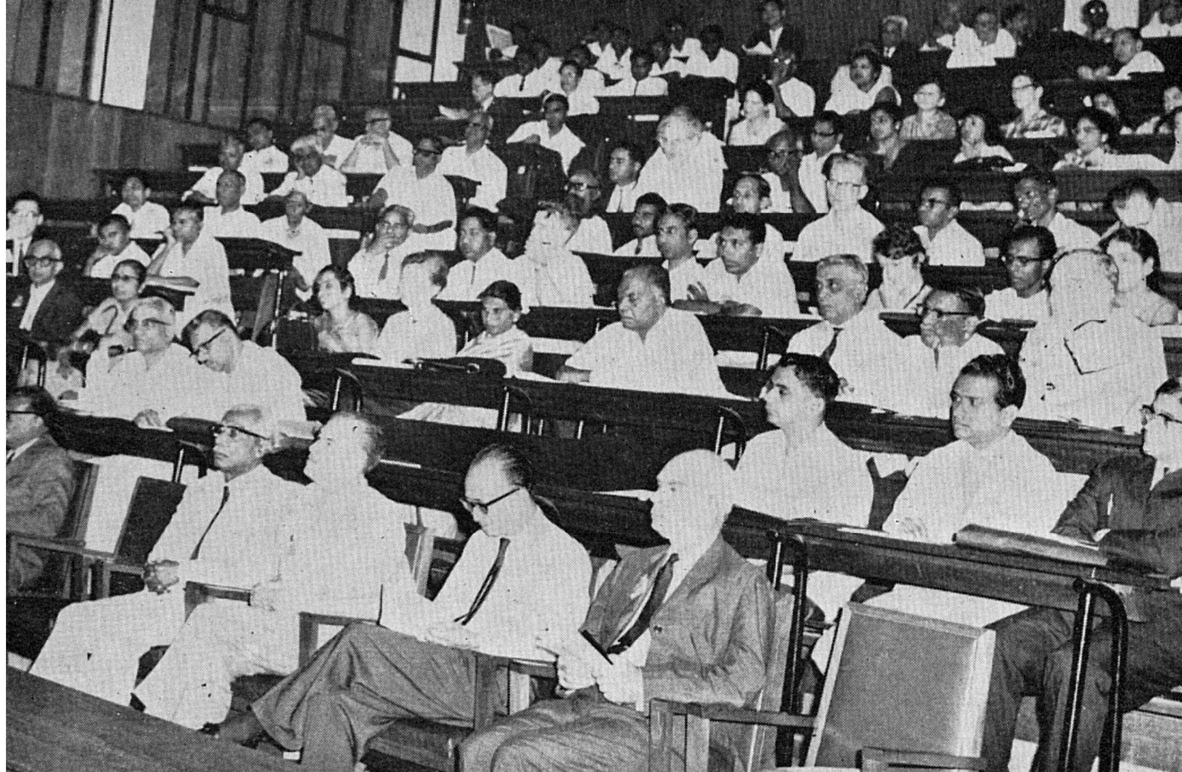
Delegates at the Plenary Session on LITERATURE AND SOCIETY (*from left*): Prof. T. E. Gnanamurthy, Mr. A. Kanagaratnam, Mr. K. Sivathamby, Prof. Tirugnanasambandhan, Dr. Karl A. Keller, Prof. M. Varadarajan (Chairman), Prof. V. I. Subramoniam, Mr. K. P. S. Hameed, Prof. Srinivasa Rahavan, and Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaram.



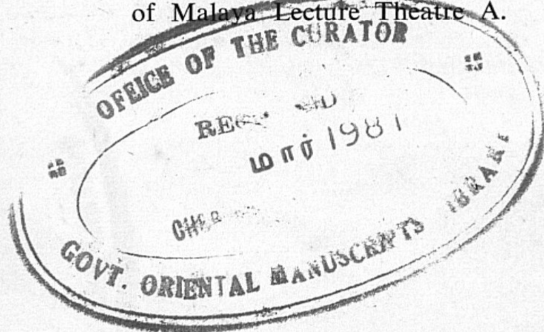
Delegates who presented papers at the Plenary Session on MODERN LITERATURE (*from left*): Prof. Mary Masillamoney, Miss Loganayagy Nannithamby, Mrs. A. Chandrasekharan, Mrs. Prema Nandakumar, Dr. John R. Marr (Chairman), Prof. V. I. Subramoniam and Mr. Murugu Subramaniam.

Mr. V. R. Nedunjeliyan speaking at the Group Session on TRANSLATION under the chairmanship of Mr. V. Kartikeyan (*fifth from right*). Others on the platform are Mr. V. Karthikeyan (Chairman), Dr. Rama Subbiah, Dr. John R. Marr, Dr. Selvanayagam and Dr. R. E. Asher.





Delegates at the Plenary Session on ART AND ANTIQUITY held in University of Malaya Lecture Theatre A.



Session on SOUTH EAST ASIA. Prof. C. J. Eliezer speaks to his paper. Mr. S. Singaravelu, Prof. X. S. Thani Nayagam, Prof. J. Filliozat, Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaram.





Prof. M. Varadarajan of the University of Madras, speaking at one of the Plenary Sessions of the Conference.

Speakers at the Final Plenary Session in Tamil (*from left*): Mr. M. S. Mudaliyar, Mr. Sethukavalar, Mr. K. V. Jeganathan, Prof. X. S. Thani Nayagam, Mr. Nedunchezhian, Mr. Pandian, Mr. T. K. Shanmugam and Mr. V. Thirunavukkarasu.





Business Session of the International Association of Tamil Research. Seated on the rostrum are (*from left*): Mr. Justice H. W. Tambiah, Prof. V. I. Subramoniam, Prof. M. B. Emeneau, Prof. F. B. J. Kuiper, Prof. Jean Filliozat, Prof. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam, Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaram, Prof. M. Varadarajan, Mr. A. Subbiah, and Dr. R. E. Asher.

Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein, Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia (*centre*), and Tan Sri V. T. Sambanthan, Minister of Works, Posts and Telecommunications Malaysia (*right*), being welcomed by the Secretary-General of the Conference Organizing Committee, Mr. V. Selvanayagam.





Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Rural Development, Malaysia, addressing the delegates on Malaysia's Rural Development Projects. Others seated on the rostrum are (*from left*): Mr. V. Manickavasagam, Minister of Labour, Malaysia, Prof. Jean Filliozat, Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaram, Prof. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam, Prof. F. B. J. Kuiper and Mr. V. Selvanayagam.

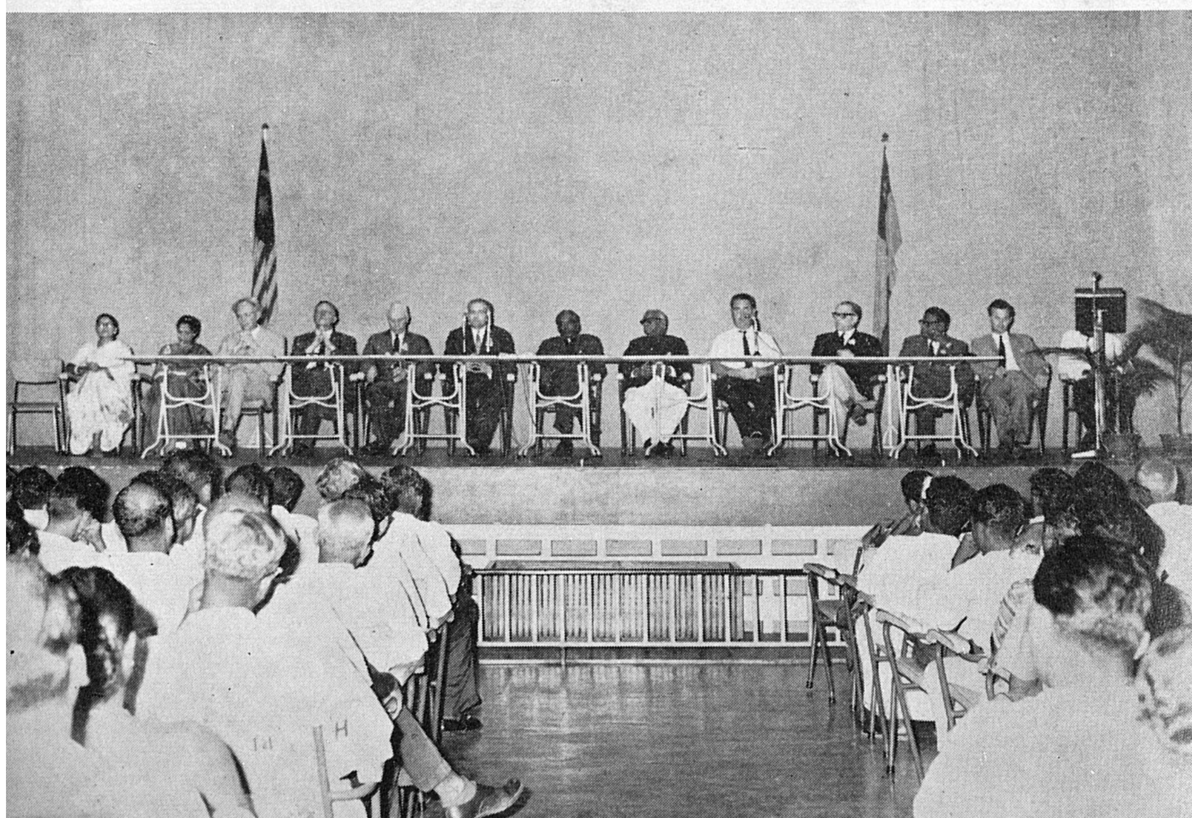
Enche Mohamed Khir Johari, Minister of Education, Malaysia, speaking at the Opening Ceremony of the INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TAMIL RESEARCH ART EXHIBITION, held at the National Museum in Kuala Lumpur. Others in the picture are (*from left*): Puan Sri Uma Sambanthan, Tan Sri V. T. Sambanthan, Puan Mohamed Khir Johari, Sri M. Bhaktavatsalam, and Enche Shahrum bin Yub, Director of the National Museum, Malaysia.

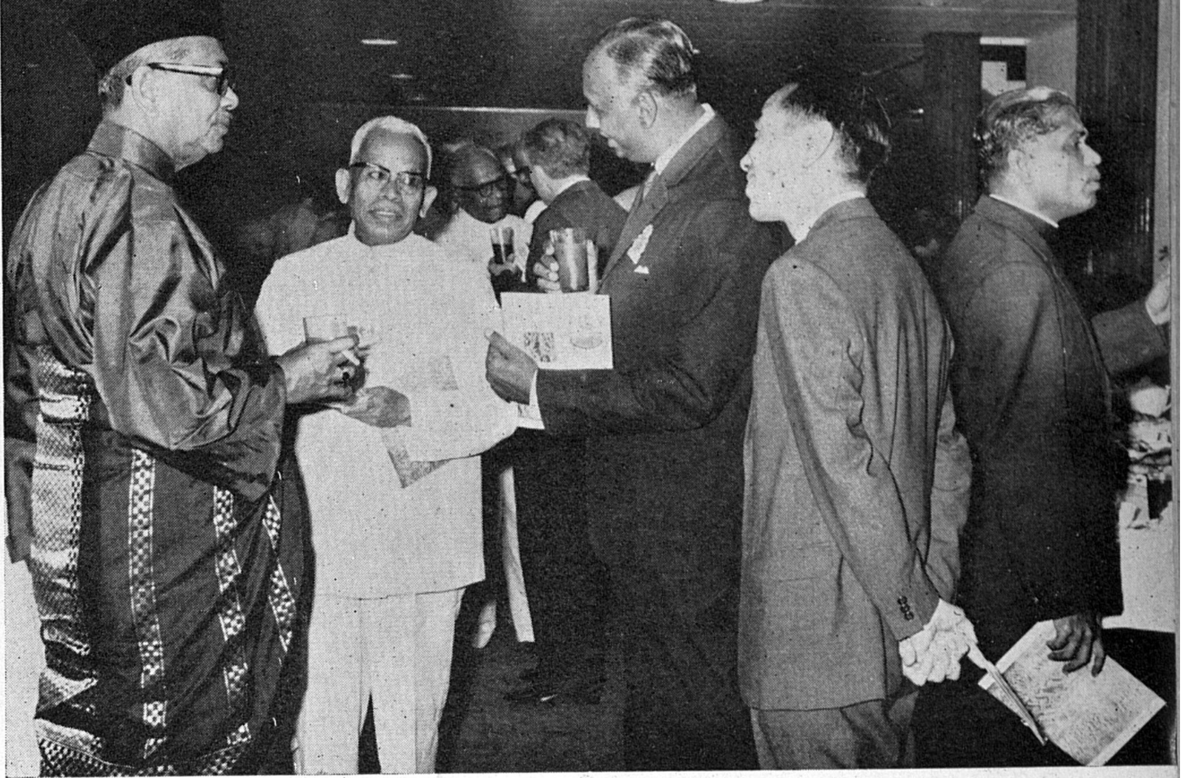




Mrs. Nirmala Ramachandran presenting her paper on the "Classical Dance of Ancient Tamils" at the Plenary Session on MUSIC AND DANCE.

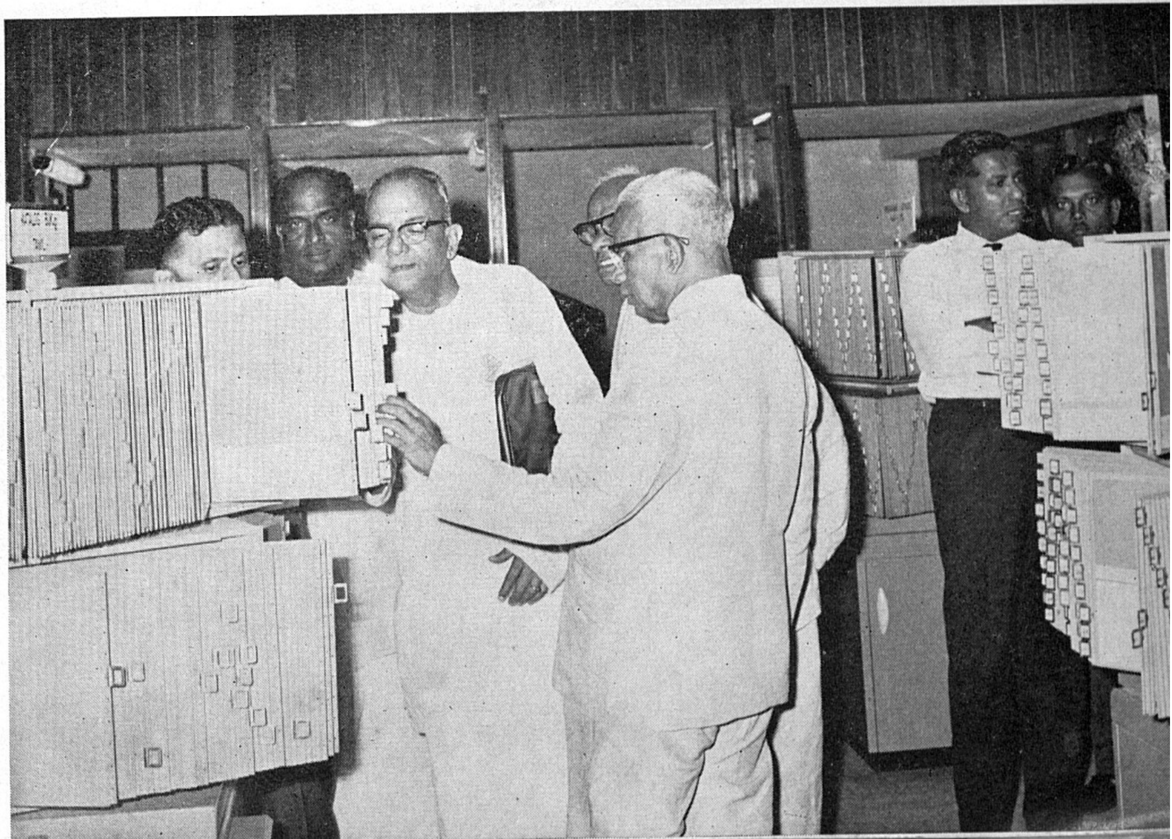
Distinguished delegates, who addressed a public meeting held in the hall of the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka in Kuala Lumpur (*from left*): Dr. Prema Nandakumar, Mrs. Jaya Arunachalam, Dr. Carl A. Keller, Prof. K. B. J. Kuiper, Prof. M. B. Emeneau, Prof. Jean Filliozat, Prof. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam, Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaram, Prof. Edgar C. Knowlton, Rev. Dr. Frykholm, Mr. Justice H. W. Tambiah, and Dr. R. E. Asher.





At the Prime Ministers' Party in Parliament House (*from left*): Prime Minister of Malaysia, The Chief Minister of Madras, Tan Sri V. T. Sambanthan, Prof. R. L. Huang and Prof. X. S. Thani Nayagam.

Delegates at the University of Malaya Library (*from left*): Prof. A. Srinivasaraghavan, Mr. A. M. S. Periasamy of Sungei Siput, Mr. P. Arunachalam, Mr. V. K. Sivapragasam.



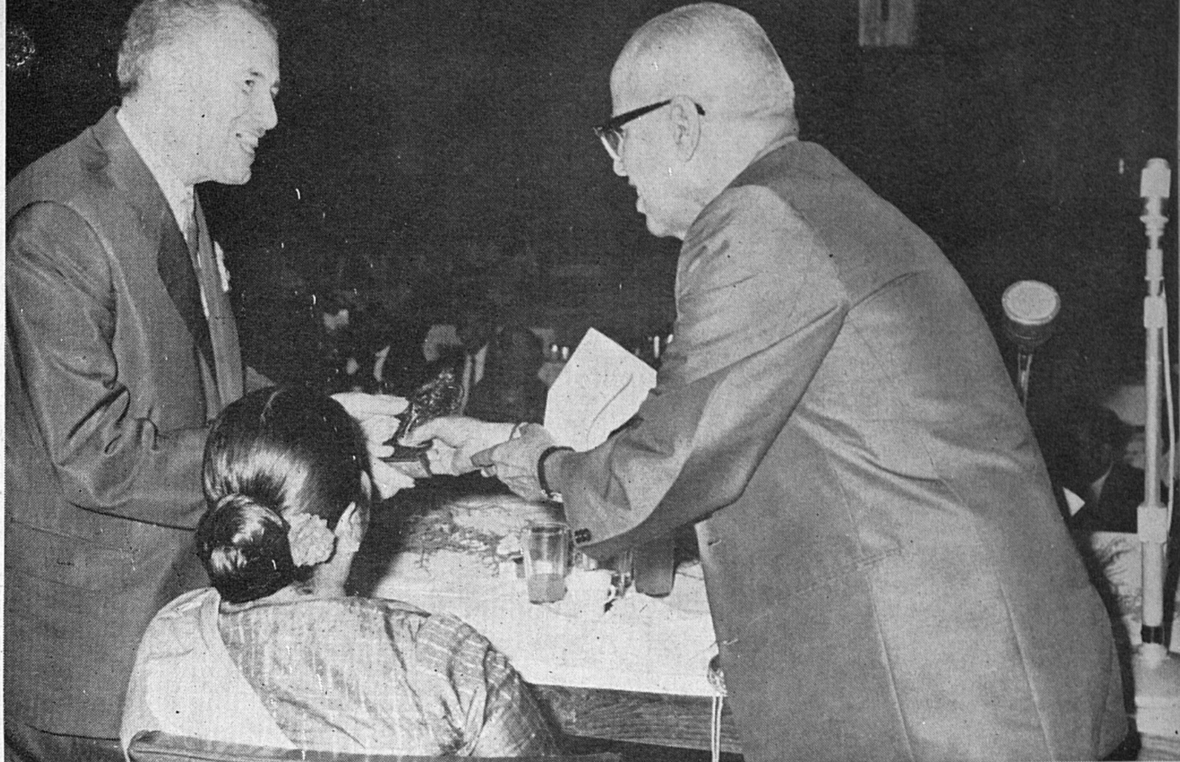


Some members of the Conference Secretariat at the Information Desk in the Conference premises with Mrs. C. J. Eliezer.



Mr. V. Manickavasagam, Minister of Labour, and Chairman of the Finance Committee, speaking at the Farewell Banquet, held at the Parliament House in Kuala Lumpur. Mrs. P. T. Rajan, Puan Suffian, Prof. M. B. Emeneau (*with back to camera*).





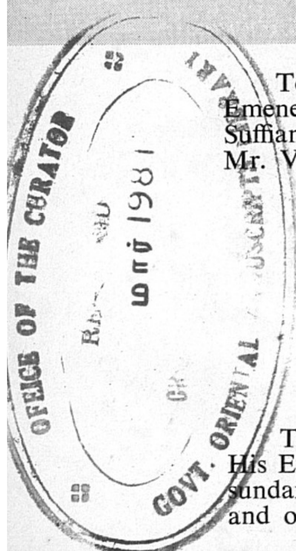
Sir P. T. Rajan, President of Tamil Sangam in South India presenting a farewell gift to the President of the International Association of Tamil Research, Prof. Jean Filliozat.

Mr. Justice H. W. Tambiah, leader of the delegation from Ceylon presenting a farewell gift to Prof. R. L. Huang, Acting Vice-Chancellor of the University of Malaya.

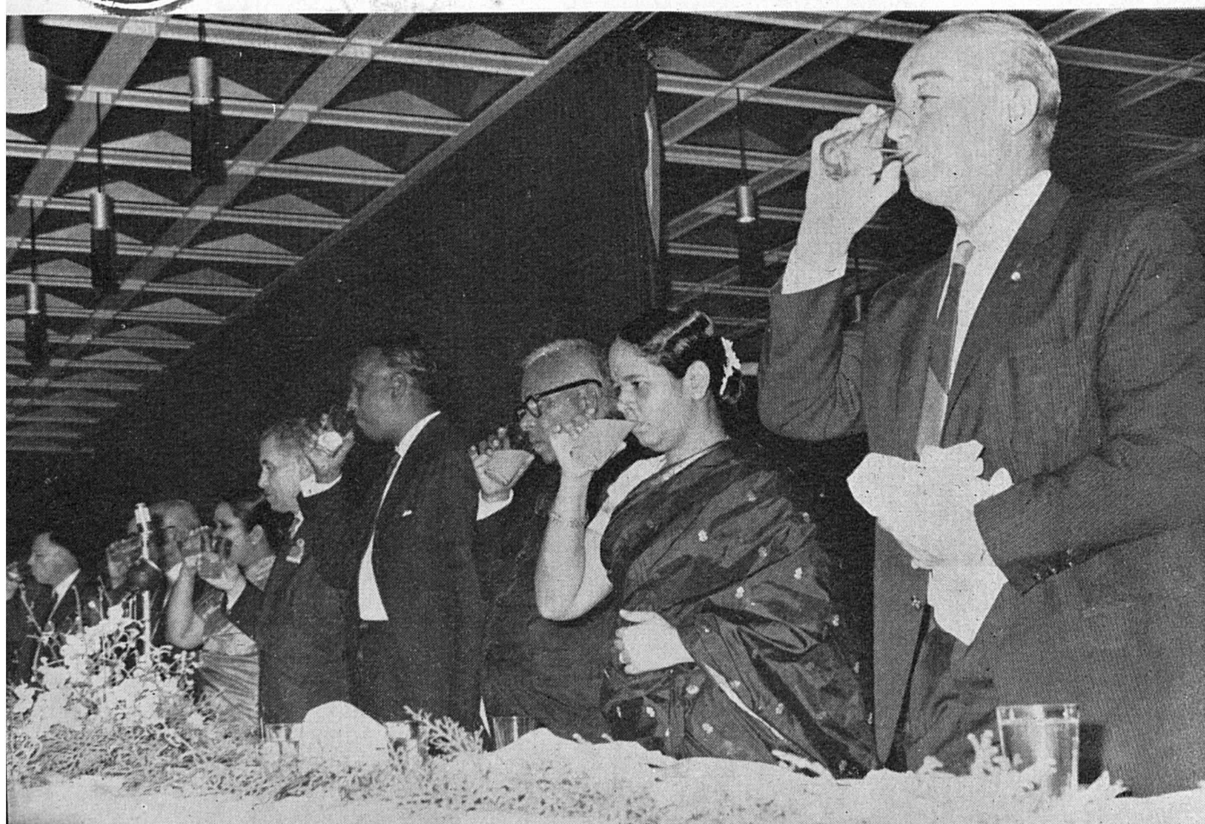




Toasting the IATR at the Farewell Banquet, (*from left*): Prof. M. B. Emeneau, Puan Suffian, Mr. V. Manickavasagam, Mrs. P. T. Rajan, Mr. Justice Suffian, Mr. A. Subbiah, Mrs. V. Selvanayagam, Mr. Justice H. W. Tambiah, Mr. V. S. Tyagarajan.



Toasting the IATR at the Farewell Banquet. The Netherlands Ambassador, His Excellency L. Kruythbosch, Mrs. V. Manickavasagam, Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaram, Tan Sri V. T. Sambanthan, Prof. Jean Filliozat, Puan Sri Sambanthan and others.



APPENDIX III

KUALA LUMPUR CONFERENCE FINANCES

FINANCE

It is recognized that it was mainly due to the tremendous efforts of the Chairman of the Finance Committee, Hon'ble Enche V. Manicka-vasagam, President, NEDC, that the sum of $210,000 had been raised. It is also recognized that Mr. V. Selvanayagam and Prof. X. S. Thani Nayagam addressed meetings in several districts to organize the collection of funds, and to institute *ad hoc* committees. The post conference balance of over M$60,000/- has been set apart to meet part costs of the *Proceedings* and for scholarships for higher education to be named "The International Conference of Tamil Studies (1966) Scholar-ship Fund."

The following are the circulars which were issued by the Chairman of the Organising Committee, and by the Chairman of the Finance Committee.

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TAMIL RESEARCH CONFERENCE-SEMINAR

Chairman,
Organising Committee,
c/o 24, Jalan Syers, Kuala Lumpur.

SEMINAR

At the invitation of the National Education (Indian Schools) Development Council, the International Association of Tamil Research is to organise a Seminar of Tamil Studies, with the collaboration of the Department of Indian Studies, University of Malaya, in April, 1966 in Kuala Lumpur. The purpose of this Seminar will be to bring together for study and discussion, scholars connected with Tamil Studies and allied fields. This Seminar will assess Research and Teaching and promote further research on a great number of questions which are of interest to us in Malaya.

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TAMIL RESEARCH

The International Association of Tamil Research is an association of scholars engaged in various fields of Indian Studies but paying greater attention to Malaya, Peninsular India and Ceylon. The number of foreign participants expected to attend this conference is about 60, 25

scholars from India and about 35 from Europe, the United States and other countries. A number of overseas scholars have already written to express their desire to attend this Seminar. The office bearers of the International Association of Tamil Research who will be attending the Conference are... (*Here names were given.*)

Such a Conference, while helpful to Tamil Studies and Indian Studies, will be of considerable benefit towards the fulfilment of the aims and ideals of National Education as well as the development and mutual appreciation of cultures within Malaysia.

CONFERENCE COMMITTEE

The number of scholars who will attend this conference and the duration and comprehensive nature of the proceedings will depend greatly on the amount of money available to the organisers for hospitality, and for payment at least of part of the travel expenses of the participants. A committee comprising the following persons resident in Kuala Lumpur has been formed in order to organise various aspects of this Conference.

Chairman - - - - -	Hon'ble Dato V. T. Sambanthan
Vice-Chairman - - - -	Prof Xavier S. Thani Nayagam
Secretary - - - - -	Mr. V. Selvanayagam
Committee Members - - -	Hon'ble Mr. V. Manickavasagam
	Senator S. O. K. Ubaidullah
	Prof. C. J. Eliezer
	Mr. K. Ramanathan
	Mr. G. Leo
	Mr. Murugu Subramaniam
	Mr. S. Palanivelu
	Mr. A. K. Sabapathy

FINANCE

It is estimated that there will be considerable expenses for accommodation, hospitality, publication of papers, proceedings, reports etc. To meet these expenses a substantial part will have to be raised locally. Knowing your concern and interest in such cultural matters, may we appeal to you/your organisation, for your participation, encouragement and support.

An account has been opened with the United Commercial Bank, Church Street, Kuala Lumpur, and cheques may be made out in favour of our Treasurers, the NEDC (Seminar Account) and crossed A/C Payee only.

Any further information may be had either from the General Secretary, NEDC, or the Department of Indian Studies, University of Malaya.

Dato V. T. Sambanthan, P.M.N.,
Chairman,
Organising Committee.

THE NATIONAL EDUCATION (INDIAN SCHOOLS) DEVELOPMENT COUNCIL FEDERATION OF MALAYA

c/o 24, Jalan Syers,
Kuala Lumpur.

Dear...

For some years past, I, as President of the NEDC, have been carrying out measures by addressing personal letters to induce every successful entrant to the Arts Faculty in the U. of M. to consider majoring in Indian Studies or at least offer Indian Studies as a subsidiary subject.

Although this has accounted to an improvement year by year in the number attending such courses, it has become necessary to make further efforts in quest of finding a steady stream of candidates to pursue higher education at the Dept. of Indian Studies in the U. of M.

In view of the advances which are constantly taking place in the other faculties, we have to ensure that students desiring to pursue education in Tamil as a subject after the Primary School level, are given facilities to acquire the necessary knowledge to a standard matching the requirements for entry to the Dept. of Indian Studies.

In order to infuse the necessary desire and appreciation of the scope available in Indian Studies, we have in consultation and collaboration with the Professor of Indian Studies at the U. of M. sought the aid of the International Association of Tamil Research to hold a Conference-Seminar in the U. of M. in the early part of 1966, so that the various elements and problems can be studied, and an endeavour made to form a useful basis for further progress. It will considerably benefit towards the fulfilment of the aims and ideals of the National Education System as well as mutual appreciation of the cultures of the various races in Malaysia.

The holding of such a conference will re-kindle the latent desire in youth towards learning Tamil as a subject with a view to acquiring knowledge in the classical prose and poetic treasures which exist in Tamil. Apart from the immense value which can be had by a meeting together and discussion amongst eminent scholars from all parts of the world, there will also be greater integration in the programme of academic studies and development of education in general.

The proposal and feasibility to hold such a Conference is admirable and your wholehearted support is essential to make it a success.

The estimated expenditure for the Conference-Seminar will be about $100,000, a considerable portion of which has to be collected locally.

I am aware of the deep interest you have in matters of this nature and therefore I appeal to you for donations. Your cheques may be made out in favour of NEDC (Seminar A/c.) and crossed A/c payee only.

Yours,
V. Manickavasagam, J.M.N., P.J.K.,
President.

CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED FOR THE KUALA LUMPUR CONFERENCE

Grant by Ministry of National and Rural Development, Malaysia ...	$ 40,000.00	
Grant by Malaysian Government towards subsidy for passages ...	14,973.20	$ 54,973.20
Asia Foundation ...	$ 16,200.00	
Asia Foundation (for publications) ...	7,000.00	23,200.00
Ceylonese Endowment Fund ...		8,000.00
Mr. A. M. S. Periasamy, S. Siput ...		5,001.00
Mr. N. T. S. Arumugampillay, A.M.N., Penang ...		5,001.00
Chettiars Endowment Fund ...		5,000.00
Lee Foundation ...		5,000.00
Shaw Foundation ...		3,000.00
Tamil Language Society, University of Malaya ...		3,000.00
Sri Maha Mariamman Temple, Kuala Lumpur ...		2,501.00
Mr. P. Govindasamy Pillay, J.P., Singapore ...		2,000.00
Mr. N. Rengasamy Pillay, Penang ...		1,001.00
Mr. T. Rajendra, J.P., Kuala Lumpur ...		1,001.00
Mr. M. A. Sathar, Penang ...		1,000.00
United Commercial Bank, Kuala Lumpur ...		1,000.00
Mr. A. Krishnan, Sitiawan ...		1,000.00
Mr. Jeganathan ...		1,000.00
Dr. S. Kanapathipillai, Ipoh ...		1,000.00
Mr. S. Selvaratnam, Seremban ...		1,000.00
Mr. V. K. Kalayanasundram, Ipoh ...		1,000.00
Anonymous through Prof. X. S. Thani Nayagam ...		1,000.00
Dato Dr. R. Sathiah, Klang ...		1,000.00
Mr. A. S. Thambiah, Seremban ...		1,000.00
Mr. M. Nadchadram, Seremban ...		800.00
Lower Perak Indian Association ...		763.00
Ceylon Tamils Association, Singapore per Mr. S. T. V. Lingam ...		747.55
Aira Vaisiar Sangam, Penang ...		671.00
Mrs. Chellam Coomarasamy, Singapore ...		501.00
Sri Ambal & Co., Kuala Lumpur ...		501.00
Mr. SP. SS. Pichappa, Alor Star ...		501.00
Senator S. Dorairaj ...		501.00
Mr. SL. Lakshmanan Chettiar, Alor Star ...		501.00
Mr. S. Sinnathamby, J.P., Seremban ...		500.00
Mr. K. R. Veerappan, Singapore ...		500.00
Dr. S. Underwood, Kuala Kangsar ...		500.00
Dr. P. T. Arasu, Kuala Lumpur ...		500.00
Indian Bank, Kuala Lumpur ...		500.00
Dato Dr. S. Arulampalam, Kota Bharu ...		500.00
Dato A. R. A. Nachiappan, Kota Bharu ...		500.00
Indian Overseas Bank, Kuala Lumpur ...		500.00
Temerloh District Tamils' Association ...		500.00

TEACHERS:

Tamil Teachers, Perak, per Mr. S. Kandavanam, Ipoh	$ 1,600.00	
National Union of Tamil Teachers, Kuala Lumpur ...	1,301.00	
N.S. Tamil Teachers and public contribution per Mr. S. Chelliah, Seremban	4,504.50	
North Johore Tamil Teachers and public contribution per Mr. V. K. Nadarajah, Segamat	3,432.43	
South Johore Tamil Teachers and public contribution per Mr. A. V. Arunasalam, Johore Bharu ...	3,674.00	
Tamil Teachers, Singapore	1,000.00	15,511.93
Contributions through *Tamil Nesan*		12,463.58

NATTUKKOTTAI CHETTIARS' COMMUNITY/TEMPLES:

Penang	$ 1,500.00	
Ipoh	751.00	
Telok Anson	500.00	
Kuala Lumpur	2,500.00	
Klang	501.00	
Seremban	1,000.00	
Malacca	1,311.00	
Muar	701.00	
Singapore	3,000.00	11,764.00

AD HOC DISTRICT COMMITTEES:

Bukit Mertajam	$ 613.65	
Taiping	1,000.00	
Ipoh	881.00	
Klang per Mr. K. Ponnampalam	732.00	
Malacca per Mr. S. S. Maniam	1,260.00	
Muar per Mr. Casiapillai	541.00	5,027.65
Indian merchants, Kuala Lumpur per Senator S. O. K. Ubaidulla		4,202.00
Others		25,425.10

CONTRIBUTORS TO VOLUME II

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